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PETER OF AUVERGNE'S QUESTIONS  
ON  
BOOKS I AND II OF THE *ETHICA NICOMACHEA*:  
A STUDY AND CRITICAL EDITION\*

Anthony J. Celano

INTRODUCTION

THE efforts of modern scholars, such as R.-A. Gauthier,<sup>1</sup> M. Grabmann<sup>2</sup> and O. Lottin,<sup>3</sup> have contributed greatly to our understanding of the moral philosophy of the thirteenth century. Despite their numerous investigations, the

\* Parts of this article first appeared in my Licentiate thesis for the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies (Toronto, 1978). I gratefully acknowledge the cooperation of the Universitätsbibliothek, Leipzig and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, both of which provided me with microfilms of the manuscripts and granted me permission to publish the text. I would also like to thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, whose financial assistance enabled me to complete the project.

The following abbreviations are used in the footnotes and in the *apparatus fontium*:

- Comm.* = *The Greek Commentaries on the Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle*, vol. 1, ed. H. P. F. Mercken (Leiden, 1973) (references are to page and line numbers)
- D* = *Sententia libri De anima*, ed. R.-A. Gauthier (Sancti Thomae de Aquino Opera omnia 45.1; Rome-Paris, 1984)
- EN* = *Ethica Nicomachea*
- H* = *Les auctoritates Aristotelis. Un florilège médiéval. Étude historique et édition critique*, ed. J. Hamesse (Philosophes médiévaux 17; Louvain-Paris, 1974) (references are to page and item numbers)
- Lect.* = *Super Ethica commentum et quaestiones libri quinque priores* (Alberti Magni ... Opera omnia 14.1/1; Münster in W., 1968) (references are to page and line numbers)
- M* = *Metaphysica. Translatio anonymi*, ed. G. Vuillemin-Diem (Aristoteles Latinus 25.2; Leiden, 1976)
- R* = *Ethica Nicomachea. Translatio Roberti Grosseteste ... recensio recognita*, ed. R.-A. Gauthier (Aristoteles Latinus 26.1-3/4; Leiden, 1973)
- Sent.* = *Sententia libri Ethicorum*, ed. R.-A. Gauthier (Sancti Thomae de Aquino Opera omnia 47.1-2; Rome, 1969) (references are to page and line numbers)
- ST* = *Sancti Thomae de Aquino Ordinis Praedicatorum Summa theologiae*, 5 vols. (Ottawa, 1941-55), especially vol. 2 which contains *ST* 1-2.

<sup>1</sup> 'Trois commentaires "averroïstes" sur l'Éthique à Nicomaque', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 16 (1947-48) 187-336; *Magnanimité, l'idéal de la grandeur dans la philosophie païenne et dans la théologie chrétienne* (Bibliothèque thomiste 28; Paris, 1951); 'Arnoul de Provence et la doctrine de la *fronesis*, vertu mystique suprême', *Revue du moyen âge latin* 19 (1963) 135-70; and the introduction to *Sent.*, pp. 1\*-268\*. These and

historian of medieval ethics is hampered by a general scarcity of printed texts. Although the commentaries of Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas on Aristotle's *Ethica Nicomachea* (hereafter *EN*) have been published,<sup>4</sup> little is known about the teachings of many less famous masters of the medieval universities; almost all of their questions on the *EN* remain unedited and some commentaries of importance have been almost totally ignored.<sup>5</sup> To view the immense erudition and the deep understanding which Albert and Thomas brought to their study of Aristotle as isolated phenomena, the products of particular genius, gives an incomplete, if not incorrect, picture of thirteenth-century moral philosophy. In order to expand our knowledge of moral speculation in the thirteenth century the sixty-six questions of Peter of Auvergne on the first two books of the *EN* are edited in their entirety below.<sup>6</sup>

Peter's questions represent the first phase in the development of moral philosophy after the death of Thomas Aquinas. Peter's commentary is particularly important for our understanding of those condemned propositions of 1277, which concern the nature of human happiness and man's ability to attain his *summum bonum*. In the discussion of the contents, which precedes this edition of the questions, particular attention will be given to the problems which arose from the meeting of the Christian *beatitudo* and the pagan *εὐδαιμονία*. The way in which Peter resolves the conflict between Greek philosophy and Christian theology determines the direction which future medieval commentators would follow.

Two manuscripts contain the questions on the *EN* by Peter of Auvergne. The more complete is Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek 1386 (= L). It is the product of several hands, the most important of which is a German hand of the early fourteenth century. After a detailed table of contents an assortment of works by

numerous other works of Gauthier are indispensable for the student of Aristotle's *Ethics* in the Middle Ages.

<sup>2</sup> *Der lateinische Averroismus des 13. Jahrhunderts und seine Stellung zur christlichen Weltanschauung. Mitteilungen aus ungedruckten Ethikkomentaren* (Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-hist. Abteilung 2; Munich, 1931) and *Die Aristoteleskommentare des Heinrich von Brüssel und der Einfluss Alberts des Grossen auf die mittelalterliche Aristoteleserklärung* (ibid. 10; Munich, 1944). See also his numerous articles on the subject in *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben. Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Scholastik und Mystik*, 3 vols. (Munich, 1926-56).

<sup>3</sup> *Psychologie et morale aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, 4 vols. in 6 (Gembloux-Louvain, 1942-60).

<sup>4</sup> *Lect. and Sent.*

<sup>5</sup> The commentary of John of Tytynsale (Teasdale), which is contained in three manuscripts (Durham, Cathedral Library C.IV.20 [= D], Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 611/341, and Oxford, Oriel College 33 [books 1-5]), has evoked little interest from historians of medieval philosophy. See C. H. Lohr, 'Medieval Latin Aristotelian Commentaries. Authors: Johannes de Kanthi-Myngodus', *Traditio* 27 (1971) 289.

<sup>6</sup> R.-A. Gauthier has edited the prologue and three questions in 'Les *Questiones supra librum Ethicorum* de Pierre d'Auvergne', *Revue du moyen âge latin* 20 (1964) 233-60.

thirteenth-century authors follows.<sup>7</sup> Peter of Auvergne's questions are the last work in the manuscript: a prologue, 47 questions on book I and 19 questions on book II of the *EN* occupy fols. 115ra-126va. For unknown reasons the questions end abruptly with a discussion on virtue as a mean, whose source is book II, chapter 8 of the *EN*. Gauthier has observed that the manuscript is not mutilated in any way and that the bottom of the column of fol. 126va and all of fol. 126vb are left blank.<sup>8</sup> We do not know whether the exemplar was incomplete or the author or scribe simply discontinued the work here.

The second manuscript which contains the questions is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 16110 (= P), which was bequeathed to the Sorbonne by James of Padua.<sup>9</sup> P, a fourteenth-century manuscript written by several hands, ends with a prologue and eight questions on the *EN* (fols. 276v-277v) which correspond to the prologue and book I, questions 1, 5, 7, 8, 16, 17, 22 and 28 of L. Book I, question 12 of L is transcribed at the bottom of fol. 237r of P as an apparent addition to a set of anonymous questions on the *EN*. The anonymous questions of P, to which Peter's work has been appended, were certainly composed in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. The unnamed author of this first set of questions was greatly influenced by Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas and offers conclusions which are similar to those of Peter of Auvergne.<sup>10</sup> The similarity in thought between the master of P and Peter of Auvergne may explain the addition of Peter's questions to the anonymous commentary.

No indication as to the identity of the author of our questions appears in P, but the rubricator of L names Peter of Auvergne as the author. At the top of fol. 115r he has written in large capital letters: *INCIPIUNT QUESTIONES MAGISTRI P. DE AVERNIA SUPRA LIBRUM ETHICORUM*. Neither the explicit nor the table of contents of L mentions the author of the commentary. We must ask ourselves whether the questions are indeed the work of Peter or, as is so often the case, if a scribe merely attached a well-known name to an unscribed text. Gauthier has argued that Peter of Auvergne's reputation was not so great in the fourteenth century as to prompt false attributions.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> A more detailed description of the manuscript is found in H. V. Shooner, ed., *Codices manuscripti operum Thomae de Aquino* 2 (Rome, 1973), pp. 194-95; also Gauthier, *ibid.*, 236-41. Grabmann mentions the attribution of the questions to Peter of Auvergne by the rubricator of L in *Die Aristoteleskommentare des Heinrich von Brüssel*, p. 47. Until the appearance of Gauthier's article, the commentary was not listed among Peter's works.

<sup>8</sup> Gauthier, *ibid.*, 240-41.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.*, 241. See the description in G. Lacombe, ed., *Aristoteles Latinus. Codices* 1 (Rome, 1939), no. 671 (on pp. 561-63); but see also Gauthier, *ibid.*, 241 n. 15, because the editors of *Aristoteles Latinus* have confused Peter's questions with the *Sententia libri Politicorum* of Thomas Aquinas.

<sup>10</sup> Gauthier, *ibid.*, 241-43.

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*, 240. Because the rubricator refers to Thomas Aquinas as *sanctus*, the manuscript must have been copied sometime after 1323. The reputation of Peter of Auvergne seems to have

Although the ascription of the rubricator cannot be accepted without hesitation, no compelling reasons exist for rejecting it. A comparison between the questions on the *EN* and certain quodlibetal questions known to be the products of Peter's magisterial activity in the Parisian theology faculty has shown some similarities in doctrine.<sup>12</sup> The similarity between our questions and a known work of Peter, the general tenor of moderate 'Aristotelianism',<sup>13</sup> together with the attribution of the rubricator afford solid reasons for listing the commentary among the authentic *opera* of Peter of Auvergne.

To date with precision a commentary on the *EN* from the last quarter of the thirteenth century is not without difficulty: many of the commentaries of this period are anonymous and almost all of them give no direct indication of their date of composition. The scarcity of information concerning the life of Peter compounds the difficulty in determining the date of composition of one of his works.<sup>14</sup> The year in which he entered the theology faculty at Paris, 1296,<sup>15</sup>

been somewhat greater at the time than Gauthier believes. See J.-P. Muller, 'Les critiques de la thèse de Jean Quidort sur la béatitude formelle', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 15 (1948) 152-70. Gauthier realizes himself that this argument alone is hardly convincing.

<sup>12</sup> A. J. Celano, *Peter of Auvergne's Questions on the Nicomachean Ethics* (Licentiate thesis, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1978), pp. 5-8. Peter's *Quodlibet* I.6, 'Whether God can make a creature see the true divine essence and < make the creature > not blessed?', contains conclusions on the twofold nature of the end and the primacy of the intellect similar to those found in the questions on the *EN*. Cf. questions 7, 11, 25 and 31 of book I below with Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale 269, fol. 138rb and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 932, fol. 105va. See also Muller, *ibid.*, 154-55 and n. 31 below.

<sup>13</sup> Gauthier, 'Les *Questiones*', 243.

<sup>14</sup> The information on the life and works of Peter of Auvergne is examined by E. Hocedez in five articles:

- (1) 'La vie et les œuvres de Pierre d'Auvergne', *Gregorianum* 14 (1933) 3-36
- (2) 'La théologie de Pierre d'Auvergne', *Gregorianum* 11 (1930) 526-55
- (3) 'La philosophie des Quodlibets de Pierre d'Auvergne' in *Aus der Geisteswelt des Mittelalters. Studien und Texte Martin Grabmann zur Vollendung des 60. Lebensjahres von Freunden und Schülern gewidmet*, ed. A. Long et al. (BGPTM Suppl. 3.2; Münster i. W., 1935), pp. 779-91
- (4) 'Une question inédite de Pierre d'Auvergne sur l'individuation', *Revue néo-scholastique de philosophie* 36 (1934) 335-86
- (5) 'Les *Questiones in Metaphysicam* de Pierre d'Auvergne', *Archives de philosophie* 9.3 (1932) 179-234.

For a more recent bibliography, see G. M. Grech, 'Recent Bibliography on Peter of Auvergne', *Angelicum* 41 (1964) 446-49 and also Gauthier, 'Les *Questiones*', 233-36. Gauthier's assertion that the rector of the University of Paris in 1275 and the bishop of Clermont in 1302-1304 are the same man is not beyond question. Lohr makes a tentative identification of the two in his 'Medieval Latin Aristotelian Commentaries. Authors: Narcissus-Ricardus', *Traditio* 28 (1972) 334. We can say with certainty only that the master who completed the works of Thomas Aquinas, left the arts faculty in 1296, and became bishop of Clermont is the same man. This Peter of Auvergne is probably the author of our questions. The source of the biographical data is Ptolemy of Lucca, *Historia ecclesiastica* 23.11, ed. A. Dondaine, 'Les *Opuscula fratris Thomae* chez Ptolémée de Lucques', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 31 (1961) 152.

<sup>15</sup> Hocedez, 'La vie et les œuvres', 5.

provides a definite *terminus ante quem* for his questions, since they are undoubtedly the work of an arts master. Because the questions do not contain some late innovations in thirteenth-century thought, Gauthier favored a date well before 1291.<sup>16</sup> If the author of the questions is the Magister Petrus de Alvernia who became rector of the University of Paris in 1275, as Gauthier believed, then the questions must have been composed between 1275 and 1291 or earlier, since the appointment as rector supposes membership in the arts faculty. Even if Gauthier's assertion is incorrect, the questions must have been written at Paris during these years, as I shall attempt to demonstrate below.

An analysis of one censured article from the condemnations of 1277 may help to determine a more exact *terminus post quem*.<sup>17</sup> The most important censured proposition for our purposes concerns the possibility of earthly happiness: 'Quod felicitas habetur in ista vita, et non in alia'.<sup>18</sup> The addition of the modifying phrase 'in ista vita' must have surprised the arts masters at Paris during this period. From 1248 to 1277 the unqualified term 'felicitas' is used in the arts faculty to denote the earthly happiness which Aristotle discusses in the *EN*. When Albert, Thomas and Boethius of Dacia use 'felicitas', they have in mind the concept called *εὐδαιμονία* by Aristotle.<sup>19</sup>

In all the known commentaries on the *EN* composed after 1277 'felicitas' is described in a way not found prior to the condemnations. In the commentaries of the last quarter of the thirteenth century 'felicitas' comes to be qualified by such expressions as 'in futura vita', 'in patria', 'in alia vita' and 'in terra' in order to contrast the Christian ideal of beatitude with Aristotelian happiness.<sup>20</sup> Those

<sup>16</sup> Gauthier, 'Les Questiones', 245.

<sup>17</sup> The difficulties of such a method are noted by R. Hissette, 'La date de quelques commentaires à l'Éthique', *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 18 (1976) 79-83. I am convinced, however, that the condemnations concerning moral philosophy can be useful in dating commentaries on the *EN*.

<sup>18</sup> *Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis* 1, ed. H. Denifle and É. Chatelaine (Paris, 1889), no. 473, prop. 176 (p. 553).

<sup>19</sup> 'Dicendum, quod felicitas non est quaedam generalis beatitudo et ordinatio totius animae secundum omnes potentias, sicut quidam dicunt...' (*Lect.*, pp. 75-76.71-04); 'Ex quo patet quod felicitas de qua Philosophus loquitur non consistit in illa continuatione ad intelligentiam separatam per quam homo intelligat omnia, ut quidam posuerunt' (*Sent.*, p. 51.90-94); 'Non dico summum bonum absolute, sed summum sibi, bona enim possibilia homini.... Quid autem sit hoc summum bonum, quod est homini possibile, per rationem investigemus' (*De summo bono*, ed. N. G. Green-Pedersen, *Boethii Daci Opera. Topica. Opuscula* [Corpus philosophorum danicorum medii aevi 6.2; Copenhagen, 1976], p. 369.3-7).

<sup>20</sup> Some striking examples of the new terminology are found in the following:

John of Tytynsale: '... quia mortui sunt ex<tra> vitam presentem cuius felicitatem querimus' (D 212rb [my corrected foliation used here and below])

Giles of Orléans (?): '... illa felicitas que est in patria est per se intransmutabilis, et de illa non loquimur, immo solum de felicitate que est homini possibilis in hac vita...' (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 16089 [= G], fol. 200va).

For similar definitions of happiness, cf. Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek der Stadt

cumbersome designations of Aristotle's notion of happiness as '*felicitas in hac vita*' or '*felicitas in terra*' would scarcely have been used if some extraordinary event had not made them necessary. Such an abrupt change in terminology may well have been occasioned by the condemned article concerning happiness. This new terminology would then have originated in the desire of the arts masters to avoid ecclesiastical censure. Peter of Auvergne's use of these new terms may thus indicate that he composed his questions sometime after 1277.<sup>21</sup>

The questions of John of Tytynsale afford a useful criterion for dating late thirteenth-century commentaries on the *EN*. His little studied work has a dated explicit, the only one at present known in a commentary on the *EN* of the late thirteenth century: 'Expliciunt questiones XII librorum metaphysice et similiter III librorum ethicorum disputate a magistro Johanne a Ditensale, anno domini MCC octogesimo tercio'.<sup>22</sup> John's familiarity with Peter's application of the twofold end to the Aristotelian concept of happiness and his subsequent refinement of Peter's position suggest that John's commentary is of a later date.<sup>23</sup> We can therefore conclude that in all probability Peter of Auvergne's questions on the *EN* were written between 1277 and 1283.

#### ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENTS OF THE QUESTIONS

##### *The Prologue*

In the prologue, which is dependent to a large extent upon the thought of Thomas Aquinas, Peter of Auvergne determines in a general fashion the aim

Amplon. F 13, fol. 90rb and Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek 213, fol. 52va. The commentator who most carefully distinguishes between earthly and heavenly happiness is the anonymous author of Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 2172 (= V), fol. 7rb:

Et est intelligendum quod ista speculatio vel coniunctio per cognitionem ... secundum quod est possibile in hac vita est ... possessio....

After a long discussion of the difference between happiness and beatitude, which the commentator of V calls *felicitas intrinseca* and *felicitas extrinseca* respectively, he makes clear his notion of *felicitas in hac vita*. Note also his careful distinction between the philosopher's happiness and the Christian's beatitude in his response to the question whether a man can be called happy during his lifetime:

... est intelligendum quod quidam philosophy, sicut Averrois et multi alii philosophy < non > posuerunt aliam felicitatem nisi illam que est in hac vita. Sed Avicenna et Algazal, qui fuerunt iudei, bene posuerunt aliam felicitatem in alia vita; nec etiam Philosophus videtur expresse negare eam (V 12va).

Cf. 'Sed dico quod in hac vita aliquis homo potest esse felix, ... etiam secundum quod est possibile in hac vita' (ibid.). K. Giocarnis' assertion that the commentator of V does not mention otherworldly happiness is obviously incorrect ('An Unpublished Late Thirteenth-Century Commentary on the *Nicomachean Ethics* of Aristotle', *Traditio* 15 [1959] 306).

<sup>21</sup> See book I, questions 39 and 40 (below, pp. 80-82).

<sup>22</sup> D 258v.

<sup>23</sup> See the discussion on the end on pp. 11-13 below.

and the subject matter of the science of ethics. After a short definition of art Peter asserts that all human art arises from cognition. As ethics is the art of living, Peter concentrates on those human habits which are in the mind (*anima*) (prol., par. 3, ll. 18-25). Peter divides human understanding into two kinds: (1) that which understands those things which are done by man (practical understanding); (2) that which understands natural things (speculative understanding). Peter ignores speculative understanding in the rest of the prologue and concentrates on the subject matter of the art of living, the *habitus practicus* (prol., par. 3.25-28).

As Peter seeks to narrow his definition of ethics, he quickly eliminates certain human activities as irrelevant to his study. Activities which are common to animals and vegetation are not considered because they are not subject to the will. Peter is now ready to give his first and most general definition of ethics: 'moral philosophy considers those things which are subject to reason and the will' (prol., par. 3.32-33). The mental processes of understanding (*intelligere*) and choosing (*eligere*) are offered as examples of what a moral philosopher studies. Peter has done much more than describe certain moral actions; he has given us an important key to understanding his moral philosophy. He has described his belief in the primacy of the intellect over the will. A moral decision is reached first by man understanding and then by making a choice. Peter himself realizes that his understanding of moral action is not Aristotelian, but is derived from the teachings of Thomas Aquinas (prol., par. 3.38-52).

The remainder of the prologue considers man as a member of the *polis* and is derivative in nature. Peter, like most of his contemporaries,<sup>24</sup> divides moral science into three branches: monastics, economics and politics. The questions on the *EN* treat monastics because its subject matter concerns individual human actions which are ordered to an end (prol., par. 8).

## Book I

### Questions 1-5

In questions 1 through 5 Peter considers in more detail the subjects discussed in his prologue. The general theme of the first five questions is ethics as a science. Peter begins with a general consideration of moral science. For Peter moral science is a more inclusive term than ethics because it considers man not only as an individual moral agent but as a member of a household and of society as well (question 2, par. 4).<sup>25</sup> Peter claims that Aristotle handed down moral science because man is so easily swayed from the true path. Moral

<sup>24</sup> *Lect.* 2.51-53; *Sent.* 4.99-106.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *ibid.*

science is first and foremost an aid to correct living and governs all actions in the moral, domestic and political spheres (1, par. 3-4).

In questions 3 through 5 Peter turns his attention specifically to the science of ethics. Peter defends ethics as a valid and unified science because it has one subject, human actions and passions. Although actions and passions taken separately provide no basis for those universal statements which are required by science, they can be considered as part of the totality of human endeavors, and then they may be described scientifically (3, par. 3-4 and 4, par. 7).<sup>26</sup>

Peter realizes that we cannot speak of the science of ethics in the same way as we speak of mathematical sciences. Whereas a triangle always has three sides, human actions admit a certain variety. Still we can make conclusions which hold true for the most part and therein lies the scientific character of ethics (4, par. 7.20-27).<sup>27</sup>

After the discussion of the subject matter of ethics, Peter considers the aim of moral philosophy. He distinguishes between theoretical and practical science by concentrating upon the aim or purpose of the science. He says that every science proceeds by distinction, definition and demonstration. Speculative sciences are for the sake of contemplation alone: they do not necessarily lead to action though they give rise to knowledge. Practical sciences, on the other hand, have a purpose beyond the acquisition of knowledge, for they have a certain utility. In the case of moral philosophy, man discerns a goal beyond the dissipation of ignorance about morals: the study of ethics makes men good by teaching them the right way to act. This science then must be practical (5, par. 4). Peter's arguments reflect the Aristotelian division of sciences into contemplative and practical, a distinction generally adopted in the Middle Ages.<sup>28</sup>

### *Questions 6-8*

Questions 6 through 8 consider man as a moral agent and the faculties by which he makes moral choices: the appetite, the will and the intellect. In question 6 Peter examines a basic Platonic and Aristotelian premise that 'all things seek the good'. Peter asks whether the appetite can possibly pursue evil.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *Lect.* 2.2-5 and 28-33. Questions 3 and 4 of Peter's commentary correspond to the first two questions of Albert's prologue.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *Lect.* 2.2-5; *EN* 1.3 (1094b11-23).

<sup>28</sup> *Lect.* 4.16-19. Peter does not use here Thomas' method of distinguishing the sciences, which is based upon the relationship between human reason and the science itself (*Sent.* 4.25-43); see also questions 5 and 6 of the commentary of Thomas on the *De trinitate* of Boethius and the bibliography in A. Maurer, trans., *St. Thomas Aquinas. The Division and the Method of the Sciences. Questions V and VI of His Commentary on the De trinitate of Boethius*, 3rd rev. edition (Toronto, 1963).

Following Thomas Aquinas, Peter concludes that no one desires evil except under the guise of goodness; everything which the appetite pursues must have a 'ratio boni' (6, par. 6.20-23).<sup>29</sup> Man can pursue evil only if it appears to him as good. Thus, evil is never desired *per se*, but only *per accidens* (6, par. 6.23-31). Even suicide, the greatest of evils, appears to the one who takes his own life as a good action, which can release him from his misfortunes (6, par. 11).

Gauthier has shown how greatly the work of Thomas Aquinas influenced Peter's conclusions concerning the principles of human action.<sup>30</sup> All human moral activities proceed from the will and the intellect according to Thomas and Peter. Peter affirms with Thomas the supremacy of the intellect in question 7, because intellectual cognition of the desired object must simply and naturally precede the act of volition (7, par. 6).<sup>31</sup>

Question 8 asks whether man is sufficient of himself for the operations of life. Peter responds that no being other than God is self-sufficient with respect to existence. Peter, however, is not concerned with self-sufficient existence, because man needs certain external goods in all his activities, if only food and shelter, to keep him alive (8, par. 4). In this question Peter suggests his answer to a much more difficult problem, the role of external goods in human happiness. In words reminiscent of Thomas' commentary on the *EN*, Peter claims that worldly goods 'embellish' (*decorant*) human life and make virtuous actions easier to perform (8, par. 5).<sup>32</sup> The final resolution to the vexing problem of the effect of fortune on human happiness comes later in the questions.<sup>33</sup>

### Questions 9-10

Questions 9 and 10 begin the analysis of the text of Aristotle, and concentrate upon the concept of the good as described in the opening lines of the *EN*. According to Peter, Aristotle's first conclusion means that all things have a natural inclination towards their own perfection. Because the perfection of

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *Sent.* 5.158-64.

<sup>30</sup> Gauthier, 'Les *Questiones*', 244-47; cf. *Sent.* 5.128-48.

<sup>31</sup> Compare the conclusions in our questions with those of Peter's later work, *Quodlibet* I.6: *Actus autem omnis voluntatis rationem habet ex actu intellectus, siquidem obiectum voluntatis primum est bonum apprehensum vel intellectum, ut alias declaratum fuit. Ergo omnis actus reflexus in natura intellectuali rationem habet immediate vel per medium ex actu intellectus primo* (ed. Muller, 'Les critiques de la thèse de Jean Quidort', 154).

Could 'alias' refer to the questions on the *EN*?

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *Sent.* 58-59.116-21: 'Si bona < fortunae >, conferent ad hoc quod vita hominis sit beator, quia, sicut supra dictum est, felicitas indiget exterioribus bonis vel ad decorem vel in quantum sunt instrumenta operationis secundum virtutem; et quantum ad primum dicit quod nata sunt simul decorare vitam felicitis.'

<sup>33</sup> See book I, question 35 (below, pp. 76-77).

anything is its own good (*suum bonum*), each thing necessarily seeks the good (9, par. 4-5). For Peter, as for other thirteenth-century commentators on the *EN*, the end and the good can be considered as synonyms; when the good, therefore, is said to be sought by each thing its end is also so desired (10, par. 5 and cf. 14, par. 4).<sup>34</sup>

The conclusion that each thing seeks its ultimate perfection leads Peter to a consideration of the end itself. In the response to the question whether all things desire one good,<sup>35</sup> Peter makes a distinction which will reappear throughout the remainder of his work. He distinguishes between two aspects of the end. An end, he says, can be understood in two ways: (1) *finis quo* which is the perfection of anything whereby it is perfected; (2) *finis cuius* which is the end by participation in which something is perfected (10, par. 6.15-18).<sup>36</sup>

The immediate source for Peter's twofold distinction within the end is the *Summa theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas. Thomas says that an end can be viewed in two ways: as *finis cuius* and as *finis quo*. Considered in the first way the end is the object in which the nature of goodness is found. Taken in the second way the end is the use of the aforesaid object. Thomas offers the example of the final human end, which as the *finis cuius* can only be God; as the *finis quo* the end for man can be considered to be the pursuit of this *finis cuius* or the activity by which God is known and loved.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> For the doctrine of the good as end in Albert and his predecessors, see J. Schneider, *Das Gute und die Liebe nach der Lehre Alberts des Grossen* (Veröffentlichungen des Grabmann-Institutes zur Erforschung der mittelalterlichen Theologie und Philosophie N.F. 3; Munich-Paderborn-Vienna, 1967), especially pp. 79-85. For Thomas, see *Sent.* 31.30-41 and *ST* 1-2, 4 ad 1. For the source of Peter's response to the objection that inanimate objects do not seek the good (9.1), see Eustratius' commentary on the first book of the *EN* (*Comm.*, pp. 12-13). Cf. *Alberti Magni De bono*, tr. 1, q. 1 (*Alberti Magni ... Opera omnia* 28; Münster in W., 1951), p. 2.49-53 and also *Lect.* 7.9-17; cf. Thomas, *Sent.* 5.165-83, and the commentator of V, fol. 2va-b.

<sup>35</sup> Much of the discussion which follows is derived from Eustratius' response to the same question (*Comm.*, p. 13). The answers of Albert and Thomas are found in *Lect.* 7.25-54 and *Sent.* 5.175-82 respectively.

<sup>36</sup> The notion of a specific end or goal participating in the universal end is common in the thirteenth century: see *Comm.*, p. 13, where Eustratius distinguishes between the good *simpliciter* and *bonum quoddam*. Albert distinguishes between a *finis extra*, to which all created goods are related, and particular ends (*De bono* 10.28-33); cf. Albert's *Ethicorum libri X* (*Paraphrasis*), lib. 1, tr. 2, c. 4 in *B. Alberti Magni ... Opera omnia*, ed. A. Borgnet (Paris, 1891), p. 22a, and *Lect.* 6.52-55. Thomas Aquinas argues that all goods must be similar to, and participate in, the simply highest good. By means of participation, the highest good or the absolutely final end is said to be that which all things seek (*Sent.* 5.175-82).

<sup>37</sup> *ST* 1-2, 1, 8; cf. *ibid.* 1-2, 2, 7. See also W. Kluxen, *Philosophisches Ethik bei Thomas von Aquin* (Mainz, 1964), pp. 120-21. The distinction is not Thomas' own; its source is Aristotle's *De anima* 2.4 (415b20-21 and 415b2-3). It acquired its Latin form from the commentary on the *De anima* by Averroes (*Commentarium magnum in Aristotelis De anima libros*, ed. F. S. Crawford [Corpus commentariorum Averrois in Aristotelem 6.1; Cambridge, Mass., 1953], pp. 183-84). Compare the text of the translation of Aristotle there with that found in *Averrois commentarius Aristotelis De anima* (Venice, 1574), fol. 67v and t. c. 35, fol. 68r. The first application of the

Eustratius also knew and used the twofold distinction within the end,<sup>38</sup> but he, like Thomas, did not apply it to the first book of Aristotle's *EN*. The reason why Eustratius considers such a concept as not pertinent to his commentary lies in his expressed interest to explain only the words of the Philosopher.<sup>39</sup> Thomas' reluctance to use the notion of the *finis cuius* when discussing the passages where Aristotle treats the final end for man stems from similar reasons. Thomas has no desire to discuss the final end *simpliciter* (*finis cuius*) in his commentary on the *EN*, because he intends to examine only the highest of all goods operable by man (*summum omnium operatorum*).<sup>40</sup> Human efforts alone (*finis quo*) are the subject of moral science. The consideration of the *finis cuius*, in Thomas' opinion, lies outside the scope of the *EN* and is properly reserved for theological investigations.<sup>41</sup>

Thomas Aquinas' successors felt no such reluctance to include a discussion of the *finis cuius* in their commentaries on the *EN*. The innovation of Peter of Auvergne lies not in the distinction itself but in its application to Aristotle's concept of the human good. For the first time a medieval commentator on the *EN* considers the end not only as human activity but also as the final object of the activity.

Peter of Auvergne applies the distinction in the end directly to the human good when he says that the *finis cuius* is the *finis hominis* because man is made both good and happy through participation in the first being. As a result, Peter concludes that further distinctions are appropriate to the human end. If the *finis cuius* of man is the absolute first being, then it must be a universal extrinsic end. If, on the other hand, the *finis quo* is the human operation, then it must be a distinct individual intrinsic end (10, par. 6.18-26).<sup>42</sup>

It is not difficult to see why the distinction within the end was applied to Aristotle's teachings by Peter of Auvergne. Albert and Thomas rightly dismissed the question of the first cause as irrelevant to Aristotle's work, but they left some important questions unanswered in the minds of their successors. For example, if each person contemplates the highest being, is the end not, in some way, the same for everyone? or if the good is one, how can perfection be diverse in different people? Peter of Auvergne provided the new direction

distinction to the concept of Christian beatitude seems to be William of Auxerre's *Summa aurea*; see R. Guindon, *Béatitude et théologie morale chez saint Thomas d'Aquin* (Ottawa, 1956), p. 54.

<sup>38</sup> Eustratius 6.2 in Eton, Eton College Library ms. 122, fol. 104vb.

<sup>39</sup> *Comm.*, p. 5.

<sup>40</sup> *Sent.* 14.14-21.

<sup>41</sup> *Sent.* 9.193-201.

<sup>42</sup> Later commentators, such as James of Douai (?) (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 14698 [= J], fols. 133va-134vb) and John of Tytynsale (D 200vb-206ra, *passim*), reject Peter's assertion that the *finis extrinsecus* and the *finis cuius* are identical. I plan to examine their innovations in a future article.

which was required to resolve such questions when he introduced the concept of the twofold nature of the end into a commentary on the *EN*.

### *Questions 11-17*

After his discussion of the relationship between the good and the end, Peter concentrates specifically upon the end and its role in ethics. The end, he says, directs and orders all human actions. Insofar as man is man, all his operations must have a purpose or a goal. Thus, all human activities can be reduced ultimately to some primary cause (11, par. 4). For example, if a person desires knowledge, the goal of the acquisition of knowledge will direct all his subsequent choices concerning education: he may prefer a university degree in philosophy to a technical degree. If, on the other hand, the acquisition of money is his primary concern, his choice of courses will certainly differ (11, par. 5). The end gives meaning to subsequent actions and human operations derive their nature and worth from the object of volition. Such an object is both the beginning (*principium*) and the end (*terminus*) of all human actions (12, par. 5-6).

The preceding discussion of the end does not specify any particular end which man pursues. In questions 13 to 16 Peter considers the relevance of the ultimate end to moral philosophy. He argues that, if everything in a genus derives its nature from the end, the end must exist for anything else in the genus to exist (13, par. 5). In the case of human actions the will must have an end or purpose to direct its actions (13, par. 6). Like Aristotle, Peter distinguishes between an essential order which does not permit an infinite regression and an accidental order which may be infinite (13, par. 7). When we direct our moral choices to achieve some goal there can be no infinite regression; an end must direct all our actions (14, par. 4).

Not only must a person have a final end, he must direct all his moral choices to attain his end. Order arises from a conscious effort to attain a goal. One must know the end and arrange one's activities accordingly. For example, a doctor does not operate until he has made a diagnosis. Only after the doctor has discovered what he needs to do (the end), can he then proceed to prescribe the best medicine. Although the medical efforts precede the restoration of the healthy body in execution, they depend upon the physician's concept of health. Peter concludes, therefore, that in all actions knowledge of the end is necessary (15, par. 4).

In the final question concerning the nature of the end Peter considers the way in which knowledge of the end pertains specifically to moral philosophy. He reiterates his notion of the end as either intrinsic or extrinsic. The ultimate intrinsic end is the substance and perfection of man. The intrinsic end, however, is ordered to the extrinsic end which consists in the understanding of

the separate substances. Peter now claims that each of these ends can be further subdivided: either according to its substance or according to its role in human affairs. We can easily see how this new division is applied to the external end. In the human act of contemplating the separate substances man attains his true good. The end of *intelligere*, the separate substances, can be regarded in themselves or insofar as they are the final object of human desire. In the first instance, the separate substances are not the concern of the moral philosopher, who seeks to know the separate substances only as the end of human activities (16, par. 4).

Peter never answers the question how the double characteristic of the end can be applied to the intrinsic human end. We must ask ourselves how the internal perfection of a person can be considered according to its substance alone and not as an end of human operations. Perhaps we could argue that the soul wherein the understanding of the separate substances occurs can be understood as the intrinsic end according to its substance, but Peter never expresses such an opinion and restricts all further references of the dual nature of the human end to the external end. The twofold distinction within the intrinsic end is abandoned by Peter's successors and Peter himself seems to realize the inapplicability of such a division to the internal human end.

What remains in Peter's doctrine of the end can be summarized as follows: the extrinsic end or the *finis cuius*, which can be understood *in se* or in its relationship to human actions, is the separate substances; the intrinsic end or the *finis quo* is the human operation itself.

### Questions 18-19

Questions 18 and 19 concern Aristotle's discussion of the proper student of ethics. Aristotle himself realized that the discussion of the suitable age and temperament for a student of moral philosophy is peripheral to the topic of the first book of the *EN*.<sup>43</sup> Peter adds nothing to Aristotle's belief that experience and self-control make a person receptive to moral teachings (18, par. 4 and cf. 19, par. 4).

### Questions 20-23

In questions 20 to 23 Peter considers common opinions about happiness. Everyone agrees that happiness is the human good, but there is a diversity of opinion concerning the constitution of happiness. Many people consider pleasure to be the highest human good and the main element of happiness because all people seek the pleasurable (20, par. 1).<sup>44</sup> Before Peter can discuss

<sup>43</sup> *EN* 1.3 (1095a11-14); *Lect.* 13-14.39-14 and *Sent.* 11-12.70-160.

<sup>44</sup> Note that Peter does not distinguish between *voluptas* and *delectatio* (20.7.33-34).

pleasure as the ultimate human good, he must first define it. He says that pleasure is 'that by which something is primarily brought by the appetite to the good.' The desire for pleasure, therefore, spurs the will to seek an object. Once the object is attained, then pleasure results (20, par. 4).

Both the senses and the intellect can be satisfied by the acquisition of the good. When the sensitive appetite is united to its object both satisfaction and pleasure result (20, par. 5-6.19-22). Peter dismisses sensual pleasure as an adequate account of happiness because sensual pleasures remain in the lower part of man, but the *summum bonum hominis* must occur in the highest human faculty, the intellect (20, par. 6.22-28). Peter does not discuss intellectual pleasure here, probably because he reserved this topic for the tenth book of the *EN*, where Aristotle speaks of pleasure as a concomitant feature of happiness. Peter merely states that the highest human good does not consist in pleasure, but in the union of the appetite with the good. Pleasure then results as the *accidens felicitatis* (20, par. 7).

Peter follows very closely the teachings of Aristotle, when he dismisses both honor and riches as possible definitions of happiness. Both honor and riches are sought *propter aliud* and, as such, cannot constitute happiness which is the *bonum propter se* (20, par. 8 and cf. 21, par. 4).<sup>45</sup>

#### Questions 24-26

Peter returns to a consideration of the *finis hominis* when he examines Aristotle's response to the Platonic doctrine of the separate good. Despite Aristotle's criticisms of the notion of the universal good, Peter, as a Christian, cannot simply abandon the Platonic idea. In his response to the question concerning the existence of the separate good (q. 24), Peter draws three conclusions which hardly differ from those of other thirteenth-century commentators: (1) there must necessarily be some separate good in nature; (2) the separate good does not have the same nature as lesser goods; (3) all other things are good by participation in the separate good (24, par. 5).<sup>46</sup>

His conclusion concerning the necessary existence of a separate good naturally gives rise to the question whether human happiness does not in some way consist in such a good. Peter first presents the view that as the final end is the ultimate good for man, then it is reasonable to assume that *felicitas* consists in the separate good, which is the final end (25, par. 1). If, on the other hand, happiness is proper to each person, how can a separate good, which is common to all, be that in which the human good consists (25, par. 2)?

<sup>45</sup> Cf. *EN* 1.4 (1095b22-1096a9); *Lect.* 21-23.26-64; *Sent.* 19-20.83-216.

<sup>46</sup> *De bono* 10.28-33; *Sent.* 27.198-210 and 29.26-34. Cf. *Comm.*, pp. 8-9 and V 3va: '... ideo dico quod bonum est multiplicatum sui.... Sed sequitur quod propter istum finem sint multa alia bona particularia ordinata ad ipsum ... et ista bona particularia multiplicabunt se in eadem specie.'

Peter argues in the determination of question 25 that happiness is indeed human perfection, but he quickly shifts the focus of his arguments from individual human fulfilment to the now familiar distinction between the *finis cuius* and the *finis quo*. The end, he says, is twofold: either the operation or perfection which is ordered to an end; or the object of the operation. The end considered in the second manner is better than the end viewed in the first way because the goodness of the operation is derived from that of the object. Peter applies the distinction directly to the concept of happiness when he concludes that the object of intellectual activity is more of a good than the activity itself. Without the object of speculation all human intellectual activity would be futile. If one should call happiness a human operation, then the separate subsistent good is not happiness; only if happiness refers to the object of speculation is it that good (25, par. 4-5.12-23).

Peter, like Albert and Thomas, realizes that Aristotle treated the *finis hominis* as a human operation alone.<sup>47</sup> According to Peter, Aristotle in the *EN* had no interest in the end understood as the object of contemplation. The concern of the Philosopher is, in Peter's terms, the *finis quo*, or human activity alone. Aristotle distinguished between the *finis cuius* and the *finis quo* in the *De anima* so that confusion concerning the nature of the end might be avoided (25, par. 5.23-25).

We have reached a crucial point in the questions of Peter of Auvergne and indeed in the history of medieval moral philosophy. No longer do the commentators on the *EN* dismiss the separate good, God, as irrelevant to ethics. Spurred by the condemnations of 1277 they seek to define the way in which God is the same end for all mankind and how happiness remains an individual operation. The originality of Peter's questions lies in his application of the distinction of the end to Aristotle's notion of happiness. Peter's response to the problem of the role of the subsistent good in happiness is echoed by most of the commentators of the last two decades of the thirteenth century.<sup>48</sup> Despite

<sup>47</sup> Albert says that he wishes to discover the 'ultimum vel optimum inter operata bona ... scilicet felicitas' (*Lect.* 31.32-33). The *bonum simpliciter*, which Albert says is one, is not sought in ethics (*Lect.* 32.74-81). Thomas says that he will consider only the *summum omnium operatorum* (*Sent.* 14.14-21).

<sup>48</sup> James of Douai (?) refuses to consider the object of contemplation in his commentary, claiming that happiness is one by definition and not by its object:

Concedo quod unus sit finis ultimus omnium hominum, unus in ratione.... Iste etiam finis ultimus est unus secundum nomen quia omnes appellaverunt eum fel <icit> atem.... Secundo modo tunc dico quod non est idem finis ultimus apud diversos ... quidam rationem finis querunt ... in honoribus ... diuiciis (J 134vb).

More representative of the period is Giles of Orléans' (?) response:

Finis extrinsecus hominis est deus, bonum separatum cui coniungitur <homo> per contemplacionem ... finis etiam intrinsecus eius ultimus non, sed magis consistit in operatione propria contemplativa... (G 198vb).

their appreciation of Aristotle's reluctance to discuss the object of human contemplation in a treatise on practical philosophy, the arts masters consider the *finis cuius* to be a proper concern of moral philosophy. They never ignore, however, Aristotle's *dictum* to refrain from seeking more precision than the subject requires. The late thirteenth-century commentators on the *EN* are content to examine the nature of the end only insofar as it pertains to their understanding of *felicitas*. The concept of the separate good as the end of human desire belongs to their science, but not a discussion of the nature of the first good.

### Questions 27-29

After his description of the good and its relationship to human happiness, Peter turns his attention to a more specific definition of happiness itself. The first condition which the characterization of the human end must meet is that it describes a perfect good. By 'perfect' Peter means that which lacks nothing which can possibly belong to it. Happiness fulfills the requirement because it includes, orders and gives reason to all human goods. Peter qualifies the description by stating that happiness includes all the goods of man insofar as he is man (27, par. 4). Peter adds the qualification in order to avoid the problem of including within his definition of happiness all possible external goods, such as

The anonymous commentators of Erfurt Amplon. F 13, fol. 88va and Erlangen 213, fol. 51ra (both manuscripts fully cited above, n. 20) have essentially the same response as Giles of Orléans (?). The commentator of V states:

Finis extrinsecus omnium humanarum operacionum est prima causa ... ergo ... finis extrinsecus ... operacionum ... est unus numero (V 4ra).

The position of John of Tytynsale is too complex to treat here. The pre-1250 commentators on the *Ethica nova* considered God as an important factor in ethics, but most of them misinterpreted Aristotle's notion of happiness by identifying God with Aristotle's *summum bonum hominis*. The anonymous commentator of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 3804a and 3572 identifies Aristotle's notion of happiness with the Christian concept of beatitude. See R.-A. Gauthier, 'Le cours sur l'*Ethica nova* d'un maître ès Arts de Paris (1235-1240)', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 42 (1975) 77-82. In a commentary erroneously attributed to John Pecham, the author characterizes happiness as divine goodness:

Bonum autem duplex est: divinum id est a deo collatum, ut felicitas... (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Conv. soppr. G.4.853, fol. 1ra).

Only Robert Kilwardby, among pre-1250 commentators on the *EN*, clearly distinguishes between Aristotle's concept of happiness and the beatific vision, which consists in the intuitive knowledge of God. Kilwardby realizes that the philosophers' happiness is to be attained on earth:

... philosophi loquentes de felicitate, posuerunt eam esse vitam aliquam bonam et operacionem bonam, quia dixerunt eam esse idem quod bene vivere et bene operari... (Cambridge, Peterhouse 206, fol. 290vb and Prague, Státní knihovna ČSR III F 10, fol. 7ra).

For a very different interpretation of the texts cited above, see G. Wieland, *Ethica – Scientia practica. Die Anfänge der philosophischen Ethik im 13. Jahrhundert* (BGPTM N.F. 21; Münster i.W., 1981), especially pp. 102-103.

wealth, power, healthy children and the like. Happiness includes all the essential goods of man and it is the goal to which all his actions are directed (27, par. 5).<sup>49</sup>

We see in Peter's description of happiness the close connection between the concepts of happiness and the good. Just as all human activities derive their meaning from their contribution to the attainment of happiness, so too do all goods derive their nature of goodness from the first good.<sup>50</sup> We can observe the careful and orderly progression from the discussion of more general topics, such as the nature of the good and the end, to the more specific treatment of the final human good, happiness.

In question 28 Peter considers an aspect of happiness which featured in the condemned propositions of 1277. Peter asks whether happiness is a caused good. Rather than resolving here the specific problem, and the immediate source of the censured thesis, of the role of divine causality in the production of happiness, Peter is content to answer the question in a general fashion.<sup>51</sup> In his determination Peter once more appeals to the Philosopher's distinction between the *finis cuius* and the *finis quo*. If happiness, which consists in the operation of understanding (*intelligere*), is considered as the *finis cuius*, then happiness is uncaused. The object of the intellect is the first cause, the uncaused good (28, par. 5). If, however, we speak of happiness as a human operation or the *finis quo*, it must proceed from the form of the intellect and, as such, is a caused good (28, par. 6).

Peter explains the distinction of the end by an example borrowed from the *Summa theologiae*. If we compare happiness to the spending of money we can see clearly the distinction between the *finis cuius* and the *finis quo*. The money itself is the same for all and can be compared to the separate uncaused good which all men desire (*finis cuius*). The use of the money will differ according to individual desires and is analogous to the operation of understanding which differs for all men (28, par. 4).<sup>52</sup>

Happiness as a *finis quo* is called an operation because it is the perfection of man according to his form. Neither the form nor the habits which produce moral actions constitute happiness because they are both ordered to something else. Only the operation to which all other actions are ordered satisfies the conditions of the good for man; happiness, therefore, consists in an operation (29, par. 6-7).<sup>53</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Cf. *Lect.* 34.23-54; *Sent.* 32-33.99-180.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. question 12 (below, pp. 48-49).

<sup>51</sup> Later in the commentary Peter resolves the question of divine causality (question 38).

<sup>52</sup> Cf. *ST* 1-2, 3, 1 and 1-2, 2, 7.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. *Lect.* 37-38.65-50; *Sent.* 35.29-45.

The preliminary discussion of the nature of happiness is now finished. Peter has explained that happiness is the perfect good which lacks nothing in itself; it is caused insofar as it is the operation of man; it is neither a form nor a *habitus*, but that to which both are directed, an operation.

### *Questions 30-37*

In questions 30 to 37 Peter turns to a consideration of the specific operation from which happiness results. *Felicitas* cannot be an operation of the sensitive soul, because it consists in an operation whereby man *secundum quam homo* is united to the object of his desires, the *summum bonum*. Because such a union cannot occur in the senses alone, happiness cannot be an activity of the sensitive soul (30, par. 4).

The qualification 'secundum quam homo' assures the reader of Peter's reluctance to consider otherworldly happiness in his questions. He makes his position clear when he says that happiness does not occur without the operation of the senses. In order to speculate we need the phantasms, which result from sense experience (30, par. 6).<sup>54</sup> If Peter were considering the beatific vision, he would have to mention the possibility of a direct knowledge of God without the mediation of the senses; but the way in which man is joined to the highest good *on earth* is the sole concern of a treatise on ethics.

Because Peter has already considered the primacy of the intellect over the will, he concludes that happiness, which is the highest human operation, must occur in the intellect (31, par. 5-6).<sup>55</sup> The will is brought towards the good, is satisfied and derives pleasure from its attainment, but happiness does not consist in pleasure or the satisfaction of the will; happiness, therefore, must occur in the intellect (31, par. 8).

Peter argues that if happiness is an operation of the intellect it must be either speculative or practical, since these are the two ways in which man reasons. The virtues which perfect the practical intellect are prudence and temperance; the perfections of the speculative intellect are understanding, wisdom, science, art and the like. Peter concludes that happiness itself must be twofold because *felicitas* consists in the perfections of the intellect. Peter goes so far as to say that there are two happinesses (*due felicitates*), political and speculative (32, par. 5.19-27).

Peter's interpretation of Aristotle's concept of happiness shows the direct influence of Albert the Great. Both Peter and Albert have extended Aristotle's account of happiness as human perfection in speaking of two perfections of the rational parts of the soul. They define moral virtue as a second and lesser type

<sup>54</sup> Cf. *Sent.* 36.97-107.

<sup>55</sup> See question 7 (below, pp. 42-43); cf. *Lect.* 39.88-91.

of happiness and claim that speculative operations constitute the primary type of *felicitas* (32, par. 5-6).<sup>56</sup> Peter then defines the highest kind of happiness as the union of man with the highest good (33, par. 4).

It is important to realize that, when Peter speaks of the union of man with the first cause, he does not have in mind the beatific vision whereby man has intuitive knowledge of the separate good. The union of which Peter speaks is the harmony between the object contemplated and the one who contemplates. Peter defines true earthly happiness as the exclusively intellectual activity of contemplation of the separate substances (32, par. 9).

Practical happiness is relegated to a means by which man attains the right frame of mind for contemplation by subduing his passions. Morally virtuous actions are no longer a constituent element of the highest good; they are transformed into an instrument for achieving the final end (32, par. 7).<sup>57</sup> Peter

<sup>56</sup> 'Et sic secundum duos ordines duo sunt summe bona hominis, quorum tamen unum ordinatur ad alterum, scilicet civilis ad contemplativam...' (*Lect.* 32-33.88-13). Thomas Aquinas understands Aristotle to mean that happiness consists more principally in the contemplative life than in the active life. He never claims in the *Sent.* that there are two happinesses (*Sent.* 36.114-21). Thomas seems to attack directly the position of his former master when he denies that happiness can be defined as prudence, the virtue by which the practical intellect is perfected. Thomas understands Aristotle to mean that happiness consists in *both* intellectual and moral virtue (*Sent.* 43.124-33 and 165-69). Albert's interpretation of two distinct happinesses gained almost universal acceptance in the late thirteenth century:

James of Douai (?): 'Ista igitur duo optima inveniuntur in homine, sed unum ad aliud ordinatur. Felicitas enim civilis ordinatur ad felicitatem contemplativam' (J 137va)

Giles of Orléans (?): 'Due etiam felicitates sunt hominis... scilicet felicitas contemplativa et felicitas politica' (G 198vb)

John of Tytynsale: 'Dicendum quod duplex est felicitas: una civilis et alia contemplativa' (D 208va)

the commentator of V: 'Duplex est felicitas: contemplativa.... Alia est felicitas practica' (V 6vb).

<sup>57</sup> Again Albert is the source of Peter's response:

... omne regimen quod est per civilem, quaeritur propter quietem, in qua libere possit esse contemplatio (*Lect.* 33.10-13).

Peter's contemporaries also agree with Albert:

James of Douai (?): 'Felicitas civilis removet impedimenta <ad> speculacionem' (J 137va)

Giles of Orléans (?): '... quod prudencia est procuratrix sapiencie, parans ei vacationem, passiones temperans' (G 198vb)

John of Tytynsale: 'Felicitas civilis ordinatur ad contemplativam ... ut quedam expurgatrix eorum que impediunt contemplacionem' (D 208va)

the commentator of V: 'Virtutes habent precedere sciencias, quia oportet scientem prius esse sedatum a passionibus; modo non potest esse sedatus ab ipsis, nisi habeat virtutes morales' (V 10ra).

Only Thomas Aquinas avoids the position of two separate happinesses:

Ille enim qui habet habitum perfectum semper potest operari secundum illum habitum vel maxime continue inter omnes; sed felix habet perfectam virtutem ... ergo ipse semper vel maxime poterit operari in vita activa quae sunt secundum virtutem et speculari in vita contemplativa (*Sent.* 58.84-90).

goes so far as to say that happiness does not consist in practical activity (32, par. 6.33-34).

Pleasure, Peter insists, always results from happiness because the union of man with the separate good completely satisfies the human appetite. Peter has already defined pleasure as the fulfilment of the desires of the appetite,<sup>58</sup> and his definition leads him to conclude that pleasure is necessarily joined to the attainment of the human good. Thus, the good, and not the pursuit of pleasure, leads a person to good actions (34, par. 4).

The final questions concerning happiness consider a very important topic in Aristotelian ethics: the role of external goods in the production of happiness. Questions 35 to 37, in which Peter discusses the effect of external goods such as health, riches and friendship on happiness, are related to the broader and more important questions concerning the cause and duration of happiness. If the goods of fortune are necessary to human perfection, then man's ultimate achievement will rely to some extent on factors outside his control. If, on the other hand, the external goods are not important, then a moral philosopher would be forced to admit that a man on the rack could be as happy as the most contented citizen of Paris.

Peter resolves the question of the role of external goods in the production of happiness by turning again to the responses of Albert and Thomas. In language very similar to his two Dominican predecessors, Peter distinguishes between two kinds of external goods: (1) those which are absolutely indispensable to human existence, such as food, drink and the like (35, par. 4 and cf. 36, par. 4.13-15); (2) those which are useful for the maintenance of the good life, such as money, a fine home, etc. (36, par. 4.18-20).<sup>59</sup> Peter concludes that only the first type of external good is necessary for virtuous activity. Without them there can be no human operation and thus no human happiness (35, par. 5 and cf. 36, par. 4.15-16).<sup>60</sup> External goods of the second kind, although not necessary for happiness, do permit a person to achieve his aim more easily. Friends and money are particularly helpful in the pursuit of civil happiness because man can

<sup>58</sup> See p. 14 above.

<sup>59</sup> *Paraphrasis* (cited above, n. 36), lib. 1, tr. 7, c. 7 (p. 118a-b); cf. *Lect.* 54.60-68 and *Paraphrasis*, lib. 1, tr. 7, c. 11 (p. 123b). See also *Sent.* 47-48.144-76 and 57.8-17.

<sup>60</sup> Albert is the first medieval commentator to distinguish *felicitas secundum esse* from *felicitas secundum posse*. *Felicitas secundum esse* consists in the exercise of reason. *Felicitas secundum posse* is happiness considered as virtuous actions together with all possible external goods (*Lect.* 60.78-84, 22.37-45, 51.22-34, 69.68-72; *Paraphrasis*, lib. 1, tr. 7, c. 14 [p. 127b]). Thomas distinguishes between *felicitas secundum optimum quod esse potest* and *felicitas essentialiter*. The distinctive factor between the two types of happiness is the enjoyment of external goods (*Sent.* 57.8-10 and 59-60.203-209). See my 'The Notion of Worldly Beatitude in the Writings of Thomas Aquinas', forthcoming in the *Journal of the History of Philosophy*.

perform his civic duties more easily as a wealthy member of a society (36, par. 4.20-25 and 37, par. 6).<sup>61</sup>

### Questions 38-42

The entire discussion of the role of external goods in the human good is directed towards the more important questions on the cause and duration of happiness. Peter of Auvergne seriously considers two of the three possible causes, which are discussed by Aristotle in the first book of the *EN*: God and man.<sup>62</sup> If God or chance is the cause of happiness, then man's ultimate good is subject to forces outside his control and the usefulness of ethics could be seriously questioned.

Peter's questions add very little to the debate on the cause of happiness in the thirteenth century. Peter states that happiness is caused by God acting in us as well as by our own actions. *Felicitas*, he says, must originate in God because everything proceeds from the first cause. Since all ends are ultimately reduced to the final end, happiness as the *finis hominis* must be reduced to the *primum agens* (38, par. 4).

Peter has already sketched a preliminary response to the problem of the cause of happiness in question 28. He has said that as the *finis cuius* happiness is uncaused separate good; as the *finis quo* happiness is indeed something which must have a cause.<sup>63</sup> In question 38 Peter is concerned solely with the *finis quo*, which is the operation whereby man achieves his own happiness.

According to Peter, God cannot cause happiness in man, unless man himself has some part in its production. He argues that an extrinsic cause, such as God, cannot produce an accident, such as happiness, in man, unless there is a mediating substantial form; a universal cause in most cases needs an instrumental agent for what it gives. Because happiness is the proper accident of man, God needs the mediating substantial form of man. Thus, virtue is the immediate cause of happiness, which man himself acquires through habit, training and experience (38, par. 5).<sup>64</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Albert speaks of external goods as cooperating in the production of civil happiness (*Lect.* 54.65-68).

<sup>62</sup> *EN* 1.9 (1099b8-10). Peter ignores the possibility of chance as the cause of happiness in this question. For an examination of the cause of happiness in Aristotle and his medieval commentators, see Gauthier, 'Trois commentaires' (cited in n. 1 above), 245-53 and 269-78. Peter's response differs only slightly from those of his contemporaries.

<sup>63</sup> See p. 17 above.

<sup>64</sup> Albert calls human operations the 'propinqua causa felicitatis' and God the 'causa prima' of all (*Lect.* 55.44-49; cf. Gauthier, 'Trois commentaires', 247). Eustratius calls virtue the proximate cause of happiness and God must be favorably disposed to, and a co-worker in, its production (*Comm.*, p. 148). For Thomas, happiness comes from God 'principaliter' with man cooperating in its production (*Sent.* 50.59-62). John of Tytynsale asserts that happiness proceeds principally from a divine cause and immediately from a human one: 'Principaliter < felicitas > procedit a

In previous questions Peter has already dismissed the products of good fortune as the possible cause of happiness. Material goods do not constitute an essential part of happiness, but are only embellishments or adornments of the highest human good (35, par. 5). Even when Peter discusses Boethius' definition of happiness as the *aggregacio omnium bonorum*, he restricts himself to the definition of happiness as the activity of virtue (27, par. 6; 39, par. 3 and par. 10). Peter ignores the concept of earthly beatitude, which is found in the works of Eustratius, Albert and Thomas,<sup>65</sup> and steadfastly maintains that *felicitas* includes in itself, or orders to itself, every possible human achievement. The goods, which are ordered to happiness, are none other than the external goods of fortune. If the misfortune which results from the loss of external goods is ordered by reason, man can remain happy despite his setbacks. Man with the help of the first cause, who preserves all beings, remains responsible for the achievement of his own happiness (39, par. 8).

After his resolution of the difficult problem of the cause of happiness, Peter considers the question whether happiness can be obtained during one's lifetime. Such a question, which was first resolved by Aristotle, takes on added significance after the condemnations of 1277. Peter, like his contemporaries, exercises great care in his responses to the problem of earthly happiness. A preliminary answer can be found in question 29 of Peter's commentary. There Peter has distinguished between *felicitas* as it consists in use (*finis quo*) and as it consists in the object (*finis cuius*). The *finis quo* is the perfection of man according to his very form (29, par. 6). By emphasizing the *felicitas*, which consists in use, Peter implies a contrast between happiness as the *finis quo* and supernatural beatitude, which is the ultimate end of human existence. Peter

causa divina; immediate tamen a causa humana, cum sit operacio hominis voluntaria' (D 210vb). For the positions of Peter's other contemporaries see Gauthier, 'Trois commentaires', 269-78.

<sup>65</sup> The concepts of 'beatus in politicis' (*Comm.*, p. 163), 'felicitas secundum posse' (*Paraphrasis*, lib. 1, tr. 7, c. 14 [p. 127b]) and 'beatus sicut homines' (*Sent.* 60.215-22) arise from the consideration of the role of material goods in the production of happiness. Drawing upon Boethius' definition of the human good, the notion of earthly beatitude found in the writings of Eustratius, Albert and Thomas reflects their interpretation of Aristotle's difficult passage in which he calls men 'blessed' (*μακαρίους δ' ἀνθρώπους*) (*EN* 1.10 [1101a20]). There can be no question here of a transformation of Aristotelian ethics into Christian moral theology, as Mercken has stated. Aristotle's medieval commentators are merely exploring the ways in which bodily misfortunes detract from the full enjoyment of life. Happiness (*felicitas*) itself can only be lost by a cessation of virtuous activities, although grave disasters may tarnish earthly beatitude. See *Sent.* 47.159-62: 'et quantum ad hoc subdit quod denudari quibusdam exteriorum bonorum *coinquinat beatitudinem*, in quantum scilicet reddit hominem aliquid contemptibilem in oculis aliorum' (emphasis mine). For a far different interpretation of Thomas on this question, see H. P. F. Mercken, 'The Transformation of the Ethics of Aristotle in the Moral Philosophy of Thomas Aquinas' in *Tommaso d'Aquino nel suo settimo centenario. Atti del Congresso internazionale* 5 (Rome-Naples, 1974), pp. 151-56. See my article, 'Aristotle on Beatitude', forthcoming in *Ancient Philosophy* 5 (1985).

makes the contrast more explicit later in the same question when he says: happiness consists in an operation; although the operation is ordered to the object, we do not seek the object in the argument (29, par. 7).

In his determination of the question devoted specifically to the possibility of earthly happiness, Peter asserts that man can indeed be happy on earth through a happiness which is his perfection (39, par. 6.24-25). The activity by which man perfects himself consists in a union with the first object of knowledge: thus, the highest earthly human achievement is contemplative knowledge of God, but it is not intuitive knowledge of the divine (39, par. 6.26-29). The union of which Peter speaks is the highest achievement of man according to reason. Peter's claim that '*felicitas est summe bonum secundum rationem rectam*' corresponds directly to Albert's description of *felicitas* as the '*summum bonum operatorum*' (39, par. 8.46-48).<sup>66</sup>

The remainder of questions 39 and 40 considers the way in which happiness, once attained, can be lost. Disease, Peter says, can deprive a man of right judgment, and through irrational base actions a happy man can become wretched (40, par. 6-7). Peter is correct in identifying the essential nature of happiness with the proper exercise of reason. In an implicit, but obvious, reference to the condemned proposition 'man can be happy only in this life', Peter declares that happiness can be lost through death. However, Peter is careful to define precisely what he means by happiness: happiness, which is the perfection of man, is lost at death; this is why Aristotle says that death is the '*ultimum terribilium*' (40, par. 5). There is no question here of a denial of supernatural beatitude. Peter expresses his opinion on the subject quite clearly: happiness, as the worldly contemplative activity of man, ceases at death, as do all his other human activities. Not even the theologians can deny that.

Peter, without doubt still troubled by the possibility of a misunderstanding concerning his position on earthly happiness, asserts once and for all the difference between the philosopher's *felicitas* and the theologian's *beatitudo* in question 42. Peter says that we can speak of happiness in two ways: either the perfection of man during his life or another happiness which comes after death. The second kind of happiness is not his concern, because the state of the separate soul is not a proper subject of moral philosophy. Aristotle himself did not discuss happiness after death and Peter is content to do likewise (42, par. 4).<sup>67</sup>

<sup>66</sup> *Lect.* 14.51-54.

<sup>67</sup> Peter's contemporaries are just as careful as he is in maintaining the distinction between Aristotle's intention in the *EN* and the theologian's beatitude:

James of Douai (?): '*Si loquitur de felicitate post hanc vitam, nichil ad propositum, quia Philosophus non intendit hic de tali felicitate*' (J 138va)

The caution with which Peter and his contemporaries approach the question of earthly happiness results from the intellectual turmoil of the preceding years. The arts masters of the last quarter of the thirteenth century want no one to misinterpret their conclusions on Aristotle's *EN*. By emphasizing the aim of the Philosopher they do not deny supernatural beatitude, but maintain the distinction between what man accomplishes through his own efforts and what is achieved through grace.<sup>68</sup> Only a reader with malevolent intentions could find fault with the conclusions of Peter of Auvergne on the nature and cause of *felicitas*.

Peter's contributions to medieval moral philosophy end with his discussion on the two types of happiness. His main contribution to the study of Aristotle in the thirteenth century is his application of the distinction between the *finis cuius* and the *finis quo* to the problem of God's role in human happiness. The remainder of his commentary does not stray far from Aristotle's text and its interpretation by Albert and Thomas. Hence the rest of our survey of the contents of the questions will mention very briefly the topics covered by Peter and their source in Aristotle's *EN*.

#### Questions 43-44

Peter treats both questions as a single problem: is praise due to a happy man? He defines both honor and praise as an exhibition of reverence in testimony of virtue. Praise differs from honor merely because it is the vocal expression of reverence (44, par. 4). Following Aristotle, Peter concludes that praise results from its relation to the good, and honor belongs to that which is absolutely good in itself.<sup>69</sup> Because virtue is ordered to something else, happiness, honor and praise belong to the happy man accidentally and not *per se* (44, par. 5-6).<sup>70</sup>

Giles of Orléans (?): 'Dico quod aut Boethius loquitur de felicitate post hanc vitam, aut in hac vita. Si primo modo, non ad presens' (G 199rb)

John of Tytynsale: '... quia mortui sunt ex <tra> vitam presentem, cuius felicitatem querimus' (D 212rb)

the commentator of V: 'Tamen simpliciter perfecta felicitas non potest homini inesse in hac vita, sed magis post mortem' (V 12va).

Cf. R. Hissette, *Enquête sur les 219 articles condamnés à Paris le 7 mars 1277* (Philosophes médiévaux 22; Louvain-Paris, 1977), pp. 266-68. Despite Hissette's failure to distinguish between happiness and beatitude, his book is useful for the sources of the condemned propositions.

<sup>68</sup> Note Albert's and Thomas' lack of patience with those who mistakenly interpret Aristotle's notion of happiness (*Lect.* 75-76.71-04; *Sent.* 51.74-76). The 'quidam' mentioned by both Albert and Thomas may very well be members of the theology faculty.

<sup>69</sup> *EN* 1.12 (1101b15). Aristotle's position differs slightly from Peter's because he argues that praise belongs to virtue, which is good *in se*, and to the *εὐδαιμόν* accidentally.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. *Sent.* 63-65.1-99 and *EN* 1.12 (1101b10-35).

*Questions 45-47*

Peter examines the source of virtue in questions 45 to 47. In a question which has no parallel in the Aristotelian text, he concludes that virtue must have its source in the intellect because reason orders all human motion. Although reason works in conjunction with the will, reason is the superior faculty because the object must be apprehended by the intellect before the will can move man (45, par. 4).<sup>71</sup>

Returning to the text of Aristotle, Peter investigates the way in which reason regulates human appetites. Like Aristotle, he dismisses the possibility that beasts order their affairs rationally. Because they lack the essential element of rational behavior, the capacity for ordering, brutes cannot be called virtuous (46, par. 4).<sup>72</sup>

In the question whether the act of the sensitive appetite is ruled by reason, Peter focuses upon the primary constituent of moral virtue. Peter agrees with Aristotle in saying that the sensitive appetite is ruled by reason in a certain way, but not *simpliciter* (47, par. 6.14-15).<sup>73</sup> Peter argues that for an action to be ruled by reason it must be subject to the will; a moral philosopher, therefore, must consider how the appetite obeys the will. He first views the appetite in two ways: first, insofar as it is part of the mind; second, with respect to the faculty (*organum*) itself. As part of the human mind the sensitive appetite is subject to the higher faculty of reason. The appetite considered in itself cannot be said to follow reason, except *per accidens*, insofar as temperament may be changed by a moderate diet and lifestyle. Peter concludes that the two ways in which the appetite is considered led Aristotle to call this part of the soul both rational and irrational (47, par. 6-7).<sup>74</sup>

## Book II

*Questions 1-2*

After his consideration of the way in which virtue originates in the moral agent, Peter discusses the nature and the definition of virtue itself. He says that virtue is distinguished according to the differences among its principles, objects and ends. The first principle of moral virtues is rational only by participation.

<sup>71</sup> See p. 9 above. For a discussion of the development of the thirteenth-century doctrine of the superiority of the intellect, see Lottin, *Psychologie et morale* 1.405-24; also Gauthier, 'Le cours sur l'*Ethica nova*', 83-92. For the immediate source of Peter's response, see *ST* 1-2, 17, 1.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. *EN* 1.12 (1102b13-30) and 6.13 (1144b7-15).

<sup>73</sup> Aristotle says that the appetitive part of the soul shares in reason 'somehow' (*πῶς*) (*EN* 1.13 [1102b29-30]).

<sup>74</sup> *EN* 1.13 (1102b28-31); cf. *Sent.* 73.171-83.

On the other hand, the first principle of intellectual virtues is rational in substance. The principles thus distinguish moral virtues from intellectual (II, 1, par. 4).<sup>75</sup>

In distinguishing virtues according to their ends, Peter recalls some earlier conclusions in the commentary. Practical happiness, to which moral virtue is directed, is a different end from speculative happiness, to which intellectual virtue leads. Because the end orders all actions to itself, as we have seen,<sup>76</sup> the virtues which are ordered to the end must also differ (II, 1, par. 5).

Intellectual and moral virtues may differ according to their ends, but they are not of diverse natures. The ordering of the moral virtues to the intellectual assures us of a similarity in nature. Peter concludes that virtues are not of one nature *simpliciter*, but of one nature *secundum attributionem*, which is an analogical unity (II, 2, par. 5 and 2, par. 6.37-39).

Prudence is for Peter, as for Aristotle, the one intellectual virtue to which all moral virtues are directed, and from which all moral virtues descend. As such, prudence is the *principium* of all moral virtue (II, 2, par. 5 and 2, par. 7-8).<sup>77</sup> Peter has returned to his notion of the end which conveys meaning (*ratio*) to everything which is ordered to it. With his distinction between practical and speculative happiness, both of which are human ends, comes the distinction between moral and intellectual virtues. Peter is aware, however, of the supremacy of intellectual happiness. As a result, he realizes the importance of the intellectual virtue of prudence, which directs all human moral actions.

### Questions 3-5

Peter considers the cause of virtue in these three questions. In his response to the question whether virtues are innate, Peter argues that the act and the perfection of virtue are not in us by nature; they cannot, therefore, exist until the intellect acts. Citing Aristotle's *De anima*, Peter asserts that the intellect is nothing before it is actualized through learning. It is then clear that intellectual virtues are not innate (II, 3, par. 6).<sup>78</sup>

After dismissing the possibility of innate moral virtues, Peter concludes that virtues must be generated by human operations. He defines moral virtues as perfections of the sensitive appetite, which has an inclination to right reason. Because the sensitive appetite can turn away from the directives of right reason, it must be trained and led toward correct actions by learning and pleasure. In operations ordered by right reason moral virtues arise (II, 4, par. 4).<sup>79</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Cf. *EN* 6.1 (1138b34-1139a15). Peter is obviously familiar with the sixth book of the *EN*.

<sup>76</sup> See p. 12 above.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. *EN* 6.4 (1140a24-30) and 6.7-13 (1141a9-1145a11).

<sup>78</sup> Cf. *EN* 1.13 (1103a19-b2) and 6.13 (1141b1-12); cf. *Lect.* 93.57-67 and *Sent.* 77.71-114.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. *EN* 2.1 (1103a26-b2); *Lect.* 93.30-38; *Sent.* 78.115-31.

One moral operation is not sufficient to produce virtue. Peter argues that the more remote the passive is from the active, the more power it needs to be actualized: for example, what is cold requires more power to be heated than what is tepid. The sensitive appetite is that in which moral virtue is generated and is like (*sicut*) a passive principle. Before the acquisition of virtue the sensitive appetite is ruled by what is contrary to reason, so the effect of one operation is insufficient to produce virtue. Many operations are necessary to move the appetite to virtue (II, 5, par. 5).

Peter argues, like Aristotle, that intellectual virtue may be acquired faster than moral virtue. Because intellectual virtue arises in the intellect, which is independent of the body, a *habitus* to intellectual virtue may be generated from one intellectual experience; because of its dependence on the disposition of the body, the sensitive appetite is more inclined to wrong so that moral virtue cannot arise from one operation (II, 5, par. 6).<sup>80</sup>

#### Questions 6-9

The relationship between virtue and passion and the role of pleasure in directing the passions form the subject matter of questions 6 through 9. Aristotle displayed great interest in these topics because they form the basis for his conclusions on moral virtue. Peter is content to repeat, for the most part, the conclusions of Aristotle. Peter follows the commentator in defining passion as the motion of the appetitive part of the soul under the appearance of good and evil. Virtue then is a modification of the passions according to reason (II, 6, par. 3-4).<sup>81</sup>

Virtues themselves are not the passions because virtue is the ruler of passions and modifies them through reason. For the same reason virtues are not merely *inpassibilitates*, as the Stoics claim. Peter concludes with Aristotle that virtues are not *inpassibilitates simpliciter*, but *inpassibilitates respectu excellenciarum passionum* (II, 7, par. 4-5).<sup>82</sup> Reason allows man to stand unrelentingly against the onslaught of passionate desire. Reason, not impassivity or insensitivity, is the element which produces human excellence.

The means by which the operation is measured and judged to be virtuous are pleasure and pain. Pleasure plays an important role throughout the *EN* of Aristotle. It is the method by which a novice in ethics can be taught proper habits; it is the infallible sign of correct actions. If an activity is truly good, Aristotle claims that real pleasure must always follow. Peter agrees with Aristotle that pleasure and pain are the measure of moral activities. If an operation is in

<sup>80</sup> *EN* 2.2 (1104b1-5).

<sup>81</sup> *EN* 2.3 (1104b9-18) and 2.2 (1104a10-27); cf. *Sent.* 84.48-67.

<sup>82</sup> *EN* 2.3 (1104b18-34); cf. *Lect.* 100.13-57; *Sent.* 84-85.110-31.

accordance with the inclination or habit of the agent, pleasure results; if not, pain. In both intellectual and sensual pursuits man seeks pleasure, either as an effect of intellectual achievement or as the *principium* of sensual activity. In either case, pleasure is the rule by which the action can be measured (II, 8, par. 7).<sup>83</sup>

### Questions 10-14

In these questions Peter examines the three possible classifications of virtue as passion, potency or habit. In the preliminary treatment of the question Peter supports Aristotle's assertion that the *habitus* of virtue must exist in the mind before one can perform truly virtuous acts (II, 10, par. 4).<sup>84</sup> If, for example, a student were to perform just actions under the strict guidance of a harsh, but just, teacher, he would not be called virtuous. Only after repetition of just acts under the threat of punishment would the *habitus iusticie* be formed. The teacher would no longer be necessary and the student could flourish on his own.

Peter, like Albert and Thomas, defends Aristotle against the charge of an insufficient treatment of the qualifications of the soul. Peter argues that Aristotle omits an extensive discussion of the operations of the soul in the *EN* because he is concerned only with the principles of action (II, 11, par. 3).<sup>85</sup> What produces human activities are habit, passion and potency. Aristotle has mentioned all three in the second book of the *EN*.

Peter distinguishes the principles which direct moral activities as follows: potency is something inherent in the mind; habit is produced by external factors, custom and experience; passion is the product of what is pleasurable or painful (II, 11, par. 5). Moral virtue must be identified with one of these principles.

The passions themselves pertain only to the sensitive appetite wherein desires originate. They are not merely mental characteristics but belong also to the body. The whole composite, man, both body and soul, is moved by the passions to pursue good and avoid evil (II, 12, par. 6).<sup>86</sup>

Virtue perfects the potencies which are in the human mind. The potency to be perfected by moral virtue is either the appetite or man according to his appetite. In either case, there is a certain potency to irascibility, concupiscence and the like. The *habitus* of moral virtues perfect the potencies of the human appetite by ordering them to virtuous operations. The virtues perfect potencies

<sup>83</sup> *EN* 2.3 (1105a3-5); cf. *Lect.* 102.43-80; *Sent.* 84-85 passim.

<sup>84</sup> *EN* 2.4 (1105b11-12) and 2.4 (1105a17-b18); cf. *Lect.* 104-106 passim; *Sent.* 87-88 passim.

<sup>85</sup> *EN* 2.5 (1105b21); cf. *Lect.* 112-113.74-84; *Sent.* 90.31-36.

<sup>86</sup> *EN* 2.5 (1106a4-6); cf. *Lect.* 113-114.85-86; *Sent.* 90-91.37-112.

in the mind and, as a result, mental potencies cannot be the virtues themselves (II, 13, par. 4).<sup>87</sup>

After dismissing potency and passion as possible explanations of virtue, Peter is left with only one mental capacity: he concludes with Aristotle, Albert and Thomas that virtue is indeed a *habitus* of the mind (II, 14, par. 4-5).<sup>88</sup>

### *Questions 15-19*

The final questions of Peter's commentary add nothing to the Aristotelian doctrine of virtue as a mean. Peter correctly realizes that virtue is not an exact midpoint between two opposing vices (II, 18, par. 5 and 19, par. 6)<sup>89</sup> and that not all actions admit a mean (II, 17, par. 4).<sup>90</sup> Peter also observes rightly that virtue has the nature of an extreme with respect to good and evil. What is ordered by right reason will always produce human excellence (II, 16, par. 8).<sup>91</sup>

### THE SOURCES OF THE QUESTIONS

The Latin text of the *EN* which Peter used in composing his questions is beyond doubt that translation designated by Gauthier as *R*, the *recensio recognita* of the Grosseteste translation, which was completed by an unknown scholar between 1260 and 1270.<sup>92</sup> We cannot determine exactly which version of this text Peter had before him, for his references to the *EN* are almost all paraphrases or summaries of the words of Aristotle. Even the lemmata provide no clue as to the exact recension of *R* on which Peter based his questions because they have numerous omissions, inversions and variants which do not appear in any of the known versions of the Latin *EN*.<sup>93</sup> The reader will find in the *apparatus fontium* to the edition below, after all the citations to the *EN*, the corresponding page numbers of the edition of the *textus recognitus* of the *Aristoteles Latinus*.

Almost all of the other references to the works of Aristotle in the questions can be found in the *Auctoritates Aristotelis*, a *florilegium* of Aristotelian and

<sup>87</sup> *EN* 2.5 (1106a6-10); cf. *Lect.* 114-115.86-53; *Sent.* 92.186-97.

<sup>88</sup> *EN* 2.6 (1106a11-18); cf. *Lect.* 115.53-91; *Sent.* 92.205-11.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. *EN* 2.8 (1108b26-30) and 2.8 (1109a15-19).

<sup>90</sup> *EN* 2.6 (1107a8).

<sup>91</sup> *EN* 2.6 (1107a6-8).

<sup>92</sup> *Ethica Nicomachea. Praefatio*, ed. R.-A. Gauthier (*Aristoteles Latinus* 26.1-3/1; Leiden, 1974), p. ccxlv.

<sup>93</sup> The curious hybrid of the *Ethica nova* and the Grosseteste translation in book I, question 11, paragraph 4 may be due to Peter's quoting from memory a famous line of Aristotelian philosophy. See *Ethica Nicomachea ... 'Ethica Vetus'...*, ed. R.-A. Gauthier (*Aristoteles Latinus* 26.1-3/2; Leiden, 1972), p. 65.

pseudo-Aristotelian texts, as well as other works, which was compiled in the thirteenth century and used extensively in the university milieu.<sup>94</sup> Because so many of Peter's references to Aristotle's works can be found in this compendium, it is likely that he used just such a compilation in composing his questions. Therefore the reader will also find in the *apparatus fontium*, after references to works of Aristotle other than the *EN*, references to the *Auctoritates Aristotelis* and to the Latin translation of Aristotle's work, where available.

The remaining sources for Peter's questions, as has been shown above in the analysis of the contents of the questions, are the Greek commentary on the *EN* translated by Robert Grosseteste and the commentaries of Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas. In addition to these works Peter draws inspiration from the *Summa theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas: at times Peter abandons the text of the *EN* and follows very closely the plan and arguments of the *Summa theologiae*. As a result, many passages of the *EN* which Albert and Thomas commented on in their questions are ignored by Peter, and several questions which do not arise from the text of Aristotle are discussed by Peter.<sup>95</sup> We must not conclude, however, that Peter merely extracted theological arguments from the *Summa* and applied them to Aristotle's teachings on ethics. Peter recognized the unsuitability of many of Thomas' teachings, especially those on perfect beatitude, for questions on the *EN*; he often alters Thomas' theological arguments in order to remain true to the spirit of Aristotle's moral teachings.<sup>96</sup>

These *loca parallela* to the *Summa theologiae* as well as to the commentaries mentioned above are given in the *apparatus fontium* where a new question begins.

<sup>94</sup> H.

<sup>95</sup> In fact, Peter, unlike Albert and Thomas, has not written a true commentary on the *EN*, but has selected certain questions which had arisen from his reading of Aristotle's text and the works of his two Dominican predecessors. Examples of Peter's great debt to Thomas' *ST* are easily found, the most striking being book I, questions 28-32, which correspond directly to *ST* 1-2, 3, 1-5. Most of Peter's arguments *pro* and *contra* in these questions, as well as his responses, are taken directly from Thomas' work. Note the first three arguments *non* of question 29, which are found in *ST* 1-2, 3, 2 as the fourth, sixth and second arguments of Thomas; also the first argument *sic* of Peter is the same as that of Thomas. In question 30, Peter's first two arguments *sic* correspond directly to those of *ST* 1-2, 3, 3.

<sup>96</sup> Compare Peter's question 28 of book I with *ST* 1-2, 3, 1 and 2, 7, where Peter substitutes earthly happiness as his topic for Thomas' heavenly beatitude. Compare also question 30 of book I with *ST* 1-2, 3, 3; whereas Thomas distinguishes between imperfect and perfect beatitude, Peter is content to discuss only earthly happiness. Peter never cites any of Thomas' arguments which are taken from the Bible or the Church Fathers and realizes that the questions on the cause of earthly happiness (I, 38-40) have a purpose different from those of Thomas on the cause of heavenly beatitude (*ST* 1-2, 5, 1-7).

## THE EDITION

The text which follows is taken mainly from the more complete manuscript, Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek 1386 (= L). Where necessary, I have used the readings of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 16110 (= P) to aid in interpreting a faulty or difficult passage in L. I have refrained as much as possible from emendation, as I prefer to allow the witnesses to the text of Peter to stand unchanged rather than risk an incorrect interpretation. I have followed the orthography of L with one major exception: I have distinguished between *u* and *v* although the manuscript does not. In expanding the common abbreviations for *sed* and *etiam*, I have preferred the normalized spellings (*sed*, *etiam*) to the artificially imposed medieval *set* and *eciam*. Variants in spelling within the same manuscript, such as *wlt* and *vult* in L, have not been noted, and purely orthographic scribal corrections of a minor character have not been recorded.

Square brackets indicate an editorial deletion, angle brackets an editorial addition. The siglum L<sup>2</sup> in the *apparatus criticus* indicates a correction or an addition made by a second hand. The symbol \*\*\* indicates a lacuna which I have inferred.

That portion of the text contained in both L and P comprises the prologue and questions 1, 5, 7, 8, 12, 16, 17, 22 and 28 of book I. The change of folio in L is noted as it occurs throughout the text; for P, the number of the folio containing a question is given at the beginning of that question and any subsequent change in folio is indicated. Sections of the text which Gauthier has edited in 'Les *Questiones*' (above, n. 6) are left as they appeared, except for some minor changes.

INCIPIUNT QUESTIONES MAGISTRI P. DE AVERNIA  
SUPRA LIBRUM ETHICORUM

L 115ra

P 276va

PROLOGUS

1. Sicut dicit Philosophus secundo *Physicorum*, ars imitatur naturam. Et  
 5 ratio huius duplex est. Una est quoniam principans sic se habet ad principatum  
 sicut principium ad principiatum; intellectus humanus est quoddam principium  
 humane operationis artis, intellectus divinus operationum naturalium; sed  
 intellectus humanus est aliquid nature; principium ergo ipsius est intellectus  
 divinus; ergo simpliciter principium rerum artificialium erunt res naturales.  
 10 Iterum, ars cognicio quedam est et habitus intellectus; cognicio autem intellec-  
 tus habet ortum a sensibus, et ideo secundum ordinem in sensibilibus est ordo  
 in virtute intellectiva; ideo priora que sunt particularia priora sunt hoc modo  
 universalibus. Ideo que sunt secundum cognitionem intellectivam imitantur ea  
 que sunt secundum naturam.  
 15 2. Iterum, ea que sunt secundum artem imitantur, aliquo modo ea que sunt  
 secundum naturam; unde dicitur secundo *Physicorum*, si natura faceret  
 domum, faceret eam sicut ars facit.  
 3. Iterum, cum ars operatur secundum cognitionem, ea que fiunt secundum  
 artem fiunt secundum cognitionem. Unde operationes secundum naturam se  
 20 habent sicut habitus. Unde in anima sunt duo habitus. Unus quo intellectus  
 habet cognitionem eorum que sunt operabilia ab homine. Iterum, natura  
 subministrat rebus artificialibus, tamen non complet ea que sunt secundum  
 artem nec iudicat. Unde unus est intellectus qui intelligit ea que sunt secundum  
 naturam. Alius, ut dictum est, intelligit ea que sunt secundum artem. Et unus  
 25 practicus, et alius speculativus. Finis autem in speculativa est veritas. Rerum  
 artificialium intellectus cognoscitivus et factivus est in talibus in quibus  
 consideratur veritas propter operationem, et talis est practica. Et ideo in  
 intellectu sunt habitus speculativus et habitus practicus. Et quia practica  
 speculatur ea que sunt operabilia, ideo necesse est quod consideret ea que sunt  
 30 ab homine operabilia. Quedam autem sunt que sunt communia homini et  
 omnibus animatis, ut que sunt secundum animam vegetativam ut nutriri; et

1-2 *titulus deest in P* 5 *principans corr. ex principians L* 6 *est transp. post principium<sup>2</sup>*  
*P* 8 *aliquid] aliquod P* *ergo] gracia P* 12 *sunt<sup>2</sup> bis exh. P* 13, 15 *imitantur] invitantur*  
*P* 15 *secundum] per P* 18 *fiunt] sunt L* 23 *que sunt om. L* 25 *alius] add. est P*  
 28 *intellectu] intellectum P* 30 *Quedam] quedem P* *que sunt om. P*

1 Cf. *Comm.* 1-3 passim; *Lect.* 2.51-53; Gauthier, 'Les *Questiones*', 247-50. 4 *Phys.* 2.1  
 (194a21-22); *H* 145 (60). 16 *Phys.* 2.8 (199a12-13).

tales operationes non subiacent voluntati. Et quia moralis considerat ea que  
subiacent rationi et voluntati, ideo illa non considerat. Quedam autem sunt  
operationes hominis in quantum sentit, et tales dicuntur racionales in quantum  
35 obediunt rationi, secundum se autem irracionales; iste autem sunt sicut audire  
et videre. Et de talibus non considerat iste philosophus; secundum tamen quod  
necesse est ipsa obedire rationi in respectu finis sunt de consideratione huius  
moralis philosophi. Quedam autem sunt operationes hominis in quantum est  
40 homo, ut intelligere, eligere, et ista sunt moralis consideracionis. Et quia homo  
in quantum homo est dominus et principium intelligendi, ideo intelligere sub  
hac ratione pertinet ad moralem. Velle etiam et eligere secundum quod  
subiacent voluntati humane, consideracio istorum pertinet ad moralem. Volun-  
tas autem movet secundum quod ordinatur a ratione, et ideo operationes que  
sunt hominis in quantum homo, que sunt ordinabiles ratione, sunt sicut  
45 subiectum moralis sciencie; et istud non probat philosophus, sed quomodo  
contingat huiusmodi operationes ordinari in finem, et de habitibus talibus  
oportet considerare. Operationes vero hominis in quantum sunt ordinabiles ad  
finem sunt subiectum huius sciencie. Aliter dicitur quod homo in quantum  
ordinatur ad operandum secundum rationem est subiectum huius; prima  
50 tamen via melior esse videtur. Quia autem sciencie dividuntur secundum  
divisionem obiectorum vel subiectorum, ideo divisio philosophie moralis est  
secundum divisionem operationum hominis secundum quod homo.

4. Intelligendum quod homo in principio sue generacionis imperfectus est;  
statim enim indiget nutrimento et indumento quantum ad corpus. Et quia  
55 unumquodque natura natum est perfici et ad illud habet ordinem, perficitur  
autem homo per communicacionem et societatem; ideo dicit Philosophus quod  
homo est animal communicabile et sociabile / vel civile natura, et ita perficitur  
per societatem. Est autem intelligendum quod cum homo sit imperfectus, natura  
eius est perfecta per ea sine quibus natura humana salvari non potest, sicut  
60 indiget nutrimento et veste sine quibus non potest vita transsiri. In talibus enim  
iuvatur familia. Unde unus arat, alius fodit, sine quibus vita transsiri non potest.

5. Iterum, homo imperfectus est de se, quia caret eo quo indiget ad hoc quod

L 115rb

32 subiacent] subsunt P 33 non] ratio *praem. et exp. L* 34 hominis] anime *praem. et exp. L* quantum] ipsum P 35 autem] et P 36 quod *om. P* 37 sunt *suppl. in marg. L<sup>2</sup>*  
40 quantum] ipsum P et] est P 41 etiam] autem P eligere *coni. cum Gauthier*  
intelligere *LP* 50 Quia] oportet P 51 est *s.s. L<sup>2</sup>: om. P* 56 communicacionem]  
concommunicacionem P: raciocinacionem L 57 communicabile] rationalis *praem. et exp. L*  
60 enim] etiam L 61 iuvatur *coni. cum Gauthier* imitatur L: invitatur P fodit] rodit P  
62 quia] quidem L quo] quod P hoc] hec L

56 *Pol. 1.1 (1253a2-3)*; cf. *Sententia libri Politicorum*, edd. H.-F. Dondaine et L.-J. Bataillon (Sancti Thomae de Aquino Opera omnia 48; Rome, 1971), p. A 77; *H* 252 (3); cf. *EN* 1.7 (1097b11) et R 382.

sufficienter vivat. Et hic iuvatur multitudine civili secundum quod unus in civitate facit calciamentum, alius autem alia, et sic fiunt communicaciones in  
65 civitate.

6. Iterum, ad ea que pertinent ad doctrinam sunt aliqui qui instruunt alios. Iterum, principes sunt in civitate ut corrigantur qui paterna castigacione castigari non possunt.

7. Iterum, in talibus que sunt unum secundum ordinem quidlibet habet  
70 aliquid sibi proprium, et ideo, cum homo sit pars talium multitudinum, habet operacionem sibi propriam. Et ideo contingit considerare hominem quantum  
P 276vb ad operaciones proprias, et secundum quod / est pars civitatis, et secundum quod est pars domus.

8. Et sic dividitur sciencia moralis in tria: in < monasticam et > yconomi-  
75 cam, id est dispensativam, et politicam. Prima pars considerat operaciones hominis secundum se magis et etiam habitus et disposiciones secundum quas contingit ordinari operaciones et passiones hominis ad finem. Et quia omnes operaciones ordinantur ad felicitatem, ideo preordinat primo felicitatem; secundo declarat ex quibus contingit generari habitus et corrumpi; deinde de  
80 virtutibus, ut de temperancia et fortitudine, et electione et consilio; quarto autem de liberalitate; quinto de iusticia distinguendo eam; sexto de virtutibus intellectualibus, ut de sapiencia et prudencia; deinde de hiis que habent similitudinem cum hac, scilicet primo de continencia, < secundo de > amicitia; ultimo autem determinat de felicitate complens tractatum suum de ipsa.

85 9. Sciencia dispensativa considerat que exiguntur ad constitucionem domus, in qua primo est vir, mulier et asinus et talia.

10. Ulterius autem politica que civilis dicitur considerat ex quibus primo componitur civitas et que sunt partes civitatis et quomodo se debeant habere ad invicem, et etiam posterius ad erudicionem puerorum. Sic igitur patet quod hic  
90 oportet determinare de operacionibus hominis secundum quod homo.

## LIBER I

### Questio 1

P 276vb Circa istum librum querantur aliqua in generali. Et primo, utrum ista sciencia sit necessaria ad regimen vite humane?

75 id est] et LP 76 secundum<sup>2</sup> add. s.s. P 78 operaciones] perfectiones L felicitatem] finem *praem. et exp. L* primo om. L 79 secundo] et ideo L 81 virtutibus] add. moralibus et LP 83 continencia < secundo de > *coni. cum Gauthier*] primo de continencia ultimo P: primo de amicitia L 86 et mulier L

Lib. I, questio 1 3-4 ista sciencia *suppl. in marg. L<sup>2</sup>: om. P*

Lib. I, questio 1 2 Cf. *Comm.* 4-5.95-11; *Sent.* 4.67-88.

5 1. Et videtur quod non, quia multa animalia bruta reguntur memoria et ymaginacione, ut dicitur primo *Methaphysice*; hominum autem genus excedit bruta animalia secundum experimentum et rationem; ergo sicut bruta reguntur ymaginacione, ita homines experimento absque arte et sciencia.

2. Oppositum vult Philosophus primo *Methaphysice*. Dicit enim quod vita  
10 hominis regitur ratione et arte. Ad regimen igitur vite necessaria est sciencia moralis.

3. Dicendum quod ad perfectum regimen vite humane necessaria est sciencia moralis sive ars. Cuius ratio est quia intellectus carens sciencia et arte ex multis aliis decipitur. Propter quod ad perfectum regimen vite necessaria est  
15 sciencia moralis.

4. Unde videns Aristotiles quod multi homines erraverunt in via morum, illis succurrit tradendo scienciam moralem. Sicut enim ad faciendum aliquid artificiale non sufficit intellectus, sed oportet artem vel scienciam quam invenit vel addidit, ita etiam ad perfectum regimen vite humane non sufficit intellectus  
20 vel ratio, sed oportet scienciam moralem habere aut per invencionem aut per doctrinam.

5. Unde animalia bruta habent memoriam; et non solum ista reguntur memoria et ymaginacione, sed etiam assuefactione. Et sicut assuefactio se habet ad memoriam et ymaginacionem in brutis, ita sciencia moralis in hominibus ad  
25 intellectum et rationem. Et ideo dicit Aristotiles primo *Methaphysice*, hominum genus arte et rationibus vivit.

6. Ad rationem tunc dicendum quod non solum bruta vivunt memoria et ymaginacione, sed etiam quadam assuefactione illi adiuncta. Et propter hoc oportet quod homo habeat artem et scienciam moralem. Si etiam homo velit  
30 regere se/ipsam, si etiam velit multitudinem domesticam vel civilem regere, L 115va audiat scienciam moralem et operetur secundum illam.

## Questio 2

Consequenter queritur utrum tota moralis sciencia sit una?

1. Et videtur quod sic, quia de toto et parte est sciencia una, sicut de aere et de parte aeris; homo autem pars est multitudinis domesticæ et multitudinis

13 arte con. cum Gauthier] errore LP 14 ex] et L 19-20 ratio vel intellectus L  
22 reguntur] regimen P 24 memoriam et om. P 26 rationibus P, Aristoteles] ratione L  
27 vivunt] invenerunt P 29 scienciam et artem L

6 *Meta.* 1.1 (980b25-26) et *M* 7. 9 *Meta.* 1.1 (980b26-27) et *M* 7; *H* 145 (60). 25 V. sup. q. 1.6.

Questio 2 1 Cf. *Sent.* 4.99-106.

- 5 civilis; quare, ipsorum erit sciencia una et de illis est tota sciencia moralis; quare, tota sciencia moralis erit una.
2. Preterea, illa sciencia est una que est unius generis subiecti; sed in tota sciencia morali est unum subiectum, scilicet operacio humana ordinata in finem; ergo, etc.
- 10 3. Oppositum patet per Aristotilem, qui diversas sciencias morales nobis tradit.
4. Dicendum quod tota sciencia moralis est una in genere, sicut sciencia naturalis una in genere est. Sicut enim naturalis versatur circa naturalia encia, ita moralis versatur circa operationes humanas ordinatas in finem; et sic est una  
15 et distincta in diversas partes, sicut sciencia naturalis. Diversa enim sunt encia naturalia et eorum sunt diverse consideraciones et propter hoc eorum sunt diverse sciencie speciales; sic etiam et in sciencia morali, quia operationum humanarum diverse sunt consideraciones. Una enim consideracio est operacionis humane secundum se. Alia vero consideracio est ipsius hominis secundum  
20 quod est pars multitudinis domestice. Tercia autem secundum quod est pars multitudinis civilis. Et propter hoc in sciencia morali sunt diverse sciencie speciales.
5. Est autem intelligendum propter rationem quod aliquod est totum quod est unum ordine, sicut mundus et exercitus et multitudo domestica et etiam  
25 civilis; que omnia dicuntur esse aliquod unum totum in comparacione ad unum primum principium principans, a quo reguntur. Invenitur etiam aliud quoddam totum secundum colligacionem parcium vel composicionem, sicut domus. Est nichilominus tercio totum quod unum continuitate, sicut lignum vel lapis. Modo dico quod in toto quod est unum ordinacione partes habent operacionem  
30 que non est operacio tocius. Miles enim bene habet operacionem que non est operacio tocius exercitus. In toto autem quod est unum composicione vel continuitate, pars non habet operacionem que non sit tocius principaliter ex istis.
6. Dissolvitur prima ratio: dico enim quod nullum est de toto continuo et  
35 parte eius; et ratio visa est prius. De toto autem quod est unum ordinacione non oportet quod sit una sciencia partis et tocius. Per idem enim apparet ad secundam rationem, quoniam bene probat quod sciencia moralis sit una in genere; et hoc concessum est. Sed quod sit una specie, hoc non concludit et ratio visa est, quia sciencia moralis est de operacionibus humanis. Diverse  
40 autem sunt operationes humane in specie; quare, et diverse consideraciones speciales et per consequens sciencie.

Questio 3

Consequenter queritur circa istam partem sciencie moralis que dicitur ethyca. Et primo, utrum sit sciencia una?

1. Et videtur quod non, quia in ista sciencia determinatur de virtute  
5 intellectuali et morali; et iste non sunt virtutes unius rationis; ergo, ista sciencia que dicitur ethyca una non est.

2. Oppositum apparet per Aristotilem, qui tradit nobis unam scienciam.

3. Dicendum quod sciencia est habitus. Habitus autem potencia est respectu actualis consideracionis, ut patet ex secundo *De anima*. Unitas autem potencie  
10 attenditur ex unitate obiecti. Illa igitur sciencia est una que habet unum obiectum, et hoc dicit Aristotiles in *Posterioribus* quod illa est sciencia que est unius generis subiecti. Modo dico quod cum ista sciencia habet unum subiectum quia illa que considerantur in sciencia sunt a nobis agibilia, sive operationes humane; et ideo sciencia una est. Et additur quod ad unitatem  
15 sciencie non exigitur quod illud unum circa quod considerat sciencie univocum, immo sufficit quod sic per attributionem sive per analogiam dictum. De ente enim secundum quod ens est sciencia una, / sicut divina; et tamen ens L 115vb secundum quod ens est analogum.

4. Ad rationes in contrarium est dicendum quod virtus moralis est habitus a  
20 quo progrediuntur operationes humane que sunt subiecte rationi et voluntati simpliciter. Virtus intellectualis est habitus a quo procedunt operationes intellectuales ut speculacio, que est subiecta voluntati et rationi. Unde dico quod tam operationes morales quam intellectuales sunt a nobis agibiles et in hoc conveniunt; et ideo de operationibus moralibus et virtualibus est una  
25 sciencia, quia in illo uno conveniunt.

Questio 4

Consequenter queritur utrum de moribus sive operationibus humanis sit sciencia?

1. Et videtur quod non, quoniam omnis sciencia est de universali; operacio-  
5 nes humane sunt particulares; omnis enim operacio circa singularia est, ut habetur secundo huius; ergo etc.

Questio 3 6 una] dicitur *praem. et exp. L*

Questio 4 4 Et] una *praem. et exp. L* 5 singularia] tercius *praem. et exp. L*

Questio 3 1 Cf. *Lect.* 2-3.34-31. 9 *De an.* 2.5 (417b16-18) et *D* 115; *H* 185 (138).  
11 *An. post.* 1.28 (87a38-39) et *Analytica post.*, edd. L. Minio-Paluello et B. Dodd (Aristoteles Latinus 4.1-4; Leiden, 1968), p. 368; cf. *An. post.* 1.7 (757b7-20) et *H* 319 (100).

Questio 4 1 Cf. *Lect.* 1-2.56-33; *Sent.* 4.25-30. 6 *EN* 2.1 (1103a26-b2) et *R* 396.

2. Preterea, omnis sciencia est ex necessariis; mores autem non sunt necessarii, quia mores sunt ex voluntate; quod autem est ex voluntate non est necessarium, quia voluntas se habet ad opposita; quare, etc.

10 3. Preterea, sciencia est de eo quod est idem apud omnes, quia est de necessario et intransmutabili et universali, quod est idem apud omnes; sed mores non sunt idem apud omnes quia quod est bonum in una regione erit malum in alia; quare, etc.

15 4. Oppositum arguitur: quia circa mores et operationes contingit recte agere et peccare, ergo de ipsis est sciencia.

5. Preterea, de eo quod est bonum et difficile est sciencia; sed mores et operationes humane sunt boni et difficiles; ergo, de ipsis est sciencia.

6. Iterum, de eo de quo contingit assignare rationes diffinitas et aliquid demonstrare potest esse sciencia; mores sunt huiusmodi; ergo, etc.

20 7. Dicendum quod de moribus est sciencia. Contingit enim assignare rationes diffinitas de aliquid demonstrare de moribus. Et ideo intelligendum quod aliquae sunt sciencie que sunt de hiis que sunt vera sicut semper et non possunt aliter se habere aliquo modo, sicut sciencie mathematicae, ut omnis triangulus habet tres angulos equales duobus rectis; alie vero sunt sciencie que  
25 considerant illa que sunt vera, ut in pluribus, non sicut semper, sicut sciencia moralis. Quod enim virtutes generentur ex hoc quod homines operentur secundum virtutem, ut in pluribus, istud est verum. Et ideo dicit Aristoteles in *Posterioribus* quod de illis que sunt in pluribus bene est sciencia inquantum illa sunt ut in pluribus. Semper enim ita est quod illa que proveniunt in naturalibus  
30 sunt ut in pluribus, et tamen de naturalibus est sciencia; ergo, similiter erit in moralibus quod, licet ut in pluribus eveniant, bene erit de illis sciencia.

8. Ad rationes, dico ad primam quod operationum duplex est consideratio: una que est in particulari et sub forma propria et isto modo operationes corruptibiles sunt; et ideo, ut sic, de hiis non est sciencia, cum sciencia sit de  
35 incorruptibilibus; alia autem est consideratio operationum inquantum omnes particulares in ratione universali operationum uniuntur, et quia illa ratio universalis incorruptibilis est, ideo et operationes; quare, de hiis, ut sic, potest esse sciencia.

9. Ad aliud dico quod mores secundum quod dependent a voluntate huius  
40 vel illius sic non sunt necessarii, et sic bene arguitur: secundum tamen quod accipiuntur simpliciter et in universali, sic sunt necessarii et permanentes; sicut

21 diffinitas] diffinitans L    26 operentur corr. ex generentur in marg. L

28 *An. post.* 1.2 (77a5-12) et (edd.) Minio-Paluello et Dodd, p. 296; cf. *H* 316 (59), 317 (66).

enim homo in communi est permanens et incorruptibilis, sic mores in communi, non autem secundum quod dependent a voluntate huius vel illius.

10. Ad tercium est intelligendum quod si de aliquo sit sciencia, non oportet  
 45 quod illud in esse inveniatur apud omnes. De aliquo enim animali est sciencia et  
 tamen non invenitur apud omnes; necesse est tamen quod eius ratio vere  
 accepta sit eadem apud omnes. Verumptamen circa posicionem alicuius  
 multocius errant homines et propter hoc dico quod de moribus est sciencia et  
 ratio morum. Si vere accipiatur, est eadem apud omnes / quia omnes homines  
 50 sunt idem in specie. Et ideo rationes morum debent esse apud illos in specie  
 eedem vel decipiuntur. Et ideo quantum ad rationes de moribus est sciencia.

L 116ra

### Questio 5

Consequenter queritur utrum ista sciencia sit practica vel speculativa ?

P 276vb

1. Arguit Albertus: modus est theoricus sive speculativus et etiam doctrinalis  
 quando proceditur in sciencia, aliquid distinguendo et demonstrando. Talis  
 5 autem est ista sciencia, aliquid distinguendo et demonstrando. Talis autem est  
 ista sciencia; distinguuntur enim aliqua hic et demonstrantur; ergo, ista sciencia  
 est speculativa.

2. Preterea, sciencia speculativa est propter scire; hec autem sciencia est  
 propter scire, scilicet ut sciantur que demonstrantur in hac sciencia, ut fugiatur  
 10 ignorancia circa mores; quare, etc.

3. Oppositum arguitur: quia ista sciencia non est contemplacionis gracia, sed  
 ut boni fiamus, ut dicetur inferius; sciencia autem speculativa est solum gracia  
 contemplacionis; ergo, etc.

4. Dicendum quod sciencia speculativa est tantum propter scire et non  
 15 refertur ad opus, sicut ad aliquam utilitatem aliam; neque debet aliquis querere  
 in sciencia speculativa aliquam utilitatem. Sciencia autem practica refertur ad  
 aliquod opus; unde est propter aliquod opus et aliquam utilitatem. Ista autem  
 sciencia moralis non est tantum propter scire, immo refertur ad opus et ideo,  
 per consequens, ad utilitatem. Docet enim modum operandi secundum omnes  
 20 virtutes, et ex hoc apparet quod refertur ad aliquod opus. Et ex operatione ista

48 homines] *ei praem. et exp. L*    49 vere] *natura praem. et exp. L*  
 Questio 5    3 Arguit Albertus *bis exh. L*    est *add. s.s. L: om. P*    15-16 aliam ...  
 utilitatem *om. P*    17 et] *ad P*    18 tantum *transp. post scire P*    immo] *unde P*  
 19 secundum omnes] *sermonis P*

Questio 5    1 Cf. *Lect.* 4.1-43; *Sent.* 4.32-43 et 42.79-100.    3 *Ethicorum libri X*, ed. A. Borgnet, lib. I, tr. 1, c. 4 (Opera omnia 7; Paris, 1891), p. 11a; cf. *Lect.* 13.6-19.    12 V. inf. q. 5, par. 7.

provenit utilitas ut homo efficiatur bonus; et ex hoc manifestum est quod ista sciencia non est speculativa, sed practica.

5. Intelligendum tamen quod duplex est operatio: quedam que non transit in materiam exteriorem, ut intelligere, considerare et alia. Et talis operatio proprie dicitur actio. Alia dicitur operatio que transit in materiam exteriorem, ut edificare et talia. Et talis dicitur factio. Secundum diversitatem tamen istarum operationum oportet quod sciencie practice differant: propter quod quedam sunt sciencie active, ut yconomica et politica; quedam autem factive, ut artes mechanice. Est / igitur ista sciencia activa et, per consequens, practica.

6. Ad rationem dico quod si aliqua sciencia procedit diffiniendo et demonstrando, et hoc propter scire tantum, illa est speculativa. Si autem procedat diffiniendo et demonstrando, non propter scire tantum, sed gracia alicuius alterius, non est speculativa, sed practica. Quia autem ista sciencia, ut ostensum est, huiusmodi est, ideo ista sciencia practica est et non speculativa.

7. Ad secundam rationem dico quod illa sciencia que est propter scire tantum est speculativa. Ad minorem dico quod ista sciencia non solum est propter scire, sed ut boni fiamus, sicut dictum est in littera. Unde non solum est ut fugiatur ignorancia circa moralia, sed ut homines operentur secundum virtutem et fiant boni.

### Questio 6

Consequenter dicit littera quod omnia bonum appetunt; et ideo queritur utrum aliquis possit appetere malum?

1. Et videtur quod sic, quia aliquis sciens fornicari esse malum appetet fornicari et prosequitur; ergo, sciens malum appetit malum; quare, aliquis appetit malum.

2. Preterea, bonum non potest fieri, nisi concomitatur aliquod malum. Si enim fiat vel generetur aliquod bonum, oportet quod aliud corrumpatur, et hoc est malum. Si ergo appetat bonum, appetit malum illud quod comitatur illud bonum. Unde si aliquis sciret quod ex cursu oportet sudare, si appetat currere, necessario appetit sudare; si ergo aliquis < appetit > bonum, et malum quod sequitur illud bonum; quare, aliquis malum appetit.

24 alia] talia P    25 materiam] naturam P    26 Et talis] talis autem P    28 et politica om. P    30 procedit] procedat P    33-34 ut ... est<sup>2</sup>] est huiusmodi ut ostensum est P    34 non om. P    35 dico] dicendum P    38 fugiatur] fugetur P

Questio 6    3 malum] bonum *praem. et exp. L*    7 nisi] *ma praem. et exp. L*  
concomitatur] committatur L

33-34 V. sup. q. 5, par. 4.    37 EN 6.9 (1141b15-16) et R 484-485.

Questio 6    1 Cf. *Sent.* 5.148-165.    2, 20 EN 1.1 (1094a2-3) et R 375.

3. Preterea, quidam est appetitus qui sequitur cognicionem; modo potest contingere quod illud quod est malum videbitur alicui bonum; si ergo aliquis  
15 appetat illud quod videtur sibi bonum et illud videtur alicui malum, tunc appetit malum.

4. Preterea, aliquis appetit non esse et prosequitur se interficiendo; hoc autem est malum; quare, aliquid appetit malum.

5. Oppositum patet in littera.

20 6. Dicendum quod illud quod per se appetibile sic prosequatur ipsum bonum est. Non enim potest aliquid movere appetitum, / nisi illud sit delectabile; et ex eo quod movet appetitum eo ipso est bonum et rationem boni habet. Hoc enim est ratio boni quod movet appetitum. Propter hoc dico malum  
25 veritatem, sumendum secundum veritatem, si vero secundum existimacionem, sumendum secundum existimacionem. Intelligendum quod aliquid est malum secundum existimacionem, et hoc potest aliquis appetere. Videtur uno modo quod aliquis appetit quod videtur bonum et illud aliquando est malum; ipsum igitur malum appetitur, sed non inquantum malum, sed inquantum rationem  
30 boni habet. Et propter hoc malum non appetitur per se, sed per accidens, inquantum est bonum.

7. Alio modo appetitur malum per accidens quia aliquando bonum appetitur et illud concomitatur malum multocies. Et ideo cum illud bonum non possit haberi, nisi concomitetur malum, illud malum appetitur non propter se, sed  
35 propter bonum quod concomitatur ipsum.

8. Tercio modo appetitur quod, quia aliquis existens in magnis infortuniis et videtur sibi melius non esse quam esse, minus malum videtur sibi non esse quam esse sub talibus infortuniis. Modo illud quod est minus malum respectu minoris mali est aliquod bonum. Unde homines cum fugiunt maius malum  
40 prosequuntur minus. Et propter hoc, hec est causa quare aliqui appetunt non esse. Isti igitur qui appetunt non esse appetunt malum non per se, sed per accidens, inquantum rationem boni habet; et pluribus modis non contingit malum appetere et semper sub ratione boni appetitur. Quicquid igitur appetitur bonum est; malum ergo non appetitur; omnia ergo bonum appetunt.

45 9. Ad rationem dico quod sententia Philosophi est quod si aliquis appetat fornicari et prosequatur in hora qua appetit, videtur sibi bonum illa hora secundum sensum. Unde omnis malus ignorans, sed talis ignorancia non excusat peccatum, ut apparebit in tercio huius; talis enim aliquo modo est

24 appetitu] modo *praem. et exp. L* 42 non *suppl. in marg. L*

48 *EN* 3.5 (1114b1-16) et *R* 420.

voluntaria. Dico igitur quod licet fornicari sit malum, in illa tamen hora videtur  
50 sibi bonum; et ideo illud appetit, inquantum bonum apparet.

10. Etiam ad secundam, quoniam bene probat quod malum non appetitur propter se, sed per accidens. Sed hoc non probat quod per accidens appetatur, ut ostensum est. Per idem autem ad tertium apparet.

11. Ad quartum dicendum quod si aliquis appetat non esse et interficiat se,  
55 minus videtur sibi malum quod moriatur quam quod subiciat se tot angustiis; et hoc videtur sibi bonum; et ideo ipsum appetit. Nichil igitur appetitur, nisi bonum vel sub ratione boni.

### Questio 7

P 277ra Postea queritur, quia dictum est quod operatio intelligendi subiacet voluntati, ideo queritur, cum duo sunt partes intellectus, velle et intelligere, quod istorum sit primum vel prius secundum naturam ?

5 1. Et quod velle, probatio: quia omnes operationes hominis subiacent voluntati; ad operationes autem hominis homo est dominus – dicitur enim homo dominus suarum operationum quia cum velit operari potest – sed operationis volendi est dominus. Si tu dicas quod homo non est dominus, tunc sequitur quod homo operationum suarum omnium non esset dominus.

10 2. Iterum, operatio talis que est in nobis cum volumus videtur sequi velle; sed intelligere est in nobis cum volumus, sicut dicitur secundo *De anima*; quare, sequitur velle.

3. Iterum, operatio se habet ad operationem sicut obiectum ad obiectum; igitur obiectum intellectus quod est ens sicut se habet ad bonum quod est  
15 obiectum voluntatis, sic se habet voluntas ad intellectum; sed bonum secundum Platonem prius est ente, quia sequitur secundum ipsum: omne ens est bonum, non tamen convertitur; quare, etc.

4. Ad oppositum arguitur: agens naturaliter prius est passo et motivum mobili; sed intellectus movet voluntatem; quare, intellectus prior est voluntate,  
L 116va 20 quia nichil movet voluntatem / nisi bonum intellectus.

5. Dicendum quod operatio intelligendi simpliciter et naturaliter precedit velle, velle autem accidentaliter precedit intelligere.

6. Primum apparet ex duobus. Primo quia voluntas est virtus passiva quedam et est aliquid in potencia ad velle hoc et non velle. Potencia autem

Questio 7    3 et om. P    7 potest operari L    11 est om. P    14 obiectum om. P  
17 convertitur om. P    18 passo] passivo P    19 movet] videt P    23 duobus] duabus P  
24 aliquid coni. cum Gauthier] quid LP

53 V. sup. q. 6, par. 7.

Questio 7    1 Cf. ST 1-2, 9, 1.    11 De an. 3.3 (427b17-18) et D 187; H 195 (268).

25 passiva non vadit ad actum nisi determinetur; hoc autem quod determinat ipsam est bonum, et non secundum quod est in rebus, sed movet ipsam secundum quod cognitum et secundum quod intellectum: et sic bonum secundum quod comprehensum ab intellectu movet ipsam voluntatem. Quare, intelligere est prius ipso velle.

30 7. Iterum, per aliud illud apparet, quia necesse est quod ordo sit in operatione intellectus et voluntatis secundum ordinem obiectorum et ideo sicut se habent obiecta, sic et operationes. Obiectum autem intellectus est ens, obiectum autem voluntatis est bonum, et ens precedit bonum naturaliter, quia dicitur aliquid ens secundum entitatem suam absolute, dicitur autem aliquid  
35 bonum inquantum determinatur eius esse per bonitatem. Unde rationi entis addit ratio boni, sicut enti absolute dicit accidens quod determinatur per aliud. Et ideo operatio intelligendi natura precedit operationem voluntatis.

8. Est nichilominus intelligendum quod operatio intelligendi dependet ex operatione voluntatis accidentaliter quantum ad exercitium, ut quod exerceat  
40 actum intelligendi, hoc dependet a voluntate sed non naturaliter. Sed necessarium est quod sit aliqua operatio in nobis que non causatur a voluntate. Quia si dicitur, 'iste vult hoc', 'quare?', 'quia movetur', 'quare movetur?', 'quia voluit', 'et quare voluit?', 'quia bonum sibi videbatur', ita vel contingit in infinitum procedere vel esse standum. Et magis standum in operatione intellectus quam  
45 voluntatis, quia operatio intellectus prius est essentialiter, ut ostensum est, et ideo necesse in nobis operationem intelligendi esse ad presenciam phantasmatis et sensibilis, non solum quia causatur a voluntate, et hoc est possibile. Est igitur manifestum quod intellectus essentialiter est prior et natura, intellectus vero posterior secundum accidens ipsa voluntate.

50 9. Ad rationem primam dico quod maior vera est. Ad minorem dico quod vera est secundum accidens, sed non secundum naturam. Et necesse est quod sit in nobis aliqua operatio que sit non quia volumus, ut visum est, nec homo illius habet dominium.

10. Ad secundum dico quod maior vera est ut sic. Et cum dicitur: intelligere  
55 fit in nobis cum volumus, verum est, aliquod. Sed est aliquod quod causatur in nobis non quia volumus, sicut aliquid videmus quod tamen vellemus non videre.

25 nisi] ubi *P* 26 ipsam<sup>2</sup>] ipsum *LP* 27 quod<sup>1</sup>] *om. P* 29 prius est *P* ipso] ipse *P*  
30 Iterum] rationem *P* illud] hoc *P* 33-35 naturaliter ... bonum *om. P* 41 a] ex *P*  
42 quia<sup>1</sup>] quas *P* 43 ita *om. L* 44 operatione] ordinatione *L* 47 quia *coni. cum Gauthier*]  
qui *LP* a voluntate *suppl. in marg. L* 49 posterior] posteriorum *P*  
51 secundum<sup>1</sup> *om. L* accidens *coni. cum Gauthier*] ipsum *P*: spiritum ut *vid. L* 55 fit] sicut  
*P* 56 quod] non *LP*

56 Cf. *ST* 1-2, 5, 2.

11. Ad tertium dico quod cum assumitur, bonum est prius ente secundum Platonem, dico quod falsum est et erraverunt. Dicit enim Plato quod aliquid est  
 60 bonum quod non est ens sicut materia, et dicit eam bonam quia appetit bonum ut formam. Et manifestum est quod, cum locavit eam sub privacione et non ente, dicit falsum: immo materia est ens, et dicitur materia ens in potencia. Unde quamvis omne ens sit bonum, ratio tamen entis est alia a ratione boni.

### Questio 8

P 277ra-b Consequenter queritur utrum homo sit per se sufficiens ad operationes / vite?

1. Et videtur quod sic, quia illud quod habet sufficiencia principia operacionum vite videtur sibi sufficere in operacionibus vite; sed homo habet principia sufficiencia vite operacionum, ut formam que anima est; quare, etc.

2. Preterea, quanto aliquid perfectius est, tanto magis sibi sufficit in sua operacione. Sed homo maxime perfectus est. Animalia enim alia non sunt ita perfecta, in locis propriis permanencia et terre afixa, et tamen videntur sibi  
 10 sufficere. Quare, homo sibi sufficiens est in operacionibus vite.

3. Oppositum enim apparet, quia homo statim post nativitatem indiget nutrimento et tegumento, que coagent et coadiuvant ipsum / ad operandum; quare, etc.

4. Dicendum quod nullum aliud ens a principio primo sufficiens est sibi in  
 15 esse; ideo nec est sibi sufficiens quantum ad operacionem. Sed de sufficiencia alicuius quantum ad esse non querit questio, sed utrum homo sit sufficiens ad operacionem vite ita quod sibi ministrat necessaria vite vel indigeat sibi simili ad sibi ministrandum. Et secundum hoc dicendum est ad questionem quod homo secundum nullam operacionem sibi sufficit. In operacionibus enim vegetativis  
 20 sibi non sufficit, quia indiget nutrimento et alimento et perfectione quantitatis. Istud autem non potest operari ab homine ipso, et ideo alio indiget.

5. Iterum, etiam in operacionibus sciendi non est sufficiens, quia sciencia ex istis predictis, videlicet ex nutrimento et alimento, dependet. Alie autem operationes intelligendi secundum intellectum speculativum maxime perficiunt  
 25 sapientem; et in istis adhuc operacionibus melius est quod homo habeat societatem, ut dicitur decimo huius. Sapiens etiam indiget necessariis ad vitam,

60 eam bonam] eam esse bonum L    63 Unde om. L  
 Questio 8    2 operationes] operacionem P    5 videtur] add. quod P    12 operandum]  
 operacionem P    15 quantum suppl. in marg. L    17 vite<sup>2</sup>] ad vitam P

Questio 8    1 Cf. *Sent.* 58-59.116-125; *ST* 1-2, 5, 5.    26 *EN* 10.7 (1177a27-34) et *R* 577.

quibus habitis potest sapiens sibi sufficere. Inveniuntur nichilominus alie operationes, ut dare, recipere, et ad talia indiget homo aliis, scilicet quibus possit dare et a quibus possit recipere, etiam fortuna vel bonis fortune que tunc  
30 decorant ipsum, ut opera virtuosa omnia opere valeat prosequi. Ideo, nullus homo in operatione aliqua sibi sufficit.

6. Ad rationem in oppositum dico quod minor falsa est. Et cum dicitur 'habet animam', dico quod operationes non tantum requirunt animam sed obiectum in quod operentur, et quod ille varientur secundum diversitatem  
35 obiectorum, sicut vegetativa a sensitiva distinguuntur; indigent enim iste due potencie organis determinatis; quare, etc.

7. Ad aliam rationem dico quod quanto aliquid est perfectius tanto magis sibi sufficit secundum quod perfectius; et quia homo est animal secundum naturam perfectius, ideo nobiliorem actum habet, et quantum ad hoc sufficiens  
40 est magis quantum ad talem naturam. Quantum autem ad operationem potencie vegetative minus perfectus est homo, quia cum generatur minus potest sibi sufficere. Quod autem natura dedit aliis animalibus, quibusdam arma, ut cornua, et quibusdam dentes, ut canibus, causa defensionis, quibusdam autem pilos, ut cooperiantur a frigore, homini autem non; hoc est propter nobilitatem  
45 nature humane. Unde dedit homini intellectum et naturam quibus potest omnia genera armorum sibi preparare.

### Questio 9

OMNIS DOCTRINA ET OMNIS ARS etc. (1094a1-3). Queritur circa primam conclusionem, de eo quod Aristotiles assumit ad probandum conclusionem quod omnia bonum appetunt, primo utrum omnia bonum appetant?

5 1. Et quod non videtur, quia appetitus supponit cognitionem; qui ergo cognitionem non habet non appetit bonum; sed multa sunt que operantur malum sine cognitione; ergo, etc. Quia que cadunt sub operatione cadunt sub appetitu; quare, non omnia bonum appetunt.

2. In oppositum est Aristotiles.

10 3. Iterum, unumquodque appetit esse et esse bonum eius est; quare, omnia bonum appetunt.

28 dare] parare P    29 recipere] *add.* indiget P    tunc] cum P    33 quod] quia P  
35 indigent] *ist praem. et exp.* P    37 perfectius] perfectivo P    40 operationem] operationes P  
41 minus!] *modus* P    quia] *add.* statim P

Questio 9    1 Cf. *Comm.* 12-13.3-18; *Lect.* 7.9-17; *Sent.* 31.30-41; *ST* 1-2, 8, 1 et 1-2, 1, 4 ad 1.

4. Dicendum quod omnia bonum appetunt quia omnia encia secundum naturam habent inclinacionem ad suam perfectionem; perfectio autem uniuscuiusque est suum bonum, et imperfectio malum; quare, omnia bonum  
15 appetunt.

5. Iterum, illud dicitur bonum in quod terminatur appetitus, et hec est ratio boni; et ideo, quicquid terminat appetitum bonum est. Et ita omnia bonum appetunt, cum omnia aliquid appetere videantur. Sed est intelligendum quod aliquid est bonum secundum veritatem; aliquid autem secundum apparenciam,  
20 quia omne ens, quantumcumque malum, habet aliquid bonum, sive simpliciter sive quod videtur esse bonum, et quod est bonum apparens, ut dicit Aristotiles, secundo *Physicorum*; quare, etc.

L 117ra 6. Iterum, / appetitus nichil est, nisi inclinacio ad perfectionem. Aliquando illa inclinacio est ex natura, sicut dicimus quod grave habet inclinacionem ad  
25 deorsum ex natura illa. Aliquando est inclinacio secundum bonum cognitum et apprehensum; et per cognicionem causatur ista inclinacio. Et sic ex forma cognita causatur inclinacio. Talis autem inclinacio dicitur appetitus vel voluntas que per se feruntur in bonum. Quare, omnia bonum appetunt.

7. Ad rationem dico quod cum dicitur, omnis appetitus est per cognicionem,  
30 dico quod est ut sic, et est ut non. Quidam enim appetitus est animalis et ille supponit cognicionem; appetitus autem naturalis, non. Et unde sequitur quod multa sunt que non appetunt appetitu animali, sed omnia appetunt vel appetitu naturali vel animali.

8. Ad rationem dico quod non sequitur: omnia non operantur bonum, ergo  
35 non appetunt < bonum >, quia ad hoc quod aliquid terminet appetitum, sufficit quod sit bonum secundum veritatem vel secundum operacionem. Unde credens aliquando operari bene, operatur malum aliquando; et ideo non oportet quod si aliquis operetur malum quod credat hoc, nisi per accidens.

9. Iterum, contingit quod id quod ordinatur in finem malum est secundum  
40 se, habet tamen rationem boni respectu finis. Et ideo non appetit illud secundum se, sed respectu talis finis, ut apparet ex projectione aliquarum diviciarum in mare ne submergatur navis: licet proicere talia secundum se sit malum, respectu tamen talis finis est bonum.

### Questio 10

Consequenter queritur utrum omnia appetant unum bonum?

1. Et videtur quod non, quia quod appetit unumquodque est suum esse; sed non omnium est idem esse; quare, etc.

21-22 *Phys.* 2.3 (195a24-26).

Questio 10 1 Cf. *Comm.* 13.19-32; *Lect.* 7.25-54; *Sent.* 5.175-182; *ST* 1-2, 1, 8.

- 5 2. Iterum, quod appetitur est perfectio rei; sed diversorum sunt diverse perfectiones; quare, non omnia idem appetunt.
3. Iterum, secundum Aristotilem multis existentibus doctrinis finis appetitur; sed fines sunt diversi; quare, etc.
4. In oppositum arguitur: omnis multitudo descendit ab aliquo uno et  
10 causatur ab uno in quolibet genere secundum Proclum. Si ergo sunt multa bona in que encia diversa ordinantur, oportet ponere primum bonum quod erit bonum quod maxime appetitur ab omnibus.
5. Iterum, finis et bonum idem; quare, cum unus sit finis omnium, unum erit bonum omnium appetendum.
- 15 6. Intelligendum quod finis dicitur dupliciter: uno modo, 'finis cuius'; alio modo, 'finis quo' est perfectio uniuscuiusque quo perficitur illud. 'Finis cuius' dicitur ille cuius participacione est aliquid perfectum, sicut finis hominis; finis, dico, qui est felicitas qua perficitur. Est etiam finis ille, ipsum primum, cuius participacione sit homo bonus et felix. Dicitur autem 'finis quo' finis intrinsecus  
20 <qui> est perfectio. Et diversorum sunt diverse perfectiones. Ideo talis perfectio et talis finis est diversus secundum speciem in diversis. Finis tamen extrinsecus est unus, quia sicut est ponere unum primum in genere cause efficientis, ita et in genere cause finalis. Patet ergo quod non est aliquod bonum quod appetunt omnia. Dico proprium, sicut dicit Aristotiles: existentibus multis  
25 artibus et doctrinis, sunt diversi fines proprii intrinseci. Extrinsecus tamen idem est.
7. Iterum, propter quod unumquodque tale et illud magis; sed omnia habent rationem appetibilis et boni a primo; quare istud erit quod omnia maxime appetent, tamquam bonum primum et unum: omnia igitur unum bonum  
30 appetunt. Apparet ad rationes; procedunt enim suis viis. Rationes primo adducte bene probant quod est unum bonum quod est finis omnium quod est extrinsecum, ut dictum est.

### Questio 11

Circa conclusionem principalem queritur utrum omnes operationes humane ordinentur in finem?

8 fines] finis *L*

Questio 11 2 conclusionem] capitulum *praem. et exp. L*

7 *EN* 1.1 (1094a6-8) et *R* 375. 10 *The Elements of Theology*, ed. E. Dodds (Oxford, 1963), prop. 21, p. 24; cf. 'Procli Elementatio Theologica translata a Guilelmo de Moerbeke (Textus ineditus)', ed. C. Vansteenkiste, *Tijdschrift voor filosofie* 13 (1951) 273-74. 24 *V. sup.* q. 10.7.

Questio 11 1 Cf. *Comm.* 18.50-60; *Sent.* 5.128-147, 6.219-225; *ST* 1-2, art. 1 et 2.

- L 117rb 1. Et quod non, probacio: quia illud propter quod est aliquid est aliqua causa  
 5 eius; sed finis non est aliqua causa; quare, propter finem non erit aliquid. Minor  
 probatur, / quia causa prior est causato; sed finis, posterior; quare, si sit ultima  
 perfectio hominis operacio, tunc ultima perfectio hominis erit propter aliquem  
 finem, quod est inconueniens; quare, tunc non esset ultimus finis hominis, quod  
 est falsum.
- 10 2. In oppositum est Aristotiles.
3. Item, omne quod procedit a principio determinato et per medium  
 determinatum tendit in finem determinatum; sed tales sunt operationes  
 hominis; quare, etc.
- 15 4. Dicendum quod omnes operationes hominis secundum quod homo sunt  
 propter aliquem finem, secundum quod dicit Aristotiles: 'omnis ars et omnis  
 doctrina, similiter electio et proheresis, alicuius videtur esse operatrix.' Omnia  
 enim que sunt in aliquo genere sunt propter principium aliquod quod est in illo;  
 sed finis est principium omnium operabilium; quare, omnia reducta sunt ad  
 ipsum.
- 20 5. Iterum, operationes hominis secundum quod homo sunt operationes  
 quarum homo est dominus; procedentes ab aliqua virtute rationem habent ab  
 obiecto; et ideo omnes procedentes sunt secundum rationem obiecti. Obiectum  
 autem voluntatis est bonum; et ideo omnes sumunt rationem a bono, sicut a  
 fine; igitur propter bonum ordinantur; quare, omnia propter finem operata  
 25 sunt, quoniam finis est causa causarum, sicut in secundo *Physicorum* dicitur.
6. Ad rationes, dicendum ad primam quod finis potest dupliciter consi-  
 derari: vel secundum intencionem et sic prius est et movet agentem ad trans-  
 mutandum materiam, et sic ratio concludit; vel potest finis considerari secun-  
 dum esse et, ut sic, est effectus causarum. Cum igitur effectus sit posterior  
 30 causa, sequetur quod, ut sic, finis sit posterior aliis principiis, et isto modo non  
 procedit. Quod autem postea dicitur: dico quod ultima perfectio hominis est  
 propter finem, scilicet propter finem extrinsecum et non propter finem  
 intrinsecum hominis; unde finis intrinsecus hominis est propter finem extrinse-  
 cum hominis a quo etiam rationem habet.

### Questio 12

P 237r (in marg. inf.) Consequenter queritur utrum omnes operationes hominis rationem et spe-  
 ciem sumant ex fine ad quem ordinantur?

11 procedit] preedit L 27-28 transmutandum corr. ex transmutacionem L  
 Questio 12 3 sumant] sument ut vid. P

10 EN 1.1 (1094a1-2) et R 375. 15 EN 1.1 (1094a1-3) et R 375. 25 Phys. 2.3 (194b35-  
 195a2); H 145 (62). 31 V. inf. q. 12, par. 6.  
 Questio 12 1 Cf. ST 1-2, 8, 2 et 3, et 1-2, 1, 3.

1. Et quod non, probacio: quia illud a quo aliquid sumit speciem debet esse  
5 intrinsecum; sed finis non est intrinsecus rei, ut ipsis operacionibus eius; quare,  
etc.

2. Iterum, < illud > a quo aliquid sumit speciem debet esse prius; sed finis  
non est prius hiis que sunt ad finem; quare, etc.

3. Item, si operacio sumit rationem a fine, cum eadem operacio ordinetur in  
10 diversos fines, eadem operacio continebitur sub diversis speciebus; hoc autem  
est inconveniens; quare, etc.

4. Ad oppositum arguitur: operationes hominis recipiunt speciem a quo  
recipiunt bonum vel malum; sed operationes habent rationem boni vel mali, ex  
hoc quod in bonum finem vel malum ordinantur; quare, etc.; quare, ex fine  
15 habent speciem.

5. Dicendum quod operationes hominis sorciuntur speciem ex fine vel ex  
generante – nec refert, quia operationes hominis procedunt a voluntate secun-  
dum rationem obiecti voluntatis, ita quod obiectum voluntatis habet rationem  
efficientis respectu operacionum – et ideo finis est qui dat speciem; quia finis et  
20 obiectum idem, idem ipsa ratio finis.

6. Iterum, ipsa ratio finis movens voluntatem agit operationes, et iterum iste  
operationes procedunt in finem; et ideo, finis primum est et terminus  
operacionum; sic igitur a fine et efficiente operationes recipiunt speciem. Tunc  
patet quid dicendum sit, in calefactione et in omnibus talibus actionibus, quia  
25 rationem sorciuntur a fine, a termino suo et a suo agente, cum sint operationes.

7. Ad rationem, concedo maiorem. Ad minorem dico quod finis non est  
extrinsecus simpliciter, sicut nec motus ad illud ad quod vadit. Unde a fine  
inmediate non sumunt speciem, ita quod finis sit species; immo, ad quod  
convenit cum fine, cum dicimus quod effectus recipit speciem ab efficiente,  
30 quia dat sibi perfectionem.

8. Ad secundum dico quod finis prius est secundum intencionem, non  
autem secundum esse.

9. Ad tercium dicendum quod eadem operacio nature potest habere diversas  
species secundum quod est ordinata in diversos fines morales; secundum enim  
35 quod ordinantur in finem bonum, sunt sub specie boni / et continentur; L 117va  
secundum autem quod ordinantur in finem malum, sunt sub specie mali.

13 rationem] bonum *praem. et exp. L* 20 idem<sup>2</sup> ... finis *om. P* 21 Iterum ... finis *om. L*  
voluntatem] novitatem *corr. ex montate in marg. L* 27 a] ad *L* 28 ad] aliud *P*  
29 cum<sup>2</sup>] sicut *P* 35-36 ordinantur ... mali *obsc. P*

## Questio 13

Consequenter queritur utrum in operacionibus hominis sit ponere ultimum finem?

1. Et videtur quod non, quia bonum et finis idem; sed in bonis est procedere  
5 in infinitum, quia hoc bonum generat illud, et illud aliud, et sic in infinitum; quare, in operacionibus humanis non contingit ponere ultimum finem.

2. Preterea, finis est obiectum voluntatis; sed in obiectis est procedere in infinitum, quia voluntas vult bonum et vult se velle et iterum vult se velle velle bonum, et sic in infinitum; in infinitis autem non est ultimum; quare, non  
10 contingit ponere ultimum finem in operacionibus humanis.

3. Oppositum dicit Aristotiles.

4. Item, finis movet efficientem et sunt sibi invicem cause; ideo, secundum ordinem et processum in causis finalibus est ordo in causis efficientibus. Si igitur in causis finalibus contingit procedere in infinitum, tunc in causis  
15 efficientibus contingit procedere in infinitum; quod est inconveniens, quia est ponere primum agens, in cuius virtute agunt omnia agenda; quare, ad finem ultimum necesse est devenire qui appetitur non propter aliud sed solum propter se.

5. Dicendum quod in operacionibus humanis est devenire ad ultimum  
20 finem, qui non appetitur propter aliud, quia in unoquoque genere, remoto primo, removetur omne posterius quia primum in unoquoque genere est causa omnium illorum que sunt in illo genere. In infinitis autem non est primum; et ideo, qui ponit infinitum removet primum, et per consequens omnia alia que ad illud primum sunt ordinata; et sic nec sunt alie cause, nec causa finalis; et ideo,  
25 nichil erit ordinatum in finem. Quia tamen hoc sit impossibile, necessarium est ponere causam finalem in actionibus et operacionibus humanis.

6. Item, hoc apparet ex alio, quia, remota causa finali, removetur simpliciter bonum quia universaliter omne bonum rationem finis habet vel rationem boni sumit ex fine. Si igitur removeatur finis removebitur bonum; sed qui procedit in  
30 infinitum in causa finita non ponit finem; quare nec bonum.

7. Item, in secundo *Methaphysice* probat Aristotiles quod est status in omni genere cause. Hoc etiam dicit Aristotiles quod omnes homines inclinant in finem. Si igitur tollatur finis totum desiderium frustra erit, quod est falsum et inconveniens. Propter quod dico quod in causis finalibus non contingit  
35 procedere in infinitum – essencialiter, dico, ordinatis – ubi una rationem super

25 Quia] quod L

1 Cf. *Comm.* 22.52-76; *Lect.* 10.5-31; *Sent.* 7-8.1-52; *ST* 1-2, 1, 4. 11 *EN* 1.2 (1094a19-22) et *R* 375. 31 *Meta.* 3.2 (996a19-28) et *M* 43-44; cf. *H* 118 (43).

alterum habet et ordinatur ad alium, ita quod unum rationem sumit ex alio. In accidentaliter tamen ordinatis contingit in infinitum procedere, ubi unum rationem non habet ex altera, sicut est in causis efficientibus accidentaliter ordinatis, ut quod iste generet istum, et iste illum, et sic in infinitum; < quod >  
 40 non < essentialiter > est, quia unum non habet causalitatem super alterum essencialem.

8. Ad rationem dico quod eo modo quo in bonis contingit procedere in infinitum, eo modo et in finibus. Et cum tu assumis quod in bonis proceditur in infinitum, dico quod aliquando generans et generatum se habent ut essentialiter  
 45 ordinata, ut homo et sol et primus motor sunt causa generacionis Sortis. In talibus autem contingit devenire ad primum. Quedam autem sunt accidentaliter ordinata, ut quod idem generet Platonem, et Plato generet Ciceronem, et Cicero Virgilium. Accidit enim Virgilio quod Sortes genuit Platonem, patrem Cicero-

50 9. Ad aliud dico quod in obiecto voluntatis est duplex ordo essentialis. Ubi unum / rationem boni habet ex alio et illud ex alio, in talibus in infinitum procedere non contingit; et ideo, nec in finibus ordinatis secundum se. Est nichilominus in voluntate ordo accidentaliter, ut voluntas vult bonum et vult se velle et vult se velle velle, et sic in infinitum; et in talibus sic ordinatis in  
 55 infinitum procedere non est inconveniens.

L 117vb

### Questio 14

Utrum omnes operationes hominis querantur propter finem ultimum?

1. Et quod non, probacio: quia que queruntur propter se non queruntur propter aliud; sed quedam operacio hominis queritur propter se, sicut speculacio et sicut ludus aliquando; quare, etc.  
 5

2. Item, omnis operans propter aliud ex intencione simul cogitat de illo fine; sed homo operans aliquam operationem non cogitat ultimum finem, ut felicitatem; quare, etc.

3. Ad oppositum dicit Philosophus quod ultimus finis est qui queritur  
 10 propter se et omnia alia propter ipsum.

4. Dicendum quod omnes operationes hominis queruntur propter aliquod bonum, sicut patet ex prima conclusione huius libri; bonum ultimum et finis idem, vel rationem habet a fine; quare, omnes operationes hominis sunt propter finem ultimum.

37 procedere] non *praem. et exp. L* 55 procedere] non *praem. et exp. L*

Questio 14 3 probacio] est *praem. et exp. L* 4 hominis] finis *praem. et exp. L*

Questio 14 1 Cf. *Comm.* 23.98-05; *Lect.* 10.41-62; *ST* 1-2, 1, 6. 9 *EN* 1.2 (1094a19-22) et *R* 375; cf. *EN* 1.4 (1095a24-35) et *R* 376. 12 *EN* 1.1 (1094a1-2) et *R* 375.

15 5. Item, ordo est in causis efficientibus secundum ordinem in finibus ita quod prior efficiens prioris est finis et posterior posterioris; sed in efficientibus est ita quod omnes efficientes cause reducuntur ad unum efficiens, et substantiam et perfectionem ab ipso recipiunt; quare, sic erit in causis finalibus quod actiones hominis omnes queruntur propter ultimum finem, sicut dicit  
20 Aristotiles.

6. Ad rationem dico quod maior non est vera. Sunt enim aliqua que aliquando queruntur propter se et aliquando propter alia. Unde dicit Aristotiles quod honores querimus etsi non esset aliud, et tamen ordinantur in aliud. Et tamen dicitur quod speculationem querimus propter se, < quod est > verum;  
25 sed etiam speculatio ordinatur aliquando in aliud. Similiter aliquando aliquis ludit non propter aliud sed propter se; tamen ille ludus aliquando ordinatur ad aliquid [ordinatur]. Item, ludere propter ludi gratiam non est operatio hominis secundum quod homo, sed secundum quod communis cum aliis animalibus. Questio autem est de operatione hominis secundum quod homo.

30 7. Ad aliud dico quod maior falsa est, immo dico naturam agere propter aliquid, non quia agit deliberando. Secundum enim quod vult Aristotiles, primo *Physicorum*, non est necesse: si quis ordinat aliquid in aliud ut in finem, non oportet quod de illo fine cogitet semper.

### Questio 15.

IGITUR COGNICIO EIUS AD VITAM etc. (1094a22-23). Consequenter queritur utrum cognitio ultimi finis sit necessaria ad directionem vite vel operationis?

1. Et quod non, probacio: quia vita humana consistit in habitibus et  
5 virtutibus, et in operationibus causatis ab habitibus. Quod igitur non est necessarium ad virtutem, non est necessarium ad operationes vite; sed secundum Philosophum inferius, cognitio ultimi finis non est necessaria ad virtutem, ut dicit, quia nichil confert ad virtutem; quare, etc.

2. Iterum, cognitio eius propter quod sunt operationes humane non est  
10 necessarium ad operationem vite; sed propter cognitionem finis non sunt moralia; quare, etc., quia dicit Philosophus quod finis moralium non est cognitio virtutum, sed operacio.

17 efficiens] ai *praem. et exp. L*

Questio 15 3 vite] si *praem. et exp. L*

20 EN 1.2 (1094a20-22) et R 375. 22 EN 1.7 (1097b1-3) et R 382; EN 1.6 (1096b18-20) et R 380. 31-32 *Phys.* 2.8 (199b27-28); cf. *H* 147 (89).

Questio 15 1 Cf. *Comm.* 25.34-44; *Lect.* 10-11.62-17; *Sent.* 8.52-93; *ST* 1-2, 12, 2. 7 EN 1.9 (1098b30-1099a3) et R 386; EN 1.4 (1095a6) et R 377. 11 V. sup. q. 15.7.

3. Ad oppositum arguitur: quando aliquid operatur aliquid diiudicando ipsum in aliud, cognitio illius alterius necessaria est ad operationem, sicut  
 15 cognitio signi multum facit ad sagittantem; sed sic est de cognitione finis respectu operative vel operationum; quare, etc.

4. Dicendum quod cognitio finalis necessaria est ad operationem hominis secundum quod homo ordinatur ad finem. Ordinare / autem non potest aliquis operationes, nisi cognitionem habeat operabilium, quia rationis est ordinare. L 118ra  
 20 Rationem autem eorum que sunt ad finem non habet aliquis, nisi ex fine; ideo, debentem recte operari in moralibus necesse est habere rationem finis. Sed est intelligendum quod in operatione practica intellectus duplex est processus: quidam racionacionis; quidam autem est execucionis. Primo modo, debens aliquid operari secundum intellectum practicum oportet quod racionetur, et  
 25 ratio incipit a fine, sicut operans sanitatem racionatur secundum que sunt ad finem et ultimo ex sanitate que est in anima; est sanitas extra quod est primum in intencione, ultimum autem in execucione. In moralibus autem, cum sit duplex processus, intenditur finis secundum rationem ultimi et non secundum quod prius est secundum cognitionem, licet tamen finaliter non introducatur  
 30 finis realiter sine aliquali precedente cognitione. Est igitur necessaria cognitio finis operanti secundum rationem.

5. Ad rationem primam dicendum quod maior vera est. Et cum dicitur quod nichil facit ad virtutem, nichil facit ad operationem, concedatur; sed dico quod cognitio finis aliquid facit ad virtutem, quia ad operationem virtutis exigitur  
 35 scire, velle et inpermutabiliter operari secundum Aristotilem inferius.

6. Item, virtus est habitus electivus in medietate consistens, recta ratione determinatus. Rationis autem est ordinare, quod non contingit sine cognitione; quod, cum dicit Philosophus quod cognitio operationum confert ad virtutem, verum est secundum se et absolute; sed oportet quod cum cognitione sit  
 40 appetitus ordinatus et velle et operatio ad hoc quod cognitio conferat ad virtutem. Vel dicendum quod quamvis aliquis habeat habitum virtutis, ad hoc tamen quod recte operetur oportet quod habeat cognitionem finis.

7. Ad aliud dicendum quod maior falsa est. Non enim finis necessarius est, sed ea que sunt ad finem, et si est finis, necesse est ea que sunt ad finem esse, et  
 45 non e converso, ut dicitur secundo *Physicorum*. Unde, si est conclusio, sunt premissae et non e converso. Unde in operationibus vite est processus in racionando qui incipit a ratione, et est processus qui terminatur ad finem vite.

14 sicut] sig *praem. et exp. L*    17 necessaria] intra *L*    25 secundum] sed *L*

35 V. inf. q. 31.    38 *EN* 1.4 (1095a5-12) et *R* 377.    45 *Phys.* 2.6 (199a3-8); *H* 147 (90).

### Questio 16

P 277rb      Consequenter queritur utrum consideracio ultimi boni pertineat ad civilem doctrinam?

1. Et videtur quod non, quia Aristotiles, decimo huius, considerat de ultimo fine; ibi autem considerat ea que pertinent ad monasticam; non ergo ad civilem pertinet consideracio ultimi finis.

2. Item, consideracio cause prime non pertinet ad civilem doctrinam; ultimus autem finis est primum et causa omnium; ergo, etc.

3. Oppositum per Aristotilem.

10 4. Dicendum quod ultimus finis duplex est et uterque potest dupliciter considerari: quidam enim est intrinsecus, qui est substantia et perfectio hominis; et quidam est extrinsecus, ad quem ordinatur finis intrinsecus. In intelligere enim substantias separatas consistit ultimus finis hominis extrinsecus. Uterque autem istorum finium potest dupliciter considerari: ut secundum  
15 substantiam eius, et sic cognicio ultimi finis non pertinet ad civilem doctrinam vel monasticam sed ad methaphysicam et ad librum *De anima*; si autem isti considerentur ut fines operationum humanarum, tunc ad civilem doctrinam pertinet, quia ratio operationum. Ipse autem considerat operationes, quare et fines sic consideratos. Voco autem civilem doctrinam que est de operationibus  
20 hominis, sive sit monastica sive politica sive civilis, magis tamen ea que considerantur in civili doctrina, sicut vult Aristotiles.

5. Ad rationes, apparet solucio ad primam: cum dicitur, finis omnium est prima causa, verum est. Et quando dicitur quod prima causa non est de consideratione civilis sciencie, dicendum quod / hoc verum est secundum  
L 118rb 25 substantiam suam. Nichil tamen prohibet ipsam esse de consideratione civilis doctrine inquantum operationes / considerate a civili ordinantur ad ipsam.

P 277va      6. Ad aliud dicendum quod Aristotiles non vocat tantum illam civilem que est politica, sed que est de operationibus hominis secundum quod universaliter < considerantur > .

### Questio 17

P 277va      Consequenter quia dicit Philosophus quod civilis ordinat quicquid aliquis addiscere debet et usque ad quod tempus, ideo queritur utrum expediens sit

Questio 16      7 prime] *add. talis P*      9 Oppositum] *add. patet P*      13 substantias] consistit *praem. et exp. L*      16 isti] *ista P*      17 tunc *om. P*      24 est verum *P*      26 ipsam] ipsum *L*      28 quod] *add. homo P*

Questio 16      1 Cf. *Lect.* 11.18-24; *Sent.* 8.94-111.      9 *EN* 1.1 (1094a1-3) et *R* 375.  
20 V. sup. prol., par. 8-10.      27 *EN* 1.2 (1094a27-b11) et *R* 376.

Questio 17      1 Cf. *Comm.* 27.83-07; *Lect.* 11.26-36; *Sent.* 9.144-156.      2, 10 *EN* 1.2 (1094a28-b2) et *R* 376.

quemlibet ignorantem quamlibet scienciam in quolibet tempore et in qualibet  
5 civitate addiscere?

1. Et quod sic videtur, quia omne bonum alicuius expediens est illi; sed omnis sciencia bonum et perfectio intellectus est; quare, expedit homini perfici secundum intellectum et in quolibet tempore et in quolibet loco.

2. Oppositum dicit Aristotiles.

10 3. Item, non est expediens hominem laborare in illa sciencia ad quam non est natus; sed non est quilibet natus ad quamlibet scienciam: quidam enim sunt nati ad medicinam, quidam ad naturalia, quidam ad mathematica; quare, etc.

4. Intelligendum ad hoc quod cum intellectus sit sicut tabula nuda ante addiscere et sic imperfectus et sic in potencia ad scienciam que est actus  
15 intellectus, omnis sciencia est perfectio intellectus, et sic sit cognicio et sciencia de malo.

5. Secundo est intelligendum quod quamvis intellectus separatus sit et inmixtus et secundum se non egeat corpore, in operatione tamen communicat corpori; necesse est, cum intelligit, fantasmata speculari. Ideo cum in opera-  
20 cione indigeat corpore, necessarium est ipsum diversificari secundum diversificationem corporum. Unde Aristotiles in libro *De anima* dicit quod molles carne aptos mente dicimus. Unde super hoc fundat Aristotiles philosophiam suam.

6. Tercio est intelligendum quod non consideratur hic illud quod bonum est secundum se, sed quod est bonum secundum quod ordinatur in finem. Aliquid  
25 enim est malum secundum se et tamen bonum respectu finis, ut interficere hominem est malum et tamen est bonum propter pacem civitatis.

7. Item, aliquid est falsum secundum se, verum tamen respectu finis. Dico autem quod bonum est quemlibet quamlibet scienciam in civitate et quocum-  
30 que tempore addiscere. Bene dico absolute, quia sciencia queque est perfectio intellectus et bonum etiam intellectus; ideo in quolibet tempore et quolibet loco in quo ignorat est bonum addiscere, non tamen expediens, quia expediens nominat bonum respectu finis. Quia quidam sunt nati ad unum, quidam ad aliud, ex consuetudine et tempore nativitatis sue, et ideo, cum homo bene non possit proficere in illo ad quod non natus est, ideo non expedit addiscere nisi  
35 illam ad quam natus est, sicut vidimus quosdam proficere in mathematicis et non in moralibus, quosdam autem e converso. Sic enim narrat Aristotiles de

10 illa om. P 11 natus<sup>2</sup>] actus P 11-12 nati sunt P 12 medicinam] add. et P  
mathematica] methaphysica P 13 quod om. P 15 perfectio] imperfectio P sic] si P  
21 in om. P 28 autem] tunc P quemlibet om. P 29 queque] que P 32 nati om. L  
34 est natus P non<sup>2</sup>] no L nisi] quia praem. et exp. L 35 vidimus] videmus P mathe-  
maticis] methaphysicis P et] ita quod P 36 quosdam] quidam L

21 *De an.* 2.9 (421a25-26) et *D* 147; *H* 182 (99). 36-37 *EN* 6.7 (1141b4-5) et *R* 484.

Anaxagore quod ipse erat bonus in spiritualibus, malus autem in operabilibus. Ideo vidit Plato disposicionem et nativitatem puerorum, ut ex hoc experiretur ad quam scienciam puer sit utilis.

40 8. Iterum, nec etiam in quolibet tempore est expediens addiscere, quia quidam ad quedam magis in uno tempore et melius sunt dispositi quam in alio.

9. Iterum, nec etiam in qualibet civitate, ut si sit aliqua sciencia que docet homines a recta ratione deviare in aliqua civitate, illa sciencia in tali civitate addiscenda non est; ut si aliqua esset civitas in qua doceretur quod sacri-  
45 ficandum est, illa sciencia que docet quod Iupiter sit deus expellenda est a civitate. Sic igitur apparet qualiter quedam sciencie addiscende, et quedam non; et in quo loco et in quo non; in quo etiam tempore et in quo non. Et per hoc apparet ad rationes, quoniam procedunt viis suis.

### Questio 18

Consequenter queritur utrum puer sit conveniens auditor huius sciencie.

L 118va 1. Et videtur quod sic, quia ille qui potest proficere in hac doctrina est conveniens auditor; sed puer est potens proficere; et magis / quam senex  
5 propter habundanciam caliditatis et propter disposicionem spirituum; quare, etc.

2. Oppositum dicit Aristotiles in littera.

3. Iterum, ille non est conveniens auditor qui non potest attingere ad finem huius doctrine; talis est puer. Probacio: quia finis huius doctrine est recta  
10 operacio secundum rationem rectam; addiscam autem quod non attingit puer propter defectum rationis et experiencie; quare, etc.

4. Dicendum quod puer dupliciter est: est enim puer etate, quia deficit a tempore; est autem puer moribus, quia deficit a moribus, nec est exercitatus in hiis propter inordinatum appetitum et habitum. Puer, primo modo, non est  
15 conveniens auditor huius doctrine, quia auditor huius doctrine debet iudicare finem et ea que sunt ad finem secundum rectam rationem, quia finis huius est principium huius sciencie. Debentem autem habere rectum iudicium oportet habere cognicionem. Puer autem cum sit inexercitatus in operacionibus talibus propter defectum etatis non erit conveniens auditor; sed cum fuerit exercitatus  
20 in operacionibus morum ita quod habet cognicionem principiorum in moribus,

37 operabilibus] operacionibus P 38 vidit om. P 42 etiam nec L 44 esset] est L  
doceretur] docetur L 47 non et om. L

Questio 18 16 est bis exh. L 20 principiorum] morum *praem. et exp.* L

38 EN 7.15 (1154a32-33) et R 518.

Questio 18 1 Cf. *Comm.* 42.86-98; *Lect.* 13.56-74; *Sent.* 11-12.70-107. 7 EN 1.3 (1095a3) et R 377.

tunc erit conveniens auditor. Propter hoc post audicionem naturalium et mathematicarum debet hec sciencia audiri. Est nichilominus puer in moribus non conveniens auditor huius sciencie propter appetitum inordinatum, quia hec sciencia est operacionis gracia, ut dicitur in secundo libro; et ille non potest  
25 recte operari propter passiones et propter inordinatum appetitum. Verumptamen proficuum est quemlibet audire istam doctrinam, quia si non depravatus, omnino poterit reduci ad bonos mores, sicut dicit commentator.

5. Ad rationem dico quod minor falsa est, quia doctrina non est nisi ex principiis doctrine que non potest puer habere, quia non est exercitatus in hiis.  
30 Si tamen habeat aliquam experienciam et cognicionem principiorum, conveniens auditor est.

### Questio 19

Utrum insecutor passionum possit quantum ad cognicionem proficere in doctrina ista?

1. Et videtur quod non, quia qui non habet experienciam eorum ex quibus  
5 sumitur doctrina vel qui non potest habere rectum iudicium eorum que cadunt in doctrina non potest proficere in doctrina ista; insecutor autem passionum est talis; quare, etc.

2. Item, qui errat circa principia in doctrina non habet rectam cognicionem eorum que sunt in doctrina; sed talis est insecutor passionum, quia finis in  
10 operacionibus est principium doctrine, sicut dignitas in demonstrativis; sed propter appetitum et habitum inordinatum inclinatur ad malum finem, et ita errat in principiis; quare, etc.

3. In oppositum est Aristoteles.

4. Dicendum quod insecutor in actu non habet rectum iudicium in actu de  
15 operacionibus. Insecutor autem habitu potest habere. Contingit enim aliquid scire in actu et in habitu. Scire autem in actu est considerare aliquid secundum actum. Scire autem in habitu est habere habitum qui est principium considerandi sine actuali consideratione. Dico igitur quod insecutor non habet rectum iudicium in actu, quia rectum iudicium non est sine cognicione principiorum  
20 primorum in actu in sciencia; sed existens in passione non habet cognicionem principiorum actu in sciencia, quia post cognicionem omnia ordinat ad malum

Questio 19    5 habere] audire *praem. et exp. L*    6 non ... ista (isti *L*) *suppl. in marg. L*  
11 errat] erit *L*

24 *EN* 2.1 (1103b18-26) et *R* 397.    27 *Comm.* 45-46.81-87 (ad 1095a8-13).

Questio 19    1 Cf. *Comm.* 42-43.98-27; *Lect.* 13-14.74-14; *Sent.* 12.108-160.    13 *EN* 1.3 (1095a5-6) et *R* 377.

et habet cognitionem de eo ad quod inclinat habitus. Cum igitur actu rectum iudicium non habeat de principiis, nec per consequens de principiis actualiter, et, ut sic, non potest proficere in ista sciencia. Nichilominus tamen dico quod  
 25 talis passionum insecutor rectum iudicium de principiis in habitu habere potest et per consequens de principiis < in actu > , quia sedata passione in eo rectum iudicium et actuale de principiis habet; hoc autem non esset nisi habitualem principiorum cognitionem habuisset; quare, etc. Et apparet ad rationes, quia procedunt suis viis.

### Questio 20

NOS AUTEM DICAMUS etc. (1095b14). Utrum felicitas consistat in voluptatibus?

L 118vb 1. Et videtur quod sic, quia illud quod appetitur propter se et non propter aliud videtur / esse summum bonum; talis autem est voluptas, quia dicit  
 5 Aristotiles in decimo huius quod aliquis appetit delectari propter delectari; quare, etc.

2. Item, quod omnia appetunt videtur esse summum bonum; sed tale est voluptas, sicut dicit Eudoxus in decimo huius; quare, etc.

3. In oppositum est Aristotiles in littera.

10 4. Intelligendum quid intelligimus nomine delectacionis, per quod nichil intelligitur nisi illud quo primo fertur aliquid per appetitum in bonum. Quo tamen privatum est, tunc est volens; deinde autem unitur tali modo vel secundum appetitum vel secundum intellectum. Deinde unito bono desiderato cum ipso desiderante sequitur delectacio, et ita iam in bono habitu quiescit  
 15 aliquis. Ista autem quietacio in isto bono dicitur delectacio. Unde delectacio nichil est aliud nisi quietacio quedam in bono desiderato.

5. Iterum, in homine est duplex virtus secundum quam fertur in bonum, sensus scilicet et intellectus; et utrumque fertur in bonum; et utrumque quietatur in suo bono. Unde appetitus sensitivus fertur in bonum et unitur ei;  
 20 ulterius quietatur in illo.

6. Ista autem quietacio in sensibilibus dicitur ipsius sensus sensualis delectacio. Dico igitur quod in voluptatibus sensibilibus non consistit summum bonum hominis, quia summum bonum debet esse secundum illud quod est summum in homine. Istud autem non est sensus, sed intellectus; et ideo in delectacionibus

25 talis] sciencia *praem. et exp. L*

Questio 20 2 NOS ... etc. *coni. cum Gauthier*] QUOD AUTEM UNIVERSALE MELIUS etc. (1096a11) *L*

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Questio 20 1 Cf. *Comm.* 57.83-91; *Lect.* 21.26-47; *Sent.* 18-19.25-112; *ST* 1-2, 2, 6. 5 *EN* 10.2 (1172b19-24) et *R* 565. 8 *EN* 10.2 (1172b9-10) et *R* 565. 9 *EN* 1.3 (1095b14-24) et *R* 378.

25 sensibilibus non consistit summum bonum hominis. Quoniam tamen sensus sit communis animalibus, brutis et hominibus, felicitas autem est operatio propria hominis et secundum propriam virtutem, manifestum est quod felicitas hominis non consistit in voluptatibus sensus.

7. Item, nec in delectacione secundum quod huiusmodi consistit summum  
30 bonum hominis, quia felicitas consistit in unione desiderati cum desiderante; sed delectacio non est unio talis, sed aliquid quod sequitur ad talem unionem, sicut apparet. Est enim quietacio appetitus in bono, cum iam unitum est, et ita sequitur felicitatem, et ita delectacio est accidens felicitatis; quare, in delectacione sive voluptate, que idem est, non consistit felicitas.

35 8. Ad rationem primam est dicendum quod illud est summum bonum hominis quod maxime appetitur ab homine secundum quod homo; et istud est maximum bonum uniuscuiusque quod maxime appetit unusquisque. Et debemus dicere quod illud est bonum hominis quod convenit homini et appetit homo secundum quod homo. Et hoc est secundum intellectum, quia sic differt  
40 ab aliis. Et dico quod homo secundum quod homo non appetit delectacionem sensualem. Unde plures appetunt plura non secundum quod homines. Unde istam delectacionem secundum intellectum appetit intellectus secundum quod est conveniens ad illud quod maxime appetit.

9. Ad aliud dicendum quod illud quod omnes homines appetunt est ultimum  
45 bonum, si appetant secundum quod homines. Talis autem non est delectacio sensualis, quia illa convenit pariter brutis; et ideo non est propria homini; quare, in tali non consistet hominis felicitas.

### Questio 21

Consequenter queritur utrum felicitas consistat in honoribus?

1. Et videtur quod sic, quia illud quod est premium virtutis est felicitas; unde dicit Aristotiles felicitatem esse principium virtutis – secundum Philosophum  
5 quarto huius; quare, etc.

2. Item, in illo debet consistere felicitas hominis quod attribuitur deo et subiectis nobilioribus; honorem autem maxime attribuimus deo; quare, etc.

3. Ad oppositum: felicitas debet esse bonum proprium; sed honor non est proprium bonum eius qui honoratur, sed honorantis; quare, etc.

10 4. Dicendum quod impossibile est felicitatem consistere in honoribus. Et

34 sive] seu *L*      que] qui *L*  
Questio 21      3 premium] primum *L*

Questio 21      1 Cf. *Lect.* 21-22.56-61; *Sent.* 19.113-156; *ST* 1-2, 2, 2.      4-5 *EN* 1.12 (1102a1-4) et *R* 392.

huius ratio est quia honor universaliter queritur propter aliquid aliud, quod patet sic: est enim honor exhibitio reverencie in testimonium virtutis et alicuius alterius ut excellencie, et ideo honor queritur secundum quod est testimonium alicuius excellencie. Et ideo dicit Aristotiles quod homines / querunt magis  
 L 119ra  
 15 honorari a sapientibus et prudentibus, quia tales melius possunt iudicare. Felicitas autem consistit in bono absoluto, quod est bonum propter se et non ad aliud ordinatum; quare, etc. Cum igitur honor ordinetur ad aliud, manifestum est quod in honore non consistet felicitas.

5. Ad rationem primam dico quod felicitas est essenciale premium virtutis,  
 20 quia omnis virtus est propter felicitatem. Nullus enim felix nisi virtuosus; sed honor est premium accidentale; consequitur enim ipsam virtutem.

6. Ad aliam rationem dico quod maior falsa est; immo felicitas sicut probatur decimo huius, in speculatione virtutis intellective et respectu obiecti primi et optimi consistit. Talis autem non est honor; quare, in honore non  
 25 consistit hominis felicitas.

## Questio 22

P 277va Utrum honor sit in honorante vel in honorato?

1. Et quod in honorato, probacio: quia quod confertur alicui videtur esse in illo ut aliquid possessum vel accidens eius; honor autem attribuitur honorato;  
 5 quare, est in honorato et non in honorante.

2. Item, actio est in ipso mobili vel paciente; sed honoracio est actio, et ille qui est honoratus patitur; quare, honor est in honorato et non honorante.

3. In oppositum est Aristotiles in littera.

4. Dicendum quod honor non est in honorato, sicut in subiecto, sed in ipso  
 10 honorante. Est enim duplex operacio: una, scilicet, que manet in agente; alia autem que transit in materiam exteriorem. Manens enim operacio in agente est intelligere <et> velle. In materiam autem exteriorem transeunt sunt, sicut fabricare, secare, urere. Unde operacio que est intelligere dicitur manere in intelligente, quia causatur ab intelligibili, et intellectus passivus refert istam  
 15 passionem in ipsum quod agebat in ipsum; ideo dicitur manere in agente.

Questio 22    4 possessum] pocessum P    7 honoratus] ignotus P    11, 12 materiam] naturam P    11 est transp. ante in<sup>2</sup> P    13 fabricare] febricitare L    15 ideo om. P

13-14 Anon., *Super Eth. vet.* (Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale 232, fol. 90v): 'Dico autem honorem verum, qui est exhibitio reverencie in testimonium virtutis.' Cf. *Lect.* 21.72-73 et *ST* 1-2, 2, 2.    14 *EN* 1.4 (1095b28-29) et *R* 379.    23 *EN* 10.7 (1177a12-18) et *R* 576.

Questio 22    1 Cf. *Comm.* 62.88-06; *Sent.* 19.131-143.    8 *EN* 1.4 (1095b24-25) et *R* 378-379.

- Similiter velle causatur a bono apprehenso, et intellectus istam actionem refert in bonum apprehensum. Talis autem operatio est honor; est enim quedam operatio manens in operante. Est enim causata a bono eius qui honoratur. Bonum autem existens in eo qui honoratur est illud quod movet ipsum  
 20 generantem ad actionem generandi. Et ista actio non manet in ipso absolute, sed per illum ad ipsum in quo erat illud bonum. Unde honor est exhibitio / P 277vb  
 reverencie in testimonium virtutis et excellencie illius qui honoratur sic, quod bonum quod est in honorato, a quo incipit actio ista, est illud ad quod terminatur ipsa honoratio, sicut dicitur de intelligere. Si autem propter aliquid  
 25 aliud et non propter bonum in ipso existens exhibeat reverenciam, tunc est adulatio; vel si hoc faciat propter habere pecuniam suam, tunc est cupidus. Quales enim sunt fines, tales debent denominari habitus. Apparet igitur quod honor est in honorante, sicut in passo, et non in honorato.
5. Per hoc apparet ad rationes: est enim dicendum quod ille qui honoratur  
 30 non habet rationem passi, sed bonum existens in ipso est in ratione agentis et moventis.

### Questio 23

Consequenter queritur utrum felicitas consistat in divitiis?

1. Et quod sic videtur, quia circa illud circa quod maxime afficiuntur homines videtur consistere felicitas hominis; sed circa pecunias maxime affi-  
 5 ciuntur homines, ut ad sensum patet; quare, etc.
2. Item, cuius appetitus indeterminatus est videtur habere rationem ultimi finis; talis est appetitus diviciarum, sicut vult Aristotiles in *Rethorica* sua; quare, etc.
3. Ad oppositum arguitur: ultimum bonum non compatitur secum malum;  
 10 sed per divicias parantur mala; quare, in divitiis non consistit felicitas.
4. Dicendum quod in divitiis non consistit felicitas; sed est intelligendum quod quedam sunt divicie naturales que sunt / ad supplendos defectus L 119rb  
 naturales, sicut potus, cibus, vestimentum et similia. Divicie artificiales sunt ille que sunt invente propter faciles communicaciones diviciarum naturalium, sicut  
 15 aurum et argentum. Denarius enim est quasi fideiussor ad habendum quicquid

17 quedam] quidam P    18 operante] operatione L    20 absolute] absoluto L    24 de] se P  
 29 enim est P    30 rationem] posicionem P

21-22 V. sup. q. 21.13-14.

Questio 23    1 Cf. *Comm.* 66-67.99-25; *Lect.* 23.46-64; *Sent.* 20.190-217; *ST* 1-2, 2, 1. 7 *Rhet.* 1.10 (1369a11-17) et transl. Guillelmi, ed. B. Schneider (Aristoteles Latinus 31.1-2; Leiden, 1978), p. 197; *H* 253 (26).    11-15 Cf. *Pol.* 1.9 (1256b41-1257a1) et *Sent. lib. Polit.* (edd. Dondaine et Bataillon), p. A 100.

homo voluerit. Et manifestum quod divicie naturales non sunt felicitates, quia omnia talia queruntur propter aliud. Si igitur felicitas non queritur propter aliud, manifestum quod in diviciis naturalibus non consistit felicitas.

5. Iterum, multo minus in diviciis artificialibus consistet felicitas, quia illa  
20 non queruntur nisi inquantum sunt mensura diviciarum naturalium et ad divicias naturales ordinantur. Si igitur in diviciis non consistit ultimum bonum hominis, et felicitas [non] est ultimum bonum hominis, sequitur quod in diviciis non consistet felicitas.

6. Ad rationem primam est dicendum quod in illo in quo maxime  
25 afficiuntur < homines > secundum quod homines in illo consistet felicitas; sic autem non maxime afficitur homo circa divicias, sed solum afficitur circa eas ut ordinet eas secundum rationem rectam. Et talis affectio est bona. Sed verum est quod quidam sunt homines non recte ordinati, qui maxime afficiuntur circa eas, et quamvis circa eas maxime afficianter non est ponendum quod in eis consistit  
30 felicitas, quia afficientes se circa eas inordinati sunt.

7. Ad aliud dicendum quod illius cuius est appetitus infinitus secundum rectam rationem regulatus, illud circa quod afficitur, in eo dicitur consistere felicitas. Sed dico quod appetitus diviciarum non est regulatus recta ratione.

8. Iterum, appetitus diviciarum naturalium non est infinitus, quia parvum  
35 est quod natura appetit. Appetitus tamen diviciarum artificialium potest esse infinitus: alter autem est appetitus summi boni et alter diviciarum. Quanto autem aliquis cognoscit summum bonum, tanto magis appetit ipsum; quanto autem aliquis plus cognoscit divicias et congregat, tanto minus appetit eas, si fuerit regulatus ratione recta. Et ideo quamvis, ut sic, appetitus sit inordinatus  
40 et cum sit infinitus, non oportet quod in eo consistat felicitas hominis.

### Questio 24

QUOD AUTEM UNIVERSALE MELIUS (1096all). Circa opinionem Platonis, qui posuit felicitatem consistere in quodam bono separato, et Aristotiles ostendit contra ipsum quod non sit aliquod bonum separatum quod sit unius rationis;  
5 ideo, queritur utrum hoc sit verum?

1. Quod autem sit bonum separatum eiusdem rationis in omnibus, probacio: quia in unoquoque genere est ponere aliquod primum quod est mensura et principium omnium que sunt post; quare, in genere bonorum erit hoc ponere, et tale erit bonum separatum; quare, etc.

35 artificialium] naturalium L

Questio 24      2 quod] qui L      3 ostendit] consistit *praem. et exp. L*

Questio 24      1 Cf. *Comm.* 8-9.95-07; *Lect.* 25-31 passim; *Sent.* 27.198-213, 29.26-34; *ST* 1-2, 6, 3.

10 2. Item, quod sit eiusdem rationis cum aliis bonis, probacio: quia omne quod generatur ab aliquo generatur, et a sibi simili, ut habetur in septimo < *Methaphysice* >. Cum igitur omnia bona temporalia sint mutabilia, generantur ab alio et simili specie vel ratione, quia illud bonum, a quo sunt omnia bona, erit eiusdem rationis cum aliis; quare, etc. Et hec fuit ratio Platonis.

15 3. Ad oppositum arguitur per rationes Aristotilis: quia in hiis que se habent secundum prius et posterius non invenitur una ydea unius rationis secundum opinionem Platonis, ideo in numeris non posuit Plato unam ydeam; sed hoc est in bonis reperire prius et posterius; quare, non est aliquid bonum separatum unius rationis cum aliis.

20 4. Iterum, bonum et ens convertuntur quia omne ens bonum et e converso; et sicut ens reperitur in diversis generibus, sic et bonum. Cum ergo non sit ens separatum unius rationis cum aliis, quare neque bonum.

5. Intelligendum primo quod necesse est esse aliquid bonum separatum in natura; secundo / intelligendum quod non est eiusdem rationis cum inferioribus; tercio, quod omnia sunt bona per participacionem illius.

L 119va

25 6. Primum probatur sic per rationem, quoniam omne bonum per participacionem est bonum causatum quod causatur ab alio. Et semper causa melior causato. Si tunc sit bonum causatum a bono, illud bonum causans aut causatur ab alio aut non, et sic erit processus in infinitum, quod est impossibile; aut illud bonum est incausatum, et tunc habetur propositum, quod sit reperire bonum < in > causatum, et nichil aliud quam bonum: quia aliter non esset bonum per essenciam, quia illud dicitur aliquid per essenciam in quo nichil est quod non sit sua essencia. Si igitur illud habeat aliquid quod non sit bonum, tunc non erit bonum per essenciam, quod est falsum; quia contingit devenire ad unum bonum simplicissimum quod est sua essencia.

30 7. Item, habetur duodecimo *Methaphysice*, bonum est duplex: bonum ordinationis, sicut in universo, et bonum separatum; sicut apparet in exercitu est bonum ordinis et bonum separatum, sicut bonum ducis. Sic igitur manifestum est ex intencione Philosophi quod est reperire bonum separatum 40 proportionaliter duci in exercitu, ut ipsam causam primam.

8. Secundo est intelligendum quod illud bonum non est unius rationis cum aliis bonis quia non predicatur de aliis, quia unum subsistens de alio subsistente non predicatur quia sunt diversa numero; et que predicantur, predicatum et subiectum, sunt unum numero; quare, etc.

45 9. Item, secundum Philosophum, decimo *Methaphysice*, sempiternum et non sempiternum non sunt unius generis, sicut nec corruptibile et incorrup-

43 predicantur] predicatur L

11 *Meta.* 7.8 (1033b29-34) et *M* 136-137; cf. *H* 130 (178). 36 *Meta.* 12.10 (1075a11-15) et *M* 221; *H* 138 (277). 45 *Meta.* 10.10 (1058b26-29) et *M* 202-203; *H* 136 (252).

tibile; sed primum bonum est sempiternum, alia bona causata sunt non sempiterna; quare, etc.

10. Item, illud quod est causa prima non potest esse unius generis cum ipsis  
 50 causatis, nec unius nature cum illis, quia universaliter quecumque causata in  
 hoc conveniunt quod sunt causata, et in natura eorum universaliter nature esse  
 eorum ex alio dependent. Si igitur primum esset eiusdem nature cum illis, tunc  
 dependeret ab alio in esse; [ab alio] quod est inconveniens. Primum enim  
 principium calidorum non dependet ab alio quod sit formalius eo calidum;  
 55 quare, etc. Unde manifestum est quod non est aliud bonum separatum quod sit  
 unius rationis cum aliis. Et in hoc reprobatur Aristoteles Platonem.

11. Tercio est intelligendum quod omnia sunt bona per participationem istius  
 boni separati, quia omnia que causantur et procedunt vel ordinantur ad unum  
 attributionem habent ad ipsum. Sed omnia bona causantur a primo bono, quia  
 60 omnia bona attribuuntur ei quod rationem finis habet. Unde dicuntur omnia  
 bona quia sunt ab hoc bono et ad illud ordinantur et ad illud acquirendum  
 coadiuvant. Manifestum est quod est ponere primum bonum separatum a quo  
 omnia causata dependent. Quod tamen bonum separatum non est unius  
 < rationis > cum ipsis bonis causatis.

- 65 12. Primam rationem concedo, quoniam oportet ponere bonum separatum.  
 Sed illud non est unius rationis, ut dictum est.

13. Ad secundum dicendum: quando dicitur, simile generatur a suo simili,  
 dicendum quod ista propositio intelligenda est in generatione substantiarum,  
 non autem in generatione accidentium, quia durum generatur a non duro; nec  
 70 adhuc est ipsa propositio universaliter intelligenda in generatione substantia-  
 rum, sed de generatione particulari proxima. Et dicendum quod quamvis  
 omnia bona sit generata a primo, non oportet quod sint eiusdem rationis cum  
 illo.

## Questio 25

Consequenter queritur utrum, posito bono separato, sit ponere felicitatem in ipso?

1. Et videtur quod sic, quia ultimus finis est ultimum bonum et felicitas  
 5 hominis; sed istud est ultimus finis quod est separatum bonum; quare, etc.

2. Ad oppositum arguitur: felicitas est proprium bonum hominis; sed istud  
 bonum / separatum non est proprium homini, sed commune omnibus; quare,  
 etc.

Questio 25      7 separatum] hominis *praem. et exp. L*

Questio 25      1 Cf. *Comm.* 94-95.22-43; *Lect.* 31.31-33, 32-33.18-53; *Sent.* 22-23.18-54.

3. Item, bonum hominis debet esse hominis perfectio; sed istud bonum  
10 separatum non est hominis perfectio, quia separatum non est perfectio separati,  
sicut Philosophus vult septimo < *Methaphysice* > ; quare, etc.

4. Dicendum quod felicitas est perfectio hominis, sed finis duplex: uno  
modo, ipsa operatio eius vel perfectio quod est ad finem; alio modo dicitur  
obiectum illius operationis. Unde finis illius qui medicatur est sanitas; obiectum  
15 autem ipsius est corpus sanatum.

5. Item, simpliciter finis hominis potest dici operatio hominis ut forte  
intelligere vel aliquid tale; alio modo, obiectum illius operationis non intelli-  
gere, cum intelligere sit operatio finis. Iste est magis bonum, quia bonitas  
operationis est a bonitate obiecti. Si tu voces felicitatem hominis operationem  
20 hominis, tunc bonum separatum non est felicitas hominis. Sed de tali bono dicit  
Aristotiles quod felicitas hominis est operatio hominis. Si autem tu voces  
felicitatem hominis obiectum operationis, tunc illud separatum est felicitas  
hominis. Sed de hac non intelliget Aristotiles, sed ponet hanc distinctionem,  
scilicet 'finis quo' et 'finis cuius', ut apparet secundo *De anima*. Rationes enim  
25 procedunt suis viis.

### Questio 26

Consequenter dicit Aristotiles quod amicis existentibus et veritate consen-  
ciendum est veritati.

1. Et videtur quod non sit verum, quia magis bono magis est consencien-  
5 dum; sed amici sunt magis bonum quam veritas. Dicit enim Philosophus: sine  
amicis nullus eligit vivere, habens omnia reliqua bona.

2. Item, videtur quod amici sunt magis bonum omnibus aliis et per con-  
sequens veritate; quare, etc.

3. Item, illi quod est causa magis boni magis est consenciendum; sed huius-  
10 modi sunt amici, ut dicitur decimo huius; quare, etc.

4. In oppositum est Aristotiles et commentator.

5. Item, ei quod est magis amicis magis est consenciendum; sed veritas magis  
est amico, quia amicus non est amicus nisi propter veritatem.

22 felicitatem] bonitatem *praem. et exp. L*

Questio 26 3 veritati *corr. ex veritate L* 9 consenciendum] eligendum *praem. et exp.*

*L* 13 amico] amica *L* amicus<sup>2</sup>] firmitus *praem. et exp. L*

11 *Meta.* 7.16 (1040b25-30) et *M* 153. 21 *EN* 1.7 (1098a17-18) et *R* 384. 24 *De an.* 2.4 (415b2, 20) et *D* 95; cf. *Phys.* 2.2 (194a35-37); *H* 181 (82).

Questio 26 1 Cf. *Comm.* 72.74-79; *Lect.* 24.2-32; *Sent.* 22.41-75. 2, 5, 11 *EN* 1.6 (1096a14-16) et *R* 379. 10 *EN* 9.12 (1171b29-33) et *R* 562. 11 *Comm.* 72.74-79 (ad 1096a10-14).

6. Dicendum quod simpliciter melius est consentire veritati quam amicis. Et  
 15 huius ratio est quia homo propter felicitatem est. Propter amicos autem non est  
 homo finaliter, quia amici sunt bonum hominis per accidens; quare, cum per se  
 bonum sit magis bonum, magis consensendum est veritati quam amicis.

7. Utrum tamen magis eligendum sit < verum quam falsum > quando  
 expedit dicere falsum propter amicum quam verum, dicendum < quod >  
 20 expediens dicitur bonum per comparacionem ad finem, sicut aliquando expedit  
 merces proicere in mare. Ideo ad hoc considerandum est de fine. Finis autem  
 hominis duplex est: unus qui est felicitas practica que consistit in operacionibus  
 hominis et in operabilibus a nobis; alius est finis qui consistit solum in  
 speculatione veritatis. Dico igitur quod non est expediens defendere amicum et  
 25 dimittere veritatem per comparacionem ad finem, qui est speculacio, quia finis  
 speculationis est veritas primi intelligibilis in quo consistit hominis felicitas. Si  
 autem loquamur de expedimento per comparacionem ad finem qui est vita  
 politica que consistit in virtutibus moralibus, dicendum quod aliquando magis  
 valet defensio amici quam ipsa veritas; et tunc expedit facere detrimentum  
 30 veritatis. Simpliciter tamen dico quod melius est consentire veritati in detrimen-  
 tum amicorum et per comparacionem ad finem que est cognicio veritatis. Ideo  
 dicit forte Philosophus quod expedit hominibus honorare veritatem et ipsam  
 amicis preferre, et maxime philosopho, quia philosophus est qui ordinatur in  
 L 120ra cognitionem veritatis. Et ideo aliter convenit hoc / philosopho quam politico.  
 35 Unde philosophi est amator sapientie, nisi cum preferat veritati amicos  
 mentitur nomen eius.

8. Ad rationes, est dicendum ad primam quod dicit Aristotiles quod sine  
 amicis nullus eligit vivere. Dicendum quod hoc est verum vivendo civiliter;  
 tamen sine amicis eligit aliquis vivere vita contemplativa. Et ideo ratio  
 40 concedatur quantum ad hoc quod concludere potest; per idem apparet ad  
 secundum argumentum.

### Questio 27

RURSUS REVERTENDUM (1097a14-15). Ibi enim primo dicit Aristotiles quod  
 felicitas est bonum perfectissimum.

1. Et videtur quod non, quia perfectum est cuius nichil est extra; sed extra

14 consentire] considerare *praem. et exp. L* 17 amicis] aliis *praem. et exp. L* 21 mare]  
 mari *L* 24 expediens] expiendens *L* 25, 27 qui] que *L* 35 amator] auditor *praem. et*  
*exp. L* cum] ergo *L* veritati amicos] veritatem amicis *L*

32 *EN* 1.6 (1096a14-16) et *R* 379.

Questio 27 1 *Comm.* 98.5-34, 102-103.51-67; *Lect.* 33-34.54-55; *Sent.* 32-33.76-180.

- 5 felicitatem est aliquod bonum quod adiunctum felicitati reddit ipsam felicitatem eligibiliorem; quare, etc.
2. Item, perfectum est quod attingit proprium finem; talis autem non est felicitas, non attingit ad finem quia ipsa in se finis est; quare, etc.
3. Oppositum dicit Boethius in *De consolacione* quod felicitas est bonum  
10 perfectissimum et aggregacio omnium bonorum; quare, etc.
4. Et dicendum quod felicitas est aliquod bonum perfectum, quia perfectum est illud cuius nulla pars est extra que nate sunt in eo. Felicitas autem talis est quia includit in se omnia bona hominis secundum quod homo, et omnia bona hominis attributionem habent ad ipsam ita quod felicitas est illud ad quod  
15 omnia alia ordinantur sicut ad finem, et a quo sumunt rationem omnia alia.
5. Item, bonum rationem boni habet per hoc quod appetitur. Quedam autem sunt bona que eliguntur propter aliud, sicut divicie solum propter aliud, numquam autem propter se. Quoddam autem est bonum quod eligitur propter se et propter aliud, ut sciencia. Est nichilominus tertium bonum quod eligitur  
20 propter se tantum. Secundum autem bonum magis est bonum quam primum, et tertium quam secundum; et ita quod est hoc bonum est perfectissimum. Talis autem est felicitas, et ex hoc sequitur quod felicitas sit bonum perfectissimum.
6. Ad rationem: quod extra felicitatem non est aliquid quod non contineatur ab ipsa secundum aliquam attributionem. Felix enim etsi habeat ultra amicos  
25 vel divicias vel aliqua alia, ipsa tamen magis attribuuntur ad felicitatem.
7. Ad secundum dicendum quod hec ratio perfecti, que est quod perfectum est quod attingit proprio fini, est verum de illo quod habet finem; de ratione autem felicitatis non est quod attingat finem, quia ipsamet finis est omnium et per consequens sui ipsius; quare, etc.

### Questio 28

Consequenter queritur utrum felicitas hominis sit aliquod bonum causatum? P 277vb

1. Et videtur quod non, secundum Boethium in libro *De consolacione*, qui dicit, felicitatem perfectam deum confiteri necesse est; deus autem est aliquid  
5 incausatum; quare, in causato non consistet hominis felicitas.
2. Iterum, felicitas est summum bonum; summum autem bonum est bonum incausatum; quare, in bono incausato consistet felicitas, non ergo in bono causato.

9 Boethius] philosophus *praem. et exp. L*  
Questio 28    3 qui] quia *L*    6 bonum<sup>3</sup> *om. P*

9 *De cons. phil.* 3, pr. 2 (CCL 94.38); *H* 289 (34).  
Questio 28    1 Cf. *ST* 1-2, 3, 1 et 2, 7.    3 *De cons. phil.* 3, pr. 10 (CCL 94.53).

3. In oppositum arguitur: felicitas est finis hominis; finis autem causatur ab  
10 hiis que sunt ad finem; quare, felicitas in bono causato consistet.

4. Dicendum quod duplex est finis: uno modo operatio, alio modo ipsum  
obiectum operationis, sicut usus pecunie et esse pecunie.

5. Unde dicit Philosophus quod finis dupliciter dicitur, scilicet 'finis quo' et  
'finis cuius'. Unde si vocemus felicitatem obiectum operationis huius quod est  
15 intelligere, cum obiectum sit inmateriale et incausatum, manifestum est quod,  
ut sic, felicitas hominis consistet in bono incausato. Illud enim obiectum  
intellectus, ut sic, est prima causa omnium a quo omnia in esse suo dependent  
et in esse suo conservantur.

L 120rb 6. Si autem loquamur de felicitate / que consistit in operatione hominis  
20 secundum intelligere, cum talis operatio procedat a forma intellectus, erit  
aliquid causatum. Et ideo, ut sic, in aliquo causato consistet felicitas hominis. Et  
apparet ad rationes, quia procedunt suis viis.

### Questio 29

Consequenter queritur utrum felicitas sit operatio?

1. Et videtur quod non, quia felicitas debet esse aliquod bonum manens; talis  
autem non est operatio, quia operatio semper est in fieri; quare, felicitas non est  
5 operatio.

2. Item, felicitas debet esse bonum non interruptum; quolibet enim operatio  
hominis est interrupta; quare, etc.

3. Item, secundum Boethium felicitas est status omnium bonorum aggrega-  
tione perfectus; talis autem non est operatio, sed quies operationis; quare, etc.

10 4. Oppositum dicit Aristotiles.

5. Item, bonum uniuscuiusque consistit in operatione; sed bonum hominis  
est felicitas hominis; quare, felicitas hominis consistet in operatione.

6. Et dicendum quod felicitas secundum quod consistit in usu et non in  
obieto consistit in operatione, quia est perfectio hominis secundum formam  
15 eius. Et est intelligendum quod est perfectio triplex hominis: una est ipsius  
forma; secunda autem est que est ipsius habitus qui est principium operationis;

9 autem] *add. hominis P* 12 esse pecunie et usus pecunie *P* 14 huius] *huiusmodi P*  
15 obiectum] *illud praem. et exp. L* 15-16 cum ... consistet *om. P* 17 sic] *sit P* omnium  
*om. P* omnia] *anima P* suo] *de praem. et exp. L* 18 conservantur] *conservatur P*  
21 sic] *sit P*

Questio 29 16 forma] *hominis praem. et exp. L*

16-18 V. sup. q. 25.23-25.

Questio 29 1 Cf. *Lect.* 37-38.65-50, 75-76.44-45; *Sent.* 35.14-66; *ST* 1-2, 3, 2. 8 *De*  
*cons. phil.* 3, pr. 12 (CCL 94.38); *H* 289 (34). 10 *EN* 1.8 (1098b15-17) et *R* 384.

tercia autem perfectio est operacio. Ultima autem perfectio non consistit in forma, quia ipsa forma est in potencia ad habitum.

7. Item, nec ultima perfectio consistit in habitibus, quia non consistit in eo  
20 quod ordinatur ad aliud; sed habitus sunt principia operationum et ordinantur ad operationem; quare, sequetur quod felicitas in operatione ultima <est>, quia omnia alia ordinantur ad ipsam, et ipsa ad nichil aliud. Nam tale est felicitas, et ideo in operatione consistit felicitas. Et licet operacio ordinetur ad obiectum, de tali ordinatione non loquimur in proposito; quare, etc.

25 8. Ad rationem dicendum quod quedam est operacio que non manet in agente, que est magis perfectio rei facte quam agentis. Et in istis non consistit felicitas. Alia autem est operacio que manet in substantia agentis, sicut intelligere. Et in tali operatione consistit felicitas.

9. Ad aliud dicendum quod bonum hominis debet esse tale non interruptum;  
30 sed debet <non> esse tale bonum quod semper meliori modo se habeat ad felicitatem quo potest. Nunc autem non potest aliqua esse operacio hominis, nisi sit interrupta. Et nichil prohibet quin in operatione consistat felicitas.

10. Ad aliud dico quod felicitas aggregat omnia bona, quia ad ipsum omnia alia ordinantur, et ideo dicitur status pro privacione motus. Quia enim ipsa est  
35 finis; finis autem terminat motus; ideo terminat motum. Nichilominus operacio in qua consistit non est motus, nisi equivoce, quia intelligere non est movere, sicut dicitur primo *De anima* contra Platonem.

### Questio 30

Consequenter queritur utrum felicitas consistit in operatione anime sensitive?

1. Et videtur quod sic, quia aut consistit in operatione anime sensitive aut  
5 intellectualive; non intellectualive, quia non consistit in operatione que dependet ex alia operatione; sed operacio intelligendi ex operatione sentiendi; quare, in operatione intelligendi non consistit felicitas. Consistit ergo in operatione sentiendi.

2. Item, quod non sit felicitas sine operationibus sensus dicitur, quia felicitas  
10 est bonum perfectum; sed operacio sentiendi est bonum hominis; secundum etiam quod vult Boethius, felicitas est status omnium bonorum aggregatione perfectus; quare, sine operatione sentiendi non erit felicitas.

17 perfectio<sup>1</sup>] est *praem. et exp. L* est] eius *praem. et exp. L* 33 aggregat] consistit  
*praem. et exp. L*  
Questio 30 9 dicitur] vel *L*

37 *De an.* 1.3 (406b26-407a31), 1.4 (408b32-33) et *D* 32, 53; cf. *H* 175 (20).

Questio 30 1 Cf. *Lect.* 38.51-73; *Sent.* 35-36.77-121; *ST* 1-2, 3, 3. 11 V. sup. q. 27.9.

L 120va 3. In oppositum arguitur: operacio sentiendi communis est hominibus et  
 15 brutis; quare, si felicitas consisteret in operacionibus sensus, / tunc bruta  
 felicitarentur; hoc autem est falsum; quare, etc.

4. Dicendum primo quod felicitas non consistit in operacione sensus;  
 secundo, quod non consistit in operacione sensus in presenti vita. Probacio  
 primi est: felicitas consistit in operacione illa hominis secundum quam homo  
 coniungitur obiecto suo, scilicet ipsi summo bono; sed secundum operacionem  
 20 sensus non coniungitur homo illi bono, quia talis operacio non excellit  
 sensibilia; quare, in operacione sensus non consistet hominis felicitas.

5. Item, felicitas consistit in operacione illius quod principale est in homine,  
 cum sit bonum perfectissimum hominis; talis autem est intellectus; quare,  
 consistit in intellectu, et si sic, non ergo in sensu.

25 6. Secundo est intelligendum quod felicitas non est sine operacione sensus.  
 Consistit enim, ut dictum est, in operacione intellectus. Talis autem operacio  
 non est sine operacione sentiendi; vult enim Aristotiles, tercio *De anima*,  
 intellectum, cum intelligit, necesse est fantasmata speculari. Quare, etc.

7. Item, felicitas hominis non est sine esse hominis; esse autem non est sine  
 30 potencia sensitiva; quare, nec felicitas sine potencia sensitiva. Apparet igitur  
 quod felicitas non consistit in operacione virtutis sensitive; sine tamen ipsa non  
 est illa operacio; quare, etc.

8. Ad rationem dico quod felicitas hominis consistit in illo quod non  
 ordinatur ad aliud; nec tamen est contra rationem eius quod dependeat ex alio  
 35 tamquam ex causa, sicut ex operacione sentiendi, quia finis de necessitate  
 dependet ex hiis que sunt ad finem; quare, etc.

9. Alie rationes bene probant quod non est felicitas sine operacione  
 sentiendi, et ideo concedantur quantum ad hoc quod concludunt.

### Questio 31

Deinde queritur utrum felicitas consistat in operacione voluntatis vel  
 intellectus?

1. Et quod in operacione voluntatis, probacio: quia ultimus finis in opera-  
 5 cione respondet primo moventi; sed primum movens in homine est voluntas et  
 ultimus finis eius est felicitas; quare, etc. Voluntas enim movet intellectum ad  
 ratiocinandum.

16 primo] quod *praem. et exp. L* 30 felicitas] potencia *praem. et exp. L*  
 Questio 31 4 voluntatis] intellectus *praem. et exp. L*

27 *De an.* 3.7 (431a14-17) et *D* 229; *H* 188 (167).

Questio 31 1 Cf. *Lect.* 39.70-94; *ST* 1-2, 3, 4.

2. Item, delectacio est aliquid ipsius voluntatis, quia est quietacio desiderii; sed felicitas est delectacio, cum delectacio sit ultimum bonum quod in unione  
10 convenientis cum conveniente sequitur delectacio; quare, etc.

3. Item, felicitas est ultimum bonum; ultimum autem bonum est obiectum voluntatis; quare, felicitas consistet in operatione voluntatis.

4. Ad oppositum: felicitas hominis, sicut vult Aristotiles in hoc primo, consistit in eo quod est principalius in homine habente rationem; sed hoc est  
15 intellectus, sicut probatur decimo huius; quare, etc.

5. Ad dissolutionem autem questionis considerandum primo quod, cum in homine sit reperire primo intellectum et voluntatem, considerandum quod istorum sit principalius. Et videtur quod intellectus, quia omne quod per se  
20 < est > activum alicuius et motivum videtur principalius esse eo quod movet; sed intellectus est motivus voluntatis, non enim movetur voluntas nisi a bono comprehenso ab intellectu.

6. Item, sicut se habet obiectum voluntatis ad obiectum intellectus, ita voluntas ad intellectum; sed obiectum voluntatis est bonum, obiectum autem intellectus est ens; prius autem est ens < quam > bonum, quia, sicut dicit  
25 Algazel, ens est quod primo occurrit intellectui nostro; quare, etc.

7. Secundum enim Philosophum in decimo huius: felicitas < consistit > in operatione illius quod est optimum et in virtute optima. Cum igitur intellectus sit nobilior ipsa voluntate, manifestum est quod felicitas consistet in operatione intellectus, non autem voluntatis.

8. Unde intelligendum < est > quod voluntas fertur in bonum desideratum; voluntas quietatur / in bono habito et delectatur in illo. Felicitas autem non  
30 consistit in ista prima operatione, quia motus ad felicitatem non est felicitas. Iterum, nec in secunda predicta operatione, quia felicitas consistit in unione hominis cum bono perfectissimo, et ad hanc unionem consequitur delectacio.  
35 Cum igitur delectacio non sit talis unio que quidem est felicitas, quare felicitas non consistit in operatione voluntatis.

L 120vb

9. Sed est intelligendum quod in felicitate sunt duo: est ibi unio, et est considerare id quod pertinet ad eius essenciam, scilicet unionem; item, est considerare delectacionem, que est quasi accidens proprium consequens ipsam.  
40 Primum istorum pertinet ad intellectum, secundum autem ad voluntatem. Primo enim intellectus dicit hoc esse summum bonum, et tunc homo per

10 sequitur bis *exh. L* 33 felicitas] voluntas *praem. et exp. L*

13 *EN* 1.7 (1097b23-1098a17) et *R* 383-384. 15 *EN* 10.7 (1177a11-18) et *R* 576.  
25 *Metaphysica* I, tr. 1 (ed. J. T. Muckle, *Algazel's Metaphysics. A Mediaeval Translation* [Toronto, 1933], p. 6). 26 *EN* 10.7 (1177a18-22) et *R* 576.

voluntatem unitur illi, et tunc sequitur delectacio que est ultima operacio voluntatis.

10. Ad rationem primam est dicendum: cum dicitur, voluntas est primum,  
45 falsum est; immo intellectus. Universaliter enim volumus quia intelligimus, et non convertitur.

11. Ad secundam rationem est dicendum quod maior vera est et minor falsa est. Cum dicitur, delectacio est finis ultimus secundum quod ultimum bonum est felicitas, et cum dicitur, tale ultimum est delectacio, falsum est; immo ipsa  
50 unio hominis ad summum bonum est felicitas; ad istam autem consequitur delectacio, sicut quedam eius proprietas; quare, etc.

12. Ad tercium dicendum quod ultimum bonum hominis est bonum voluntatis sicut obiectum. Et cum dicitur, ultimum bonum est felicitas hominis, dico quod verum est, sicut obiectum; sed istud bonum quod est operacio voluntatis  
55 est bonum, et istud bonum rationem habet ex ratione obiecti. Unde videre non potest esse obiectum primum < visus, sed > visibile; verum operacio alicuius virtutis non est, < sed > obiectum illius virtutis. Unde operacio voluntatis non est obiectum eius. Quare in operatione voluntatis non consistet felicitas, immo magis in operatione intellectus que est principalis in homine.

### Questio 32

Consequenter queritur utrum felicitas consistat in operatione intellectus practici vel speculativi, quia Aristotiles videtur dicere quod consistit in operatione illius quod est principale in homine?

1. Quod autem consistit in operatione intellectus practici videtur, quia felicitas consistit in istis operationibus in quibus homo magis assimilatur  
substantiis separatis, secundum Aristotilem in decimo huius; sed in operationibus intellectus practici assimilantur illis, quia substantie separate sunt cause aliorum; sed et homo per intellectum practicum est causa aliarum in alias  
10 regulando per virtutem prudentis.

2. Item, felicitas est bonum hominis; illud autem in quod fertur intellectus speculativus non est bonum hominis, sed secundum intellectum practicum dicimur boni et non secundum operationem intellectus speculativi; quare, in operatione intellectus practici consistet felicitas.

47 quod] quia L    56 primum < visus sed > visibile *coni. cum Gauthier*] primi visibilis L  
Questio 32    5 consistit *corr. ex* consistat L    9 aliarum] aliorum L    alias] alios L

Questio 32    1 Cf. *Comm.* 194.17-21; *Lect.* 32-33.89-15; *Sent.* 36.114-152, 58.84-90; *ST* 1-2, 3, 5.    3 *EN* 1.8 (1098b14-16) et *R* 385.    7 *EN* 10.7 (1178b24-31) et *R* 580-581.

15 3. Oppositum dicit Aristotiles in decimo huius.

4. Item, in operatione illa que est diuturnior consistet felicitas; sed operatio speculativa diuturnior est quam sit practica; quare, in operatione speculativa consistet felicitas, non autem in practica.

5. Intelligendum quod felicitas est operatio hominis secundum intellectum  
20 vel virtutem intellectus. In intellectu autem duo est considerare, practicum et  
speculativum. Virtutes practice sunt prudentia et temperancia; speculativa  
autem ut intellectus, sapiencia, sciencia et ars, etc. Si igitur felicitas est operatio  
intellectus, et in intellectu sunt duo, ut dictum est, duplex erit felicitas: una que  
est perfectio hominis secundum virtutem moralem; et alia secundum virtutem /  
25 speculativam, secundum quod commentator dicit quod felicitas intellectus  
speculativi consistit in sapiencia. Secundum hoc sunt due felicitates, politica et  
speculativa; tamen speculativa magis habet rationem felicitatis, quia optimum  
hominis debet consistere in operatione optima respectu optimi obiecti. Sed  
optima virtus est intellectus speculativus et obiectum eius optimum intelligibile.  
30 Quare, optima felicitas consistet in operatione eius.

L, 121ra

6. Item, illud magis habet rationem boni simpliciter quod non ordinatur in  
aliud; sed felicitas contemplativa non ordinatur in aliud sed practica, ut operari  
secundum prudentiam ordinatur ad contemplacionem; quare, in practica  
operatione non consistet felicitas; consistet ergo in speculativa.

35 7. Item, posterior est operatio que est secundum intellectum speculativum  
quam practicum, quia operationes virtutis practice sunt ad sedandum concupis-  
cencias. Et hoc dicit Aristotiles, septimo *Physicorum*, quod in sedando et  
quiescendo fit anima prudens et sciens; prius autem ordinatur ad posterius;  
quare, practicum ordinatur ad speculativum. Et si sic, quare in operatione  
40 speculativa consistet felicitas.

8. Item, etiam illud per quod maxime assimilamur substanciis separatis, que  
sunt perfectissime, in illo maxime consistet nostra felicitas; sed illud est specu-  
lacio et contemplacio, sicut dicit Aristotiles decimo huius; quare, etc.

9. Ad rationem dicendum est quod maior vera est. Et cum dicitur quod  
45 magis assimilamur substanciis separatis secundum intellectum practicum, cum  
simus principia operationum secundum intellectum practicum sicut ipsa sunt  
principia ipsorum, verum est in hac operatione assimilamur ipsis. Sed alia est  
quedam operatio, magis principalis, que est intelligere primum intelligibile, et  
in hac operatione assimilamur ipsis secundum operationem intellectus specula-

20 est] sunt *praem. et exp. L* 32 operari] ordinari *praem. et exp. L* 41, 45 assimilamur]  
assimilantur *L*

15 *EN* 10.7 (1177a12-18) et *R* 576. 25 *Comm.* 194.17-21 (ad 1103a14-26), 192.91-99 (ad  
1103a3-7). 37 *Phys.* 7.3 (247b17-18); *H* 155 (189). 43 *EN* 10.7 (1177a12-18) et *R* 576.

50 tivi. Et ideo in eo in quo magis assimilatur, in isto est magis felicitas; hec autem speculativa; quare, in speculativa magis consistet felicitas quam in practica.

10. Ad aliud dicendum quod homo dicitur bonus et verus ex operatione intellectus. Verum tamen est quod non dicitur bonus bonitate morali secundum intellectum speculativum, sed simpliciter boni dicimur secundum intellectum  
55 illum.

### Questio 33

SCRUTANDUM AUTEM (1098b8). Utrum felicitas indigeat delectacione?

1. Et videtur quod non, quia bonum per se sufficiens non indiget < t > exterioribus, tunc enim non esset sufficiens; sed felicitas est bonum sufficiens;  
5 delectacio autem est extra felicitatem; quare, etc.

2. Item, felicitas non indiget illo quod impedit operationem secundum virtutem; sed delectacio impedit operationem secundum virtutem, secundum Philosophum in decimo huius; quare, etc.

3. In oppositum arguitur: omne subiectum in esse suo indiget passione  
10 propria; sed delectacio proprium accidens est ipsius felicitatis; quare, etc.

4. Intelligendum quod felicitas habet delectacionem sibi adiunctam. Et ratio huius est quia felicitas consistit in unione hominis cum bono separato; in illa autem unione quietatur homo; in illa autem quietacione desiderii est delectacio; quare, felicitati coniuncta est delectacio.

5. Item, felicitatem consequitur maxima delectacio quia voluntas operationis est ex voluntate obiecti. Cum igitur istud obiectum hominis vel intellectus sit nobilissimum, tunc operacio consequens erit optima, et per consequens delectacio maxima; hec autem operacio est felicitas; quare, felicitatem maxima consequitur delectacio. Nichilominus cum delectacio dicitur de delectacione  
20 secundum sensum, et talis est extra felicitatem, et ideo dicit Aristotiles quod felicitas non indiget delectacione tamquam aliquo extrinseco. Est etiam alia delectacio intellectualis, et talis consequitur felicitatem, quia est secundum  
L 121rb virtutem secundum quam est felicitas. /

6. Est enim intelligendum quod aliquid preexigitur ad aliud aut ut aliquid  
25 preambulans, et sic sensus exteriores exiguntur ad felicitatem; exigitur secundo modo aliquid sicut coadiuvans, et hoc modo ad felicitatem exiguntur amici;

54 speculativum] practicum *praem. et exp. L*

Questio 33 4 exterioribus] exteriorum *L* 7 operationem] virtutem *praem. et exp. L*  
21 extrinseco *corr. ex* intrinseco *L*

Questio 33 1 Cf. *Comm.* 132.59-67; *Lect.* 46.81-87; *Sent.* 46.1-63; *ST* 1-2, 4, 1. 8 *EN* 10.5 (1171b1-23) et *R* 572-573. 20 V. sup. q. 33.2.

exigitur etiam tercio modo aliquid sicut illud quod de ratione eius est, sicut tota ratio felicitatis exigitur ad felicitatem; exigitur nichilominus aliquid quarto modo tamquam necessarium consequens ipsum, et sic propria passio exigitur  
30 ad substantiam et delectacio ad felicitatem.

7. Ad rationem primam, dico quod non indiget felicitas delectacione nisi ut de necessitate ipsam consequens est. Et cum dicitur quod delectacio est extrinseca, dico quod non exigitur ut aliquid pertinens ad essenciam felicitatis, ut dictum est, cum voluptas vel delectacio secundum sensum est totaliter  
35 extrinseca. Et ideo talis delectacio non exigitur, sed ea que dicta est, ad felicitatem.

8. Ad aliud dicendum quod aliqua delectacio coauget operationem, sicut in operatione, sicut delectacio cytharizandi coauget operationem; et talis non corrumpit operationem. Delectacio tamen que est in operatione contraria  
40 corrumpit. Unde si aliquis fuerit in operatione cytharizandi per delectacionem que consistit in fielando, poterit impediri. Dico igitur quod delectacio que consistit in felicitate coauget felicitatem et non corrumpit eam; quare, etc.

#### Questio 34

Consequenter queritur: cum in felicitate sit cognicio veri et etiam delectacio consequens felicitatem, queritur quid istorum sit melius?

1. Quod autem delectacio melior sic videtur: quia perfectio melior est quam  
5 perfectibile secundum quod huiusmodi; sed delectacio est perfectio cognicionis, quia, sicut dicit Philosophus decimo huius, delectacio perficit felicitatem, sicut superveniens finis; quare, etc.

2. Item, illud propter quod aliquid appetitur melius est illo quod appetitur; sed propter delectacionem appetitur totum quod appetitur – unde adiuncte  
10 erunt delectaciones turpibus operationibus propter generacionem; quare, etc.

3. In oppositum arguitur: cognicio productiva est delectacionis; sed produ-  
ducens nobilius est producto; quare, cognicio melior est delectacione.

4. Intelligendum quod unio intellectus cum bono separato maius est bonum quam delectacio, quia bonum operationis sumitur ex bono obiecti, quia ratio  
15 operationis ex ratione obiecti sumitur. Dictum est enim prius quod felicitas que consistit in cognicione veri rationem habet ex obiecto; ita etiam dicendum est quod nobilitatem habet operatio ex obiecto. Ista autem unio cum bono separato est quod causat delectacionem; nam ex ista unione sequitur quietacio. Talis autem quietacio est delectacio; quare, bonum in ista delectacione erit propter

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Questio 34: 1 Cf. *Sent.* 46-47.65-120; *ST* 1-2, 4, 2. 6 *EN* 10.7 (1177a22-29) et *R* 570. 15-17 V. sup. q. 30.16-21.

20 tale bonum, et unumquodque propter quod tale et illud magis. Quare, non  
querimus cognitionem veri propter delectacionem, sed delectacionem propter  
veri cognitionem.

5. Ad rationem est dicendum quod duplex est perfectio: quedam est  
essencialis, et talis melior est ipso perfectibili quod est in potencia ad illud; alia  
25 est perfectio accidentalis, et de tali non procedit obiecto. Et dico quod Aristotiles  
intendit quod delectacio perficit felicitatem accidentaliter, ut decor iuventutem  
accidentaliter. Si dicas, 'Felicitas est accidens. Quare non erit magis bonum  
homine?', dico quod verum est absolute accipiendo illa. Homo tamen cum  
felicitate assumptus magis bonum est quam ipse per se, sic felicitas cum  
30 delectacione.

6. Ad aliud dicendum quod sunt quedam delectaciones circa concupiscen-  
cias consistentes, et tales sunt minime delectaciones. Alie autem sunt delectacio-  
nes in operacionibus intellectus. Et quia sensus non comprehendit nisi  
singulare, non attingit rationem boni simpliciter, et ideo in agentibus accidit  
35 quod queritur operacio propter delectacionem. In intellectu autem est e  
converso, quia ibi queritur delectacio propter operacionem. Unde dicendum  
quod sequentes iudicium sensus querunt operacionem propter delectacionem;  
in intellectu autem est e converso; ideo, etc.

### Questio 35

Consequenter queritur utrum bonum corporis exigatur ad felicitatem?

L 121va

1. Et quod non videtur, / quia quanto aliquid magis abstrahitur a sensibus,  
tanto magis potest speculari secundum rationem, secundum commentatorem  
5 primo huius; sed felicitas consistit in speculatione; quare, videtur quod bona  
corporis exteriora et sensibilia non valent ad felicitatem, sed quanto < magis >  
abstrahitur homo ab hiis, tanto videtur magis felix; quare, etc.

2. Item, ad bonum intransmutabile non exigitur bonum transmutabile; sed  
felicitas est bonum intransmutabile; quare, etc.

10 3. Ad oppositum arguitur: illud sine quo non contingit recte operari non est  
felicitas, quia felicitas est operacio secundum rationem rectam; sed talia sunt  
bona corporis; quare, etc.

4. Dicendum quod felicitas est operacio secundum rationem, et ideo  
quecumque exiguntur secundum rationem ad operacionem, exiguntur et ad

Questio 34    29 ipse] ipsum L

25 EN 10.4 (1174b31-32) et R 570.

Questio 35    1 Cf. *Lect.* 51.22-45; *Sent.* 47-48.144-185; *ST* 1-2, 4, 6; *Alberti Magni  
Ethicorum libri X*, ed. A. Borgnet, lib. I, tr. 7, c. 7 (*Opera omnia* 7; Paris, 1891), p. 118a-b.  
4 Cf. *Comm.* 130-131.4-26 (ad 1098b12-20).

15 felicitatem. Ad operacionem autem secundum rationem exigitur esse et vita; quare, ista exiguntur ad felicitatem; sed ista sunt bona corporis; quare, bona corporis exiguntur ad felicitatem.

5. Item, non potest aliquis operari sine sanitate corporis; et sanitas est bonum corporis; quare, bonum corporis exigitur ad felicitatem; unde ista, esse [unde] et  
20 sanum esse, exiguntur. Sunt autem quedam sine quibus potest esse recta operacio, et talia non impediunt operacionem, nec expediunt; decorant tamen felicitatem et, ut sic, ad ipsam exiguntur: et talia videntur esse multa bona corporaliter. Quare, ad felicitatem exiguntur bona corporalia.

6. Ad rationem dicendum quod maior est falsa, quia ad speculationem  
25 exigitur corpus et sensus, et ideo non quanto magis abstrahitur a sensibus, tanto melius speculatur. Unde dicendum quod [intellectus] quanto aliquid magis abstrahitur a passionibus corporis et concupiscenciis regulando eas secundum rationem rectam, tanto magis potest speculari, et non mortificando eas simpliciter.

30 7. Ad secundum dicendum: cum dicitur, felicitas est bonum incorporale, dicendum quod falsum est; sed dicitur bonum intransmutabile, quia est bonum permanens in vita humana respectu aliorum bonorum humanorum.

### Questio 36

Consequenter queritur utrum bona exteriora, ut divicie, exigantur ad felicitatem?

1. Et videtur quod sic, quia illa sine quibus impossibile est recte agere  
5 necessaria sunt ad felicitatem; sed sine bonis exterioribus non contingit aliquem recte operari, quia sine illis non potest aliquis operari, nec etiam unum; quare, etc.

2. Item, dicit Boethius in *De consolacione* quod felicitas est status omnium bonorum aggregacione perfectus. Igitur divicie sunt necessaria ad felicitatem.

10 3. Ad oppositum arguitur: bonum perfectum et perfectissimum non indiget bonis fortune que sunt bona exteriora; sed felicitas est bonum perfectissimum; quare, etc.

4. Intelligendum quod sunt quedam divicie naturales quibus sustentatur homines, ut cibus et potus. Sunt etiam alie divicie artificiales quibus fit venialis  
15 commutacio aliorum. Dico igitur quod divicie naturales sunt necessarie ad felicitatem, quia sine illis non potest aliquis operari. Et hoc est quod dicitur

19 corporis<sup>2</sup>] ex *praem. et exp. L*

Questio 36 6 operari<sup>2</sup>] esse *L*

Questio 36 1 Cf. *Comm.* 141.1-10; *Lect.* 51-52.49-53; *Sent.* 59-60.203-209; *ST* 1-2, 7, 4.  
8 V. sup. q. 27.9.

decimo huius, quod sapiens et iustus et fortis indiget hiis que sunt necessaria ad vitam. Superfluitas autem talium non est necessaria. Alie autem divicie sunt utiles propter commutationem diviciarum naturalium. Et ideo iste non  
 20 exiguntur nisi per accidens. Quamvis enim felicitas indiget hiis, tamen felicitas practica magis indiget hiis quam speculativa. Sapiens enim potest magis speculari per se, ut dicitur in decimo huius: hiis largitis sufficienter ad vitam, magis sufficit sibi sapiens. Hoc etiam dicit Aristotiles quod impossibile est indigentem bene operari. Apparet igitur que divicie necessarie sunt ad  
 25 felicitatem, et que non, et qualiter.

L 121vb 5. Ad rationem dico quod bonum perfectum non indiget aliquo bono quod non includit in eo vel quod ad / ipsum non ordinatur. Et dico quod felicitas est bonum perfectum, quia omnia alia ad ipsam ordinantur et diriguntur; quare, etc.

### Questio 37

Consequenter queritur utrum felix indigeat amicis?

1. Et videtur quod sic, quia illo indiget felix sine quo non eligeret vivere reliqua habens omnia bona; sed dicit Aristotiles in octavo huius quod nullus  
 5 eligit vivere sine amicis reliqua habens omnia bona; quare, etc.

2. Item, nullius boni iocunda est possessio sine consorcio amicorum; sed felicitas est iocunda; quare, etc.

3. Oppositum videtur dicere Aristotiles decimo huius.

4. Item, felicitas est bonum sufficientissimum; quare, non indiget aliquo alio,  
 10 nec per consequens amicis.

5. Intelligendum quod secundum Aristotilem in decimo huius felix in felicitate speculativa et practica indiget amicis non propter operationem, quia, ex quo felix est, recte operatur.

6. Item, non propter delectacionem absolute sibi admixtam maximam, sed  
 15 indiget amicis ut melius operetur et melius delectetur: ut melius videlicet operetur, quia ut faciat eis bona, quod est opus virtutis; ut etiam magis delectetur, quia in bene faciendo eis et propter eorum consorcium magis delectatur. Et ideo amici ipsi felici amici necessarii. Per hoc apparet ad rationes; procedunt enim viis suis et, ut sic, concludunt.

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17 EN 10.9 (1178b33-35) et R 581. 22 EN 10.7 (1177a32) et R 577. 23 EN 1.8 (1099a31-33) et R 386-387.

Questio 37 1 Cf. *Lect.* 52-53.54-32; *Sent.* 48.170-176; *ST* 1-2, 4, 8. 4 EN 8.1 (1155a5-6) et R 520. 8 EN 10.7 (1177a25-34) et R 577. 11 EN 10.7 (1177a33-b5) et R 577.

Questio 38

UNDE ET QUERITUR (1099b9). Circa istud capitulum querit Aristotiles de causa felicitatis et queritur utrum felicitas sit bonum a deo causatum?

1. Et videtur quod sic. Probacio: quia bonum divinum est bonum a deo  
5 causatum et datum; sed felicitas est bonum divinum; quare, etc.
2. Item, bonum non causatur nisi a causa, et melioris boni oportet assignare meliorem causam, et optimi boni optimam causam; sed felicitas est bonum hominis optimum; melior autem causa, immo optima, est deus; quare, felicitas est a deo causatum et per consequens a deo datum.
- 10 3. In oppositum arguitur: illud quod causatur et inest nobis per voluntatem et desiderium et electionem est causatum a nobis – sumus enim domini nostrarum electionum – sed causatur felicitas in nobis per voluntatem et electionem; causatur enim a virtute et virtus est habitus electivus in medietate consistens, determinatus recta ratione; quare, etc.
- 15 4. Dicendum quod felicitas est bonum causatum a deo in nobis et a nobis. Quod apparet quia omnia encia a prima causa procedunt, et felicitas est aliquid et ita causatur a prima causa, quia primum universaliter est causa omnium posteriorum, et preterea quilibet finis, et per consequens finis ultimus, in primum agens reducitur; cum igitur felicitas sit ultimus finis hominis, reducetur  
20 in primum agens quod est prima causa omnium; quare, etc.
5. Est nichilominus felicitas bonum causatum a nobis, quia causa extrinseca non habet propriam rationem causandi aliquod accidens, ut in homine, nisi mediante forma substanciali, quia causa universalis in sua dacione, ut in pluribus, indiget agente instrumentali. Quare, cum felicitas sit accidens pro-  
25 prium hominis, causatur a prima causa mediante forma substanciali hominis. Unde virtus est causa agens felicitatis. Felicitas est finalis respectu virtutis secundum commentatorem. Primo enim oportet habere cognitionem operabilium et deinde exerceri in illis, quoniam ex illis generatur bonus habitus. Bonus autem habitus causa est et inducit felicitatem. Unde causatur felicitas ex  
30 assuefactione et a disciplina, et ita causatur felicitas a prima causa mediante virtute. Cum igitur virtus de numero sit rerum humanarum, manifestum est quod homo aliquo modo est causa felicitatis. Et apparet ad rationes; procedunt enim suis viis. /

L 122ra

25 substanciali bis exh. L

1 Cf. *Comm.* 143-145.71-10; *Lect.* 55-56.1-4; *Sent.* 50-51.40-143; *ST* 1-2, 5, 6-7.  
27 *Comm.* 145.5-6 (ad 1099b9-18).

## Questio 39

Consequenter queritur utrum aliquis possit esse felix in vita ista? Et circa hoc duo: primo, utrum aliquis possit esse felix in vita? secundo, utrum aliquis possit amittere felicitatem in hac vita?

- 5 1. De primo videtur quod non, quia felicitas non compatitur secum aliquod malum, quia est summe bonum et tale non compatitur secum aliquod malum; sed homo in hac vita semper habet aliquod malum, quia multos defectus habet vel potenciam ad malum, et illa potencia est malum; quare, etc.
2. Item, felicitas consistit in cognitione substantiarum separatarum; sed in  
10 hac vita non potest aliquis cognoscere substantias separatas, quia, sicut dicitur secundo *Methaphysice*, sic se habet intellectus ad illas, sicut oculus vesper-tilionis ad lucem solis; quare, etc.
3. Item, secundum Boethium summum bonum est quo adepto nichil amplius desiderari potest; sed habito quocumque bono in vita adhuc queritur  
15 aliud bonum, quia habita cognitione primi in vita ista, adhuc queritur maior cognitio. Et est desiderium ad ulteriorem cognitionem, quia primum est quesitum desiderabile respectu intellectus nostri, sicut dicit commentator. Quare, etc.
4. Oppositum dicit Aristoteles, quod felicitas inest homini in hac vita.
- 20 5. Item, quicumque habet habitum qui est principium operationis in vita potest habere illam operationem; sed homo in hac vita habet principium et habitum operationis, quare et operationem, et in tali consistit felicitas; quare, aliquis potest esse felix in hac vita.
6. Dicendum quod homo potest esse felix in hac vita felicitate que est  
25 perfectio hominis. Et huius ratio est quia natura nichil facit frustra, nec deficit in necessariis. Appetitus autem naturaliter inest homini, et maxime appetitus est respectu primi scibilis. Et ideo non potest ille appetitus esse frustra, quia frustra dicitur illud quod natum est finem includere et non includit. Igitur in unione respectu primi scibilis cum consistat felicitas, manifestum est quod possibile est  
30 hominem felicitari in hac vita.
7. Item, in illis que sunt ordinata ad finem [sed] non potest esse finis; non potest esse illud quod est ad finem, quia ratio eorum que est ad finem sumitur ex fine. Sed habitus virtutum sunt ordinati ad felicitatem. Quare, si non est

2 aliquis] aliqua L    3 primo] facit *praem. et exp. L*    6 malum?] bonum *praem. et exp. L*  
20 quicumque] quecumque L    21 principium] operationem *praem. et exp. L*

1 Cf. *Comm.* 164-165.73-09; *Lect.* 57-58.29-45; *Sent.* 51-52.145-182, 54-55.1-149; *ST* 1-2, 5, 3.    11 *Meta* 2.1 (993b10-11) et *M* 36; *H* 118 (35).    13 *De cons. phil.* 3, pr. 2 (CCL 94.38); cf. *H* 289 (33).    17 *Comm.* 172.8-29 (ad 1101b20-24), 6.33-47 (prol.).    19 *EN* 1.10 (1101a19-21) et *R* 390.

35 felicitas, non est talis habitus. Cum igitur videamus in multis esse habitus virtutum, habitus autem virtutum sunt principia movencia huiusmodi operationem que est felicitas, quare erit homo felix in hac vita.

8. Ad rationem primam dico quod felicitas non compatitur secum malum hominis. Et cum dicitur quod homo in presenti vita habet aliquam miseriam sibi adiunctam, dicet aliquis quod hoc non est necesse; immo dicet quod felix  
40 qui recte operatur non habet aliquod malum, quia semper operatur secundum rectam rationem. Et cum dicis quod habet defectum amicorum vel bonorum exteriorum, dico quod huiusmodi defectus ordinat ista secundum rationem rectam; ideo habent rationem boni. Et cum dicitur, in ista est possibilitas amissione boni, dico quod istam amissionem ordinat secundum rationem  
45 rectam, et ita non est malum in eo; vel dicendum quod felicitas bene compatitur secum malum. Et cum dicitur, est summe bonum, dico quod falsum est; sed hoc est primum principium. Et ideo felicitas est summe bonum secundum rationem rectam.

9. Ad secundum argumentum dicendum quod homo potest habere cognitionem substantiarum separatarum. Et quando dicitur quod intellectus noster se habet ad eas sicut oculus vespertilionis etc., dico secundum Commentatorem super istam eandem propositionem quod Aristotiles non dicit hoc quia intendat quod impossibile sit comprehendere substantias separatas, sed intendit difficultatem esse ad hoc. Unde / licet oculus vespertilionis non comprehendat lucem  
55 solis visus claritate, tamen visus esse potest, et similiter dico esse de intellectu respectu substantiarum separatarum. L 122rb

10. Ad tertium argumentum est dicendum quod maior vera est; est enim felicitas illud ultimum, quo adepto, nichil amplius desiderari potest. Et tamen assumitur in minorem quod, cognitis substantiis separatis, adhuc remanet  
60 desiderium. Dico quod non remanet cum ratione; ratio enim non dicit illud esse desiderandum quod impossibile est haberi, licet appetitus possit hoc appetere.

#### Questio 40

Consequenter queritur utrum felix in vita possit amittere felicitatem?

1. Et videtur quod sic, quia homo incipit esse felix, quare desinit esse felix; omne enim generatum de necessitate corrumpitur, licet non omne generabile  
5 generabitur; quare, etc.

55 visus<sup>1, 2</sup>] visui L

51 Averroes, *In 2 Meta.* (993b10-11), c. 1, text. 1 (Venice, 1574), 8.29rC.

Questio 40 1 Cf. *Comm.* 156-157.45-88; *Lect.* 59-60.62-89; *Sent.* 57-60, passim; *ST* 1-2, 5, 4.

2. Item, perfectio corruptibilis est corruptibilis; sed felicitas est perfectio hominis corruptibilis; quare, felicitas est corruptibilis; sed quod est corruptibile corrumpetur; quare, felicitas corrumpetur.

3. Item, bonum voluntarium est bonum quod amitti potest, cum voluntas sit  
10 ad opposita; sed tale bonum est felicitas; quare, etc.

4. Ad oppositum: felicitas terminat appetitum humanum; sed non potest terminare appetitum universalis, quod est ubique et semper, nisi sit permanentivum; quare, etc.

5. Et dicendum quod homo potest amittere felicitatem que est in vita ista, et  
15 amittitur in morte quia ex quo est perfectio hominis et omne hominis amittitur in morte; quare, et felicitas. Et ideo dicit Aristotiles quod mors est ultimum terribilium.

6. Item, cum felicitas sit operatio recta, cum igitur possit homo amittere rectam rationem per infirmitatem et litargiam vel ab huiusmodi, quia per tales  
20 infirmitates convertitur iudicium rationis, ideo felicitas per huiusmodi potest amitti. Unde de talibus iudicandum est, sicut de mortuis.

7. Item, per exercitacionem pravaram operationum potest homo amittere felicitatem. Sed non de facili potest felix inclinari ad operationes que sunt secundum habitus malos. Unde delectacio coauget operationem propriam et  
25 minuit contrariam. Et ideo contingit quod aliquis operans operationem in qua est delectacio non transfert se ad operationem in qua non est delectacio, nisi per violenciam. Sed felix habet maximam delectacionem in sua operatione, et ideo non de facili transfertur in miseriam, sicut dicit Aristotiles; quare, dico, qui est simpliciter felix. Si autem non sit simpliciter felix, potest sibi occurrere aliqua  
30 operatio in qua videtur sibi maior delectacio quam sit in operando secundum rectam rationem. Patet ergo quod felix potest amittere felicitatem: primo, in morte; secundo, in infirmitate; tercio, per exercicium pravaram operationum, sed hoc tamen erit ex difficili, ut dictum est.

### Questio 41

PRONEPOTUM AUTEM (1101a21-22). Circa istam partem queritur utrum bona amicorum redundunt in amicos vivos ut reddant ipsos felices?

1. Et quod non, probacio: quia bona amicorum vivorum non magis  
5 expediunt homini ad felicitatem quam ipse amicus; sed amicus non expedit

Questio 40    6 corruptibilis<sup>1</sup>] per *praem. et exp. L*    11 terminat] est *praem. et exp. L*  
19 litargiam *corr. ex litargiriam L*    22 pravaram *corr. ex presenciarum in marg. L<sup>2</sup>*

16 EN 3.9 (1115a26) et R 421.    28 EN 1.10 (1101a9-12) et R 390.

Questio 41    1 Cf. *Comm.* 167-168.69-11; *Lect.* 70-71.65-29; *Sent.* 62.57-97.

homini ad felicitatem, nec est necessarius, nec quantum ad delectacionem, nec quantum ad operacionem; quare, etc.

2. Item, si redundaret in amicos vivos, aut hoc esset propter operacionem, aut propter delectacionem: non propter operacionem, quia felix [unde felix] 10 recte operatur; nec etiam propter delectacionem, quia felicitas habet delectacionem sibi admixtam; quare, bona amicorum mortuorum non redundant in amicos vivos.

3. Dicendum breviter quod amici non sunt necessarii felici propter operacionem, ut patet, nec propter delectacionem, cum delectacio sit felicitati adiuncta; 15 sed propter bonum operari et propter magis maiorem / delectacionem indiget < eis >. Indiget enim amicis ut eis bene faciat, et ut eis bene faciendo magis delectetur, et ut sic rectius operetur. L 122va

4. Consimiliter dicendum est de eufortuniis et infortuniis amicorum: manifestum enim est quod minus indiget amicus bonis amicorum quam ipso amico; 20 ex quo tunc amicus non est necessarius simpliciter felici, nec bona illius inpediunt nec expediunt ad felicitatem. Sed cum bona amici sint quasi bona propria, quia amicus est alter ipse, sic utitur aliquis bonis amicorum. Et sic secundum accidens bona amicorum iuvant ad felicitatem, quia ex bonis amicorum vel melius operatur vel magis delectatur. Apparet ad rationes; 25 procedunt enim suis viis.

## Questio 42

Utrum bona amicorum vivorum redundant in mortuos?

1. Et videtur quod sic, quia illud quod dicitur ab omnibus non potest esse omnino falsum, secundum commentatorem primo libro, nam illud sumitur 5 < ex > experientia quadam; sed omnes dicunt quod bona amicorum vivorum redundant in amicos mortuos; quare, etc.

2. Ad oppositum, amicorum est idem habere et non habere, cum amicus sit ut alter ipse, ut habetur in octavo huius; si ergo bona amicorum vivorum redundant in amicos mortuos, tunc sequitur quod mortui bona in vivum 10 redundabunt, quod est inconueniens; quare, etc.

3. Item, in illud quod non est non potest aliquid pertingere; sed mortui non sunt, cum sint extra vitam presentem positi; quare, bona amicorum remanencium ad ipsos non pertingunt.

Questio 41      6 ad delectacionem] ad felicitatem *praem. et exp. L*      20 felici] amico *L*  
 Questio 42      7 Ad oppositum] Item *L*      11 Item] ad oppositum *L*

Questio 42      1 Cf. *Comm.* 169.12-41; *Lect.* 71-72.73-75; *Sent.* 62-63.98-153.      4 *Comm.* 129-130.77-90 (ad 1098b8-12).      8 *EN* 9.4 (1166a30-31) et *R* 549.

4. Dicendum quod felicitatem dicimus duplicem: unam que est ultima  
 15 perfectio hominis in vita; aliam que est post mortem. Que < utrum > ipsius  
 anime separate ponamus vel aggregati non est multum curandum. De felicitate  
 autem que est in vita facit Philosophus mencionem, de alia autem non, et ideo  
 similiter faciamus. Supposito hoc, dicendum quod mortui extra presentem  
 vitam positi sunt, et non simpliciter < felices > , quia, cum felicitas est perfectio  
 20 alicuius in presenti vita, manifestum est quod mortui nec felices nec miseri sunt;  
 ideo nec bona amicorum vel infortunia pertingunt ad eos, quia non nati sunt  
 esse miseri vel felices. Amici tamen mortui manent in mente, sive in memoria,  
 et ita felicitas eorum manet in memoria, et sua felicitas et fama sic manet, et  
 bona amicorum aliquantulum pertingunt ad ipsos, inquantum eorum < fama >  
 25 magis redditur celebris vel minus. Ideo dicit Philosophus quod eius omne in  
 opinione est esse secundum quid; ideo bona amicorum presencium est aliquid  
 quod valde parum expedit ad felicitatem eorum. Et patet tunc quod bona  
 amicorum vivorum redundant in amicos mortuos, inquantum fama eorum  
 redditur magis celebris vel minus. Rationes procedunt suis viis. Unde  
 30 philosophi dicunt quod secundum quod manet felicitas mortuorum sibi bona  
 amicorum vivorum redundat in ipsos.

#### Questio 43

DETERMINATIS AUTEM (1101b10). Consequenter queritur circa istam partem  
 utrum virtus sit bonum honorabile?

1. Et videtur quod sic, quia virtuti debetur honor tamquam premium, sicut  
 5 dicitur decimo huius; quare, virtus est bonum honorabile.
2. Item, illud quod est eligibile secundum se est honorabile; sed virtus  
 secundum se est eligibilis; quare, etc.
3. In oppositum est Aristotiles.
4. Item, honor debetur ei quod non ordinatur in aliud bonum; sed tale non  
 10 est virtus; quare, virtuti non debetur honor.

#### Questio 44

Utrum felici debeatur laus?

1. Et videtur quod sic, quia illud debetur felici quod debetur bono divino,

15 aliam] alia L      utrum con. cum Gauthier] est L  
 Questio 43      2 circa suppl. in marg. L

25 EN 1.11 (1101b1-8) et R 391.

Questio 43      1 Cf. *Lect.* 73.5-14.      5 EN 10.3 (1174a10-21) et R 569.      8 V. inf.  
 q. 44.6.

Questio 44      1 Cf. *Comm.* 170-173, passim; *Lect.* 73-74.67-59; *Sent.* 64-66, passim; *ST* 1-  
 2, 21, 2.

quia felicitas est bonum divinum; sed deum laudamus; quare, felicem laudare  
5 debemus.

2. Oppositum dicit Aristotiles.

3. Item, laus debetur bono quod ordinatur in aliud; sed tale non est felicitas;  
quare, etc.

4. Intelligendum quid est laus et quid honor quoniam ista duo conveniunt, / L 122vb  
10 quia utrumque est exhibitio reverencie in testimonium virtutis quocumque  
modo sicut cum sermone vel sine sermone. Laus tamen existit in exhibitio-  
reverencie per testimonium exhibite per sermonem. Unde laus est sermo  
illucidans magnitudinem alicuius virtutis. Est autem honor illius quod non  
ordinatur in aliud vel ad aliud; ideo, si non est in eo quod laudatur, non est laus  
15 sed magis adulacio. Dico igitur quod honor est exhibitio reverencie in  
testimonium boni absolute. Virtus autem ordinatur ad aliud et ideo debetur  
virtuti honor < non > per se, sed per accidens.

5. Ad rationes, est dicendum ad primam quod honor non est premium  
essenciale sed actuale, et ideo per accidens ei competit; sed ab accidente non  
20 inducitur res; ideo, etc.

6. Ad secundam questionem est dicendum quod cum laus sit exhibitio  
reverencie in testimonium boni ordinati ad aliud, felicitas autem non est bonum  
ordinatum in aliud, ideo felici non debetur laus inquantum laus est pars  
honoris; inquantum tamen laus competit virtuti que inducit felicitatem, debetur  
25 felici laus per accidens.

7. Ad rationem dicendum quod minor falsa est que dicit quod deo debetur  
laus. Et quando dicitur 'laudamus', dico quod illa laus pars est boni honoris; et  
sic per accidens potest esse laus attributa felici. Sed hec non est illa laus de qua  
intendimus, sed est totaliter equivoca de hac et de illa.

### Questio 45

SI AUTEM ILLA FELICITAS (1102a5). Circa istud capitulum queritur utrum  
imperare vel ordinare motum sit actus rationis vel voluntatis?

1. Et quod sit voluntatis, probacio: quia imperare movere est, ergo illud  
5 imperat in homine cuius est movere; sed voluntatis est movere, sicut dicitur in  
decimo huius; quare, etc.

Questio 44      4 divinum] omnium L      27 laudamus] deos *praem. et exp. L*

6 *EN* 1.12 (1101b25-26) et *R* 392.      11-12 *V. sup.* q. 21, par. 4.      12-13 *Rhet.* 1.9  
(1367b27-28) et transl. Guillelmi (ed. Schneider), p. 193; *H* 268 (70).

Questio 45      1 Cf. *Lect.* 87-88.54-29; *ST* 1-2, 17, 1.      6 *EN* 10.10 (1180a15-18) et *R*  
584.

2. Item, cuius est imperare in homine, illud est magis liberum; cuius est autem imperari, illud est magis servum; sed voluntas est magis libera; quare, eius est imperare, et per consequens movere.

10 3. In oppositum arguitur: eius est movere cuius est ordinare; sed ipsius rationis est ordinare; quare, et movere.

4. Intelligendum quod ipsius rationis est imperare motum in aliquibus; tamen non imperat nisi cum voluntate. Ad huius declaracionem oportet videre quod istorum sit principalius in homine. Quia enim uterque super alterum  
15 refertur, ideo dubium est quod istorum sit principalius. Sed dictis primum apparet quod ratio sit principalius, quia obiectum voluntatis est bonum apprehensum, obiectum autem rationis est ens, et bonum additur supra ens. Si igitur virtutes se habeant ut obiecta, quia ratio illorum sumitur ex positione obiectorum, voluntas erit aliquid posterius secundum naturam ipsa ratione.

20 5. Item, quod movetur ab aliquo universaliter posterius est illo; sed voluntas non movetur nisi a bono comprehenso a ratione; et ideo ipsam voluntatem rationis est precedere. Ratio autem vel intellectus essentialiter non movetur a voluntate, quia non movetur nisi a suo obiecto. Suum autem obiectum non est aliquid volitum; movet tamen ipsam voluntas accidentaliter. Sic igitur patet  
25 quod ratio est aliquid principalius: si igitur eius quod est principale est movere vel imperare, patet quod rationis est imperare. Voluntas autem cum sit movens secundarium, et in movente primo virtute maneat movens secundarium, patet quod voluntas movet in virtute rationis vel intellectus.

6. Imperare autem non est aliud nisi aliquid ordinare cum intimacione  
30 motus vel prosecucione. Ista autem intimacio aliquando fit absolute per indicativum modum, aliquando per imperativum, quia cum ratio non determinatur aliquibus nisi / a voluntate, ideo ratio non movet in istis, nisi cum voluntate. Quantum autem ad actum illum, in quo ratio non dependet a voluntate, potest movere sine voluntate; et ideo dicendum quod, cum ratio  
35 aliquando possit moveri sine voluntate, voluntas autem non sine ratione quia non sine bono apprehenso a ratione, ideo ratio principalior est et per consequens movet principalius.

7. Ad rationem est dicendum quod cuius est movere principaliter, eius est imperare. Et cum dicitur, voluntas movet omnia, dico quod verum est  
40 secundum quod mota est a virtute rationis; unde non movet rationem per se et essentialiter, sed accidentaliter.

8. Ad aliud dicendum est quod libera est voluntas, sicut subiectum. Ista tamen que iudicantur a voluntate et imperantur primo causantur a ratione; et ideo dico quod eius est imperare quod primo est liberum. Hoc autem non est

17 additur] addit L

32 nisi<sup>1</sup>] si *praem. et exp. L*

41 accidentaliter] actualiter L

45 voluntas, sed ratio quia ratio principalior est ipsa voluntate, ut visum est; ideo, etc.

### Questio 46

Utrum in brutis inveniatur imperare motum?

1. Et videtur quod sic per Avicennam sexto decimo *Animalium*: virtus mota est virtus que imperat motum; virtus exequens motum est virtus existens  
5 membris vel musculis; cum igitur in brutis inveniatur iste motus vel virtus motiva, invenitur virtus imperans istum motum; quare, etc.

2. Item, in quibuscumque invenitur principans et subiectum invenitur illud cui principatur; sed in brutis invenitur principans et subiectum, ut vult Aristotiles in *Rethorica* sua; quare, etc.

10 3. Ad oppositum arguitur: in brutis non invenitur ratio; quare, nec in hiis invenitur motus ad imperandum.

4. Dicendum quod hoc est verum quod imperare non est nisi ordinare aliquid ad aliud cum intimacione. Ad oppositum, ordinare autem est rationis, et ideo cum in brutis non sit ratio, non erit in eis imperium. Et ideo non est ibi  
15 virtus que precipiat motum. Unde non est ibi motus talis quia non est imperans, non quia non sit ibi imperatum.

5. Ad Avicennam dico quod virtus motiva in habentibus rationem est imperans motum; in aliis non, nisi extendamus virtutem motivam universaliter ad imperatum.

20 6. Ad aliud dico quod maior falsa est: quia in omnibus aliquid necesse est reperire principalius et subiectum; et tamen in eis non est reperire imperans et cui imperatur. Sed hec maior est intelligenda in habentibus rationem; et minor est vera quod in brutis est reperire principans et subiectum, sed tamen sine ratione.

### Questio 47

Consequenter queritur utrum actus appetitus sensitivi imperetur a ratione?

1. Et quod non, videtur: quia omne quod suadetur a ratione natum est obedire rationi; sed appetitus sensitivus non est natus obedire rationi, cum sit  
5 contrarius, quia unum contrarium non est natum obedire alteri; quare, etc.

Questio 47 4-5 sed ... alteri bis *exh. et rep. exp. L*

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Questio 46 1 Cf. *ST* 1-2, 17, 2. 3 *De animal.* 1.5 (*Opera in lucem redacta ... translata a D. Gundissalino* [Venice, 1508], fol. 4vb); cf. *ST* 1-2, 17, 2 ad 1. 9 *Rhet.* 1.11 (1371b12-15) et transl. Guillelmi (ed. Schneider), p. 203.

Questio 47 1 Cf. *Comm.* 187-189 passim; *Lect.* 84-85.66-68; *Sent.* 72-73.75-212; *ST* 1-2, 17, 7.

2. Iterum, illa que non subduntur rationi non obediunt rationi; sed appetitus sensitivus non subditur rationi, quia est virtus materialis et sequitur dispositionem organi; et tale non subiacet voluntati sive rationi que organum non habet.

3. Item, appetitus sensitivus fertur in sensum; et nos non sumus domini  
10 simpliciter fantasie vel virtutis sensitive; quare, etc.

4. Oppositum vult Aristotiles in littera.

5. Et arguitur ratione: omne quod natum est obedire rationi imperatur a ratione; sed virtus sensitiva nata est obedire rationi; quare, etc.

6. Intelligendum quod appetitus sensitivus in homine imperatur a ratione et  
15 subditur rationi aliquo modo non simpliciter. Hoc patet: manifestum est enim  
L 123rb quod nullus actus ordinatur a ratione qui non subiacet voluntati. Et ideo /  
videndum est quomodo subiacet voluntati. Est enim reperire virtutem sine organo, sicut intellectum, et etiam reperire appetitum sensitivum qui est virtus materialis. Et talis sequitur dispositionem et complexionem organi. Potest igitur  
20 appetitus sensitivus considerari vel ex parte ipsius organi vel inquantum est virtus ipsius anime. Si autem nos consideremus ipsum ut est virtus anime, tunc natum est ordinari a ratione, quia illud quod principalius est, natum est ordinare illud quod minus principale est; et appetitus sensitivus minus principale est et rationem subiecti habet. Et similiter dicendum est de actu  
25 ipsius appetitus.

7. Si autem consideremus istum appetitum quantum ad organum, tunc non sequitur ipsum organum. Et quantum ad hoc est irrationabilis iste appetitus nec subicitur rationi nisi per accidens, inquantum ipsam complexionem contingit alterari per rationem, inquantum subtrahitur alimentum quod facit ipsam  
30 magis declinare a malo. Unde hec pars anime dicitur rationalis et irrationalis ab Aristotile. Unde Philosophus in *Politicis* suis: ratio principatur appetitui sensitivo, non principatu regali sed principatu disposito.

8. Ad rationem primam est dicendum quod illud quod imperatur a ratione natum est obedire rationi. Verum est, ut sic, et dico quod unum oppositorum,  
35 ut est oppositum, non est natum alii obedire. Et ideo dico quod iste appetitus sensitivus, ut oppositum habetur ad rationem, non subditur rationi et hoc est secundum quod sequitur complexionem organi. Sed alio modo subditur, quo dictum est in substantia solutionis questionis.

9. Ad aliud dicendum quod actio potencie sensitive subiacet voluntati nostre  
40 secundum quod est potencia anime absolute, sed non secundum quod sequitur dispositionem organi, ut supra habitum est, quia, ut sic, habent repugnanciam.

24 rationem] rationi L    36 habetur] habet L

11 *EN* 1.13 (1102b13-35) et *R* 394.    30-31 *EN* 1.13 (1102b28-32) et *R* 394.    31 *Pol.* 1.5 (1254b2-5); cf. *Sent. lib. Polit.* (edd. Dondaine et Bataillon), p. A 85.    41 *V. sup.* q. 47.26-30.

## LIBER II

## Questio 1

DUPplici AUTem EXISTENTE VIRTUTE etc. (1103a14). Circa istum secundum librum primo queritur utrum omnis virtus sit moralis?

5 1. Et videtur quod sic, quia omnis virtus que generatur in nobis ex consuetudine est moralis; sed omnis virtus generatur in nobis ex consuetudine, quia sicut virtus moralis est < ex > consuetudine operandi, ita virtus intellectualis ex consuetudine; quare, omnis virtus est moralis.

2. Item, virtus est habitus electivus, in medietate consistens quemadmodum  
10 sapiens determinat; sed omnis virtus est talis, scilicet intellectualis et moralis; quare, etc.

3. Ad oppositum est Aristotiles qui distingui virtutem in moralem et intellectualem.

4. Dicendum quod necesse est virtutem distingui secundum distinctionem  
15 principiorum et etiam obiectorum vel finium. Primum enim principium moralium est rationale secundum participationem. Principium autem virtutum intellectualium est rationale secundum substantiam. Sicut autem ista distinguuntur, sic etiam et virtutes.

5. Item, virtutes distinguuntur penes fines. Finis autem virtutis intellectualis  
20 est felicitas speculativa; finis vero moralis est felicitas practica. Cum igitur unius non sit finis alterius, nec una virtus erit alia.

6. Ad rationem in oppositum dicendum: concedo maiorem; ad minorem dico quod virtus intellectualis non generatur in nobis ex consuetudine. Similiter dico ad aliud quod non generatur ex operatione que est in consuetudine; immo  
25 generatio istarum est experientia et doctrina que differt a consuetudine secundum commentatorem. Unde si ex consuetudine accepimus habitum directum in particularia, experientia hec est; ex operationibus enim que apparent in sensibus accipit aliquis habitum in universali et non in particulari. Et ille habitus est directivus in universalia. Unde consideracio vel operacio in  
30 consuetudine non generat habitum, quamvis iuvet ad illius generacionem.

7. Ad aliud dicendum quod si diffinitum non est unius rationis, nec etiam diffinicio. Sic autem est in proposito. Si enim hec diffinicio conveniat morali, tunc est habitus qui est rationalis secundum participationem. Si autem conveniat virtuti intellectuali, tunc / aliter est intelligendum, quia tunc non est L 123va

20 finis suppl. in marg.] virtus praem. et exp. L

2 Cf. *Comm.* 198.8-32; *Lect.* 89.59-63; *ST* 1-2, 58, 1. 12 *EN* 2.1 (1103a14) et *R* 396.  
26 *Comm.* 198.8-32 (ad 1103a26-b6).

- 35 medietas duarum maliciarum, nec etiam determinata recta ratione, ut prudentia, neque idem principium habet; et ideo, ut sic, sunt diversa; quare, etc.

## Questio 2

Consequenter queritur utrum virtus secundum unam rationem dicatur de morali et intellectuali?

1. Et quod non, probatio: quia quorumcumque principia sunt diversa, ipsa  
5 sunt diversa; sed generativum virtutis moralis est consuetudo, intellectualis autem disciplina vel experientia vel regula; ergo < etc. >
2. Item, diversitas habituum causatur ex diversitate finis; sed huius et illius non est idem finis – unius enim felicitas practica, alterius autem speculativa, et isti fines sunt diversi; quare, etc.
- 10 3. Ad oppositum arguitur: quorum est una passio, illorum est una ratio et unum subiectum; sed utraque virtus habet unam passionem, quia utraque laudabilis est; quare, etc.
4. Item, utriusque una ratio est appetibilis, ut utraque aliqualiter appetitur propter se et non propter aliud; quare, erit eorum una ratio; quare, etc.
- 15 5. Dicendum quod virtus non est diversarum rationum penitus in virtute morali et intellectuali, quia si sic, unum istorum non ordinaretur ad aliud, nec per aliud regularetur; sic autem non se habent iste virtutes. Sed virtus intellectualis una, ut prudentia, principium est virtutum moralium. Quare, non sunt penitus equivoco virtutes.
- 20 6. Item, non est ratio una penitus in hac et in illa, quia diversitas eorum sumitur secundum diversitatem virtutis que dirigit in finem et etiam ex fine sumitur; sed finis moralis et intellectualis non est unius rationis, sicut speculatio et operatio que non sunt omnino diversa. Si igitur unius non sunt virtutis penitus neque diversarum, tunc aliquo modo erunt unius rationis
- 25 inquantum una ratio accipitur in comparacione ad aliam, et diversarum inquantum diversus est finis eorum. Et sic virtus dicitur de hiis secundum attributionem. Et prius est virtus intellectualis quam moralis, quia rationes eorum, que sunt ad finem, accipiuntur ex fine. Sed istorum sunt felicitas practica et speculativa; et felicitas practica ordinatur ad speculacionem. Ideo
- 30 ratio virtutis prius invenitur in virtute intellectuali, secundo in morali. Ideo sumit rationem ex prudentia. Prudentia autem est virtus intellectualis secundum significacionem, cum est e converso, quia non est illud primum simpliciter quod significatur per nomen, ut patet per nomen nature. Quod enim primo est

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Questio 2    6 vel<sup>2</sup> ... ergo *suppl.* s.s. L<sup>2</sup>    23 operatio] oracio *praem. et exp.* L

Questio 2    1 Cf. *Comm.* 202.34-46; *Lect.* 89-90.76-62; *ST* 1-2, 58, 2.

- natura est forma. Quod autem primo significatur per nomen nature est  
 35 generacio nascencium, quia imponimus nomen secundum quod res primo nate  
 sunt. Et sic, cum virtutes morales sint prius nobis nate quia pauci veniunt ad  
 intellectuales, ideo prius imponitur eis nomen. Raciones prime probant quod  
 non inveniatur unius rationis simpliciter. Et hoc est verum; sed sunt unius  
 rationis secundum attributionem.
- 40 7. Ad raciones in oppositum, est dicendum quod si aliquorum passio est una  
 simpliciter, ipsa sunt unum simpliciter et eorum est ratio una simpliciter. Et  
 cum dicitur utriusque est una passio ut laudabile, verum est sed non primo.  
 Sicut enim virtus moralis descendit ab intellectualibus, sic et laus que est in  
 moralibus descendit a virtutibus intellectualibus ad morales.
- 45 8. Similiter ad aliud est dicendum quod omnes virtutes morales, si habeant  
 rationem appetibilis, hoc non est nisi secundum quod iste appetitus descendit a  
 virtute intellectuali, ut a prudentia.
9. Item, omnes morales virtutes ad intellectuales ordinantur; ideo, non sunt  
 unius rationis appetitus.

### Questio 3

Consequenter queritur circa rationem virtutis utrum virtutes insunt nobis a  
 natura?

1. Et videtur quod sic, quia illud cuius principia sunt nobis innata innatum  
 5 est; sed principia virtutum, sicut / anima et partes anime, sunt nobis innate L 123vb  
 simpliciter, que sunt principia in operabilibus et intellectualibus; quare, etc.
2. Item, virtutes aut sunt nobis innate aut sunt in nobis facte. Si facte, hoc est  
 ex alio priori et tunc vel erit procedere in infinitum vel erit devenire ad aliquas  
 virtutes nobis innatas; sed procedere in infinitum est impossibile; quare, etc.
- 10 3. Item, habitus se habent ad animam, sicut forma ad materiam; sed forma  
 est innata materie; quare, et virtutes anime.
4. Ad oppositum arguitur: ex innatis nobis non dicimur boni vel mali; sed ex  
 habitibus virtutum dicimur boni vel mali et laudamur et vituperamur; quare,  
 etc.
- 15 5. Item, arguitur ratione Aristotilis: que insunt nobis a natura prius  
 habemus potencias quam actus, ut prius habemus visum antequam videre insit  
 nobis; sed in habitibus prius insunt nobis operationes. Unde in hoc quod

34 forma] sic *praem. et exp. L* 35 res] in *praem. et exp. L*  
 Questio 3 7 aut<sup>1</sup> *suppl. in marg. L* Si] sed *L*

Questio 3 1 Cf. *Comm.* 194-200, passim; *Lect.* 93.57-67; *Sent.* 77.1-114; *ST* 1-2, 63, 1.  
 15 *EN* 2.1 (1103a27-32) et *R* 396.

operamur opera castitatis fimus casti, sicut est in operacionibus artificialibus quod prius facimus opera fabri antequam fabri simus.

- 20 6. Et dicendum quod actus et perfectio virtutis non inest nobis a natura ita quod sint connata ipsi intellectui. Hoc apparet ex virtutibus intellectualibus que sunt perfectiones intellectus. Intellectus autem secundum Aristotilem, tercio *De anima*, nichil est eorum que sunt ante addiscere vel invenire. Et ita patet quod virtus intellectualis non inest nobis a natura. Et quia virtutes morales causantur  
25 ab intellectualibus, ideo nec ille sunt innate. Intellectus tamen potencialis est, in potencia ad omnes, sicut materia ad omnes formas. Et sicut materia recipit formas universaliores primo, secundo minus universales, sic intellectus apprehendit universalia magis et mediantibus illis occurrunt sibi alia que distinguuntur a primis. Et etiam est in intellectu practico, quia primo occurrunt sibi prima  
30 principia in operabilibus, ut forme universaliores, et mediantibus istis occurrunt sibi alia que diriguntur a primis. Quia tunc intellectus est nobis innatus qui est in potencia ad virtutes, ideo dicendum quod aptitudo ad virtutes est nobis innata.

7. Item, aptitudo posteriorum conclusionum est nobis aliquialiter innata  
35 inquantum sunt nobis aliquo modo innata sua principia; propterea, similiter in appetitu sensitivo qui est secundum virtutem moralem que est rationalis per participacionem, iste appetitus natus est ad virtutes; ideo potencia vel aptitudo nobis innata est.

8. Ad rationem est dicendum quod cuius cause sunt nobis innate in actu,  
40 illud est nobis innatum, quia hoc principio posito ponitur effectus; sed illud cuius principium in potencia est nobis innatum, non oportet quod illud sit nobis innatum, quia hoc posito non ponitur effectus. Et dico quod principia virtutis sunt nobis innata in potencia; ideo, etc.

9. Et ad aliud dico quod non contingit procedere in infinitum, sed contingit  
45 stare ad aliqua in operacionibus et speculacionibus. Et cum dicis, illi habitus generantur in nobis, dico quod verum est; non tamen ex aliquibus habitibus prioribus, sed illa sunt in nobis ex presencia sensibilis. Et cum dicis, omnia doctrina fit in nobis ex preexistenti cognicione, dicendum quod hoc verum est de cognicione intellectiva ratiocinativa, et hec est doctrina cognicionis; non  
50 autem est intelligendum de cognicione sensitiva que habet < se > ad presenciam sensibilis.

10. Ad tercium est dicendum quod simile est in hoc quod sicut forma est perfectio materie, sic virtutes sunt perfectiones anime; sed difficile est, quia forma est perfectio substancialis, virtus autem accidentalis. Vel potest concedit

31 innatus] in nob natus L

55 maior, et potest dici ad minorem quod forma non est in/nata materie, sed L 124ra  
 materia est in potencia ad omnes.

#### Questio 4

Consequenter queritur utrum omnes virtutes generentur in nobis ex operationibus?

1. Et videtur quod non, quia omne generativum alterius debet esse perfectius  
 5 illo quod generatur; sed tales non sunt operationes respectu virtutum; quare,  
 etc.
2. Item, omne quod generatur generatur a sibi simili, conveniente nomine et  
 specie, sicut scribitur in septimo < *Methaphysice* > ; sed sic non est in genera-  
 tione virtutis per operationem; quare, etc.
- 10 3. In oppositum est Aristotiles. Etiam arguitur: sicut est in artibus, sic et in  
 virtutibus moralibus; sed in cytharizando fimus cythariste; quare, in operando  
 opera virtuosa fimus virtuosi. Operacio igitur est generativa virtutum.
4. Intelligendum quod virtutes morales generantur in nobis ex operacioni-  
 bus. Virtutes enim morales sunt perfectiones appetitus sensitivi qui habet  
 15 inclinacionem ad rationem rectam inquantum natus est ordinari ab illa.  
 Nichilominus tamen habet inclinacionem in oppositum propter complexionem  
 organi vel disposicionem, ita quod a principio appetitus sensitivus habet  
 inclinacionem ad oppositum illius quod est secundum rationem rectam. Et ideo  
 illud quod disponit ipsum ad rationem rectam est cognicio rationis recte, quia  
 20 cum aliquis operatur bene et alias idem bene operatur, quamvis primo tristetur,  
 postea minus tristabitur, tercio adhuc minus, et tandem cum delectacione  
 operabitur. Delectacio autem coauget operationem et sic appetitus sensitivus  
 disponitur ad rationem rectam.
5. Item, operacio et motus de ratione eius est ad quem est motus, et ideo  
 25 operacio que ordinatur ad bonum bona est. Addiscens enim aliquid habet ab eo  
 quod addiscit aliquid in eo et ita cum simile generat sibi simile, ita operacio  
 aliqua appetitui dat speciem sed non completam; sed exigitur quod in virtute  
 alterius det speciem appetitui, et hoc est mediante recta ratione. Unde  
 operationes inclinant ad rationem rectam, cum sint regulate a ratione recta.
- 30 Ulterius autem est dans speciem ipsi appetitui ita quod primum dans speciem  
 est recta ratio, secundum est operacio. Unde aliquando contingit per rationem  
 rectam que est in se ipso quod aliquis bene operatur, aliquando autem per

55 quod] quia L

Questio 4 27 aliqua] aliquo L 27, 28, 30 appetitui] appetui L

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Questio 4 1 Cf. *Comm.* 200.67-74; *Lect.* 93.1-56; *Sent.* 78.115-131; *ST* 1-2, 63, 1.  
 8 *Meta.* 7.8 (1033b29-33) et *M* 136-137; *H* 130 (178). 10 *EN* 2.1 (1103a34-b2) et *R* 396.

racionem que est in alio, ita quod ratio recta accipitur propter quamcumque rationem, sive sit intrinseca sive extrinseca.

- 35 6. Ad rationem dico quod illud quod principaliter est generativum alicuius est perfectius eo; non tamen illud quod instrumentaliter generat, sicut calidum et frigidum generat formam substantialem, et est minus perfecta illis. Et dico quod operationes sunt generative in virtute alterius, et ita instrumentaliter.

- 40 7. Ad aliud dico quod ille sermo habet veritatem in generatione sub-  
stanciarum quod simile a simili generatur; in generatione autem accidencium non. Vel concedatur in proposito maior. Et dico quod operationes conveniunt in nomine et specie cum virtute; et operatio est de genere illius ad quod vadit. Illud etiam quod est activum et principium operationis est recta ratio; et id ad quod est operatio est eius regula, ut ratio recta, et etiam virtus quam inducit.

- 45 Aliqua operatio consistit in ratione recta. Quare, etc.

### Questio 5

Consequenter queritur utrum virtus moralis generetur ex una operatione?

1. Et videtur quod sic, quia sicut se habet virtus moralis ad operationem, sic virtus intellectualis ad experienciam; sed per experienciam in uno singulari  
5 accipimus virtutem intellectualem, ut patet ex coniunctione superiorum corporum ubi solum habemus experienciam in uno singulari ut in una commutatione, et tamen accipimus universale; ita et ex hoc genere accipimus scienciam et virtutem.

- L 124rb 2. Item, ex eodem generatur virtus ex quo / augmentatur; sed ex una  
10 operatione augetur virtus; quare, et generatur.

3. Oppositum dicit Aristotiles primo huius ubi dicit quod una yrundo non inducit ver, sed multe; et ita una operatio non inducit virtutem, sed etiam multe.

4. Item, in artibus ex una operatione non generatur ars; sed ex sepe  
15 cytharizare generatur cytharista; quare, etc.

5. Dicendum quod virtus moralis perfecta non generatur ex una operatione. Et hoc patet, quia quanto passivum magis remotum est ab activo, tanto magis indiget maiori virtute. Maiori enim virtute indiget frigidum ad hoc quod calefacit quam tepidum. Sed appetitus sensitivus est illud in quo generatur  
20 virtus sicut est in principio passivo. Et ideo quanto remocius est a virtute, tanto

45 Aliqua] alia L

Questio 5 16 Dicendum] ad L

Questio 5 1 Cf. *Comm.* 198-199.8-38; *Sent.* 78.132-176; *ST* 1-2, 51, 3. 11 *EN* 1.7 (1098a18-19) et *R* 384.

indiget maiori virtute ad hoc ut in eo virtus generetur. Sed appetitus sensitivus ante generationem virtutis semper sub contrario est propter dispositionem organi, et illud quod inclinat una operatio valde parvum est. Et ideo non ex una sed ex pluribus generatur virtus, cum sub esse incompleto potest virtus generari  
 25 ex una operatione ita quod illa aliquid addit, et alia operatio plus valet ad complementum virtutis. Si autem aliquis daret quod aliquis haberet appetitum qui simpliciter inclinaret ad bonum, < sed > traheretur ad malum per rationem organi, tunc ex presencia boni et rationis recte fieret bonus; et secundum quod aliquis habet magis inclinationem ad virtutem, secundum hoc ex paucis  
 30 operationibus generatur virtus in eo. Et si unus non habet magnam inclinationem ad bonum, tunc ex pluribus generatur < virtus > .

6. Ad rationem est dicendum quod non totaliter est simile de virtute intellectuali per experientiam in singularibus et de morali in operationibus, quia secundum virtutem intellectualem est intellectus qui est separatus; ideo  
 35 propter magnam dilectionem intellectus ad virtutem intellectualem statim ex una experientia habitus generatur. Appetitus autem sensitivus magis inclinatur ad malum propter dispositionem et complexionem corporis; ideo non potest virtus in eo < ex > una operatione generari. Vel aliter dicendum quod subiectum intellectualis virtutis est rationale secundum substantiam. Subiectum  
 40 autem moralis est rationale per participationem et illud subiectum est virtutis moralis et non intellectualis; ideo non est simile.

7. Ad aliud dicendum quod ex quo augmentatur aliquid, generatur ex illo sed non complete. Unde sicut contingit de cavacione lapidis quod multe gutte cavant et disponunt ad cavacionem, ultima autem cavat, similiter contingit de  
 45 operationibus multis disponentibus ad virtutem et tunc ex una operatione generatur virtus.

### Questio 6

SI IGITUR AUT VIRTUS (1104b13?). Circa istam partem queritur utrum virtus sit cum passione?

1. Et videtur quod non: nullus habitus virtutis esse potest cum aliqua  
 5 passione; sed virtus est habitus; quare, < etc. >

2. Ad oppositum est Aristotiles, qui dicit omnem virtutem consistere circa actiones et passiones.

3. Et dicendum quod virtus potest esse cum passione, quia passio nichil

42 augmentatur] generatur *praem. et exp. L*

Questio 6      8 cum *suppl. in marg. L*      passione] quia *praem. et exp. L*

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Questio 6      1 Cf. *Lect.* 98-99.35-16; *ST* 1-2, 59, 2.      2 *fortasse* 1104b3.      6 *EN* 2.3 (1104b14) et *R* 399.

aliud est nisi motus appetitive partis sub fantasia boni vel mali secundum  
 10 commentatorem. Motus autem talis non est <aliud> quam inclinacio  
 <quam> dicimus appetitum. Aliquando propter hoc passio non est aliud  
 quam prosecutio boni vel mali; virtus autem non est aliud nisi modificacio  
 istius passionis. Si igitur recta ratio et modificacio istius passionis potest esse  
 cum passione, tunc virtus potest esse cum passione.

15 4. Item, virtus in appetitu sensitivo se habet sicut sanitas in corpore; sanitas  
 L 124va autem non est aliud nisi / proporcio humorum in corpore; sic virtus nichil aliud  
 est nisi proporcio quedam debita circumstanciarum que sunt in corpore cum  
 passione. Si igitur sanitas stat cum calido et frigido, sicut cum suo subiecto, tunc  
 virtus stabit cum istis circumstanciis et cum subiecto istorum; tale autem  
 20 subiectum est passio; quare, etc.

5. Ad rationem est dicendum: quando dicitur, virtus non stat cum eo quod  
 inclinatur ad malum contrarium, dico quod sic. Idem enim existit actu sub uno  
 contrariorum, et in potencia est ad aliud, et etiam inclinacionem habet ad aliud.  
 Similiter etiam potest dici per interpretacionem minoris, quia passio non  
 25 inclinatur ad operacionem nisi secundum quod determinatum est debitis circums-  
 tanciis.

### Questio 7

Consequenter queritur utrum virtutes sint passionēs?

1. Et videtur quod non: quantum enim aliquid movetur habet aliquid de  
 contrarietate, quia habet aliquid de termino a quo et aliquid de termino ad quod;  
 5 sed passio est motus; quare, si debeamus dicere quod aliquis sit simpliciter  
 virtuosus, necesse est quod sit simpliciter in quiete et non in motu et passione,  
 quia quamdiu est in passione habet aliquid de contrario virtutis.

2. Item, virtus est illud, vel saltem cum illo, cum quo generatur virtus; sed  
 virtus generatur in intellectu in sedacione et quiete, ut dicitur septimo  
 10 *Physicorum*; quare, erit impassibilitas vel impassibilitates quedam.

3. In oppositum est Aristotiles.

4. Intelligendum quod virtutum moralium quedam existunt circa operacio-  
 nem, ut iusticia que consistit in distribucionibus et comunicacionibus, ut in  
 empcone et vendicione. Quedam autem existunt in passionibus, ut temperancia

10 inclinacio] inclinacionem L

Questio 7 3 non] sic L 5 aliquis corr. ex aliquid L

10 *Comm.* 212.5-7 (ad 1105b19-1106a4).

Questio 7 1 Cf. *Comm.* 206.55-61; *Lect.* 100.13-57; *Sent.* 84.48-87; *ST* 1-2, 59, 1. 9-  
 10 *Phys.* 7.3 (247b17-18); *H* 155 (89). 11 *EN* 2.2 (1104b14) et *R* 399.

15 et huiusmodi. Et de huiusmodi dicebant quidam quod virtutes sunt 'inpassibilitates', considerantes quod passio trahit ad malum et virtus non patitur secum malum; ideo dixerunt virtutes impassibilitates. Et istud dixit Plato quod non apparet falsum omnino, quia dicit Aristotiles quod Plato dicit quod statim in principio sunt parum assuefaciendi ad delectaciones quas oportet, quando  
20 oportet et quomodo oportet.

5. Dicendum tamen quod virtutes simpliciter impassibilitates non sunt, quia virtus est regula passionis, et ideo non potest esse sine aliqua passione; propter quod cum passione est sed cum modica; modificata tamen per ipsam rationem ita quod mansuetudo non videtur aliud nisi regulacio ire cum circumstanciis  
25 acceptis quando oportet et quomodo oportet. Nichilominus tamen virtuosus non patitur excellenciam passionis: unde temperatus non habet magnam concupiscenciam ad venerea. Et ideo dicit Philosophus quod male dixerunt qui dixerunt quod virtutes sunt impassibilitates simpliciter, sed sunt impassibilitates respectu excellenciarum passionum.

30 6. Ad rationem in contrarium est dicendum: quando dicitur, quamdiu aliquid existit in passione habet aliquid contrarium virtuti, verum est quod virtuosus quamdiu est in passione habet aliquid de eo a quo est motus et de illo ad quod est motus; sed non habet aliquid de contrario virtutis, quia virtus non est modificacio illius per idem.

35 7. Ad secundum dicendum quod anima fit sciens et prudens in sedendo et quiescendo a passionibus simpliciter ab excellenciis passionum.

### Questio 8

Consequenter queritur de quodam dicto in alia ratione ubi dicit Aristotiles quod operationes et passionem mensurantur delectacione; ideo queritur utrum delectacio mensuret operationem?

5 1. Et videtur quod non, quia illud quod est mensura alicuius principium eius est, ut habetur decimo *Methaphysice*: sed delectacio non est principium operationis; quare, etc.

2. Item, quod mensuratur mensuratur aliquo sui generis; sed delectacio non est de genere operationis; quare, etc. Delecta/cio enim est quoddam accidens  
10 operationi. L 124vb

16 non suppl. in marg. L

Questio 8 6 delectacio] non praem. et exp. L

15 V. Sent. 84.155-116. 18 EN 2.3 (1104b9-13) et R 399. 27 EN 2.3 (1104b24-28) et R 399.

Questio 8 1 Cf. Comm. 207.62-72; Lect. 102.25-80; Sent. 84-85.100-204. 2 EN 2.3 (1105a3-4) et R 400. 6 Meta. 10.1 (1052b32-33) et M 186; H 135 (239).

3. Ad oppositum est Aristotiles.

4. Item, illud secundum cuius mensuram vel quantitatem diversitas quantitatis attenditur secundum prius et minus est mensura illius; sed secundum quantitatem delectacionis est quantitas operacionis; si delectacio est magna et  
15 operacio est magna, et si parva est delectacio et parva erit operacio; quare, etc.

5. Dicendum quod in omni operatione consistit delectacio vel tristitia: quia operacio vel est secundum inclinacionem operantis vel secundum habitum vel secundum inclinacionem naturalem vel secundum consuetudinem, et tunc est delectacio; si autem operacio non fuerit secundum inclinacionem vel ex habitu  
20 vel natura, tristitia consistit in illa.

6. Secundo intelligendum est quod diversimode se habent operacio et delectacio in operatione intellectus et sensus: quia intellectus apprehendit rationem boni universalis, ideo homo querit propter operacionem delectacionem; sensus autem e converso, querit enim operacionem propter delectacio-  
25 nem.

7. Tercio est intelligendum quod illud quod per se mensurat aliquid est principium eius ita quod principium in aliquo genere est principium et mensura aliorum. Per accidens autem contingit ut effectus mensuret causam. Dico igitur ad questionem quod loquendo de operatione secundum intellectum, tunc  
30 operacio est principium delectacionis et principium ita quod secundum quantitatem operacionis est quantitas delectacionis, quia cum effectus per accidens est mensura cause, ideo potest dici quod delectacio est mensura operacionis. Si autem loquamur de delectacione que est in sensu, tunc dicendum quod, cum queritur operacio propter delectacionem, ideo ibi  
35 delectacio magis est causa per se operacionis. Et ideo, ut sic, potest dici quod delectacio consequens operacionem sensibilem sit principium et mensura ipsius operacionis secundum sensum; non tamen operacio delectacionis principium. Rationes procedunt viis suis.

8. Ad rationem dicendum: quod per se mensurat aliquid est principium eius  
40 per se; sed non oportet quod mensuret unum per accidens quod sit principium per se sed per accidens.

### Questio 9

Consequenter queritur utrum difficilius est expellere voluntatem quam iram?

1. Et quod non videtur, quia difficilius est expellere duo quam unum; sed

23 propter *suppl. in marg. L* 24 autem] enim *L*

Questio 9 4 unum] duo *praem. et exp. L*

11 *EN* 2.3 (1105a4-6) et *R* 400.

Questio 9 1 Cf. *Comm.* 208-209.93-15; *Lect.* 103.3-53; *Sent.* 85.182-197.

5 qui pugnat iram pugnat contra duo, scilicet contra legem et contra passionem, ut dicitur decimo huius – iratus enim pugnat contra legem et contra se ipsum; sed qui pugnat contra voluntatem pugnat contra non audientem legem – quare, etc.

2. Item difficilior est pugnare contra voluntatem et contra aliud quam  
10 voluntatem tantum; sed pugnans contra iram, cum sint ibi duo, passio et voluntas, pugnat contra duo, quia sicut dicit commentator, ira dulcius est melle stillante supra hominem; sed in voluntate tantum unum est; quare, etc.

3. Ad oppositum est Aristoteles.

4. Item, difficilior est expellere illud ab aliquo quod forcius inheret; sed  
15 concupiscencia est forcius inherens, sicut dicit Philosophus; quare, etc.

5. Intelligendum secundum Aristotelem in *Rethorica* sua, ira est appetitus cum tristitia apparentis punicionis propter apparentem promptitudinem sui aut alicuius suorum, ita quod in ratione eius cadit tristitia vel appetitus tristicie que causatur ex tristite propter parvipensionem; et etiam ponitur appetitus, ut  
20 apparet. Ex quo manifestum quod iratus delectacionem habet et tristitiam. Appetitus autem punicionis non est sine spe punicionis. Spes autem delectat, quia consistit delectacio in spe presentis sensus et memoria preteriti et in spe futuri. Ideo tamdiu delectatur quamdiu habet spem de punicione. Et [quia] ira cum tristitia est; homo autem per se fugit tristitiam; ideo non posset semper  
25 manere in ista tristitia. Quare, in ira sunt duo, scilicet delectacio et tristitia. Illius autem delectacio ymaginata non / stat diu; sed est sicut delectacio in sompno; ideo non diu stat ira. Ira etiam movet cum impetu et ista duo sunt que faciliter transeunt, scilicet motus cum impetu et delectacione ymaginata; et ideo ira faciliter transit.

L 125ra

30 6. Voluntas autem vel appetitus delectacionis inest nobis a natura; ideo contemporanea est nobis. Dico ergo ad questionem quod simpliciter voluntatem repellere difficilior est que contemporanea est nobis. Ira autem de facili transit, ut apparet; tamen pro tempore aliquo difficilior est sedare iram quia ira motus impetuosus est et magis impetuosus quam voluntas. Et ideo pro illo tempore  
35 pro quo est impetuositas difficilior est iram sedare et repellere. Rationes procedunt suis viis.

7. Ad primam potest dici quod difficilior est pugnare contra duo quam contra unum quod non est equale illis duobus. Et cum dicitur quod in ira sunt

17 punicionis *suppl. in marg.*] punicionis *praem. et exp.* L 18 tristicie] -cia L 21 Spes] species L 28 faciliter] faliciter *corr. ex feliciter* L 29 faciliter] faliciter L 32 que *coni.*] quam L 38 unum *corr. ex duo* L<sup>2</sup>

6 *EN* 10.10 (1179b20-35) et *R* 583. 11 *Comm.* 208-209.1-11 (ad 1105a7-10). 15 *EN* 2.1 (1103b15-22) et *R* 397. 16 *Rhet.* 2.2 (1378a31-33) et transl. Guillelmi (ed. Schneider), p. 221; *H* 265 (29).

duo, dico, etsi in ira sint duo, ista tamen minus adherent quam voluntas; ideo,  
40 etc.

8. Ad aliud dicendum quod difficilius est repellere iram et voluntatem quam voluntatem solum; sed facilius est repellere iram et aliam voluntatem que est in ira, ut illam que ex sola ymagine causatur que est in ira. Illa autem que est in voluntate causatur ex presenti sensibili et in actu est; ideo de difficili magis  
45 sedatur. Racio in oppositum procedit via sua.

### Questio 10

QUERET AUTEM UTIQUE ALIQUIS (1105a17). Queritur utrum aliquis non habens habitum virtutis possit operari < opera > virtutis?

1. Et quod sic videtur, quia sicut omne quod movetur secundum locum  
5 reducitur ad movens immobile penitus, ita omne alterans alteratum reducitur ad alterans inalterabile simpliciter, secundum Commentatorem in libro *De substantia orbis*; cum igitur operans secundum virtutem sit, alterans alteratum potest reduci ad alterans non alterabile quod non habet opera virtutis; quare, etc.

10 2. Item, si opus virtuosum causatur, est < aut > a forma virtutis que sit eadem cum operatione aut ab alia non habente formam virtutis. Si ab eadem, queram de illa utrum sit generata vel non. Constat quod sic, et tunc erit processus in infinitum, quod est inconueniens; vel erit devenire ad aliquod operans virtutem, non habens opera vel habitum virtutis.

15 3. Ad oppositum arguitur: forma non est in effectum nisi a causa efficiente. Tunc arguitur: cum forma sit in operatione virtutis, necesse est quod illa forma sit in generante virtutem; quare, aliquis operans opera virtutis habet opera virtutis et habitum.

4. Dicendum quod aliquis habens habitum virtutis formaliter potest operari  
20 opera virtutis. Probacio huius est: quia si quelibet opera iusta procedunt a virtute iusticie, cum iusticia causatur a consimilibus virtutibus, tunc sequitur quod ante istas operationes est habitus iusticie. Et cum illi habitus generentur ex operationibus, tunc contingit procedere in infinitum aut stare ad aliquid quod non habet habitum virtutis. Verum est quod operationes iuste causam  
25 habent, sed illud est ratio vel intellectus secundum virtutem, cuius formam

43 ira<sup>2</sup>] ua *praem. et exp. L*

Questio 10      4 omne] esse *praem. et exp. L*      5 immobile *corr. ex mobile s.s. L<sup>2</sup>*  
19 habitum] opera *L*      20 quelibet] aliqua *praem. et exp. L*      24 operationes iuste *transp.*  
*ante Verum L*      25 cuius] eius *L*

Questio 10      1 Cf. *Comm.* 209-210.37-57; *Lect.* 105-106.37-10; *Sent.* 88.87-106; *ST* 1-2, 49, 4.      6-7 *Averrois Cordubensis Sermo de substantia orbis* 6 (Venice, 1573), 9.12vL-M.

virtutis habet, ita quod habens rationem vel intellectum habet habitum virtutis  
 intrinsecum vel accipit ab extrinseco. Sicut contingit quod aliquando aliquis  
 habens cognitionem primorum operabilium operatur opera virtutis; aliquando,  
 cum non habeat illa, habet hec ab extrinseco, et per consuetudinem ope-  
 30 rationem bonarum sequitur habitus sive operetur ab aliquo intra vel extra.  
 <Quod> contingit in artibus: aliquis enim non loquitur gramaticam nisi  
 habens habitum gramatice, nisi hoc sit a casu. Sed non est simile, quia ars  
 generatur in intellectu speculativo, virtus autem in practico. Et illud quod est in  
 practico generetur ex aliquo existente in speculativo; non tamen sic oportet in / L 125rb  
 35 speculativo quia non est ibi prius in alio, sed est ponere aliquid prius in se ipso.  
 5. Ad rationem est dicendum, cum dicitur, forma in effectu est ex forma  
 existente in efficiente, verum est vel formaliter vel virtute. Et hoc sufficit:  
 generatur enim calidum a non calido, sed non a non calido quod non sit  
 calidum virtute. Similiter dicendum est in proposito.

### Questio 11

POST HEC AUTEM SCRUTANDUM (1105b19). Circa istam partem Aristotiles tangit  
 ea in existencia anime, scilicet habitum, passionem et potenciam.

1. Et videtur quod Aristotiles insufficienter tangit ea que sunt in anima, quia  
 5 operationes sunt in anima et non sunt habitus neque passionem neque potenciam;  
 quare, etc.

2. Item, felicitas et virtus est in anima et tamen nullum istorum est \*\*\* quia  
 secundum unum istorum est aliquis bonus et felix.

3. Dicendum quod Aristotiles solum tangit illa que sunt principia operacio-  
 10 nis illius anime, cuius principia hic intendit investigare. Principium autem  
 operationis in anima est vel habitus vel passio vel potencia; et ideo non tangit  
 operationem quia operatio non est principium operationis.

4. Item, nec tangit substanciam ipsius anime, que non est in anima sed est  
 ipsa anima.

15 5. Item, sufficienter sic accipitur illud quod est in anima: aut sumitur  
 quantum ad id quod est in anima, et sic sunt potenciam; aut per distinctionem  
 exterioris ab anima, et tunc aut causatur ex consuetudine et experientia, et tunc  
 est habitus; aut causatur ab aliquo delectabili vel tristabili, et sic est passio.  
 Apparet ex istis ad rationes.

33, 34 speculativo] speculatio L 35 in<sup>2</sup>] alio *praem. et exp. L*

Questio 11 3 potenciam] -cia L 5 potenciam] passionem *praem. et exp. L* 11-12 et ...  
 operationis *bis exh. L* 15 sufficienter] -ciencia L

Questio 11 1 Cf. *Lect.* 112-113.74-84; *Sent.* 90.13-36.

### Questio 12

Utrum passiones sint in anima?

1. Et quod non videtur, quia passio est motus appetitive potencie sive fantasia boni vel mali; sed anima non movetur, immo est illud quo aliud est  
 5 < motum > ; quare, in ipsa non est passio.

2. Item, illud in quo ipsa anima compatitur ipsi corpori non est in anima, sed in toto aggregato; sed in istis passionibus, ut est < in > ira et aliis, anima compatitur corpori; quare, etc. Nullo enim existente de sensibili, aliquid teneretur propter complexionem corporis, sicut habetur libro *De anima*; quare,  
 10 etc.

3. Ad oppositum: perfectio est in suo perfectibili primo; sed passiones sunt perfectiones anime; quare, etc.

4. Dicendum quod non accipitur hic passio quocumque modo, sed ut est motus appetitive virtutis sub fantasia boni vel mali. Primo enim movetur  
 15 appetitus ab aliquo sensibili exteriorum; secundo movetur fantasia que iudicat illud esse bonum vel malum. Et sic movetur a iudicio boni vel mali, quia tunc ad ipsum motum factum in fantasia requiritur motus appetitive virtutis ad se ipsum. Illud a quo primo sumitur motus vel < ad sequendum vel > ad fugiendum illud ita quod motus anime incipit quasi a circulo, primo a  
 20 sensibilibus exterioribus; secundo est motus in interioribus; et tunc motus talis transit motum in exterioribus.

5. Item, passio non debetur anime nutritive, quia in ea non est iudicium vel cognicio boni vel mali.

6. Item, passio videtur dicere inclinationem anime in aliquod exterius;  
 25 actiones autem anime consistunt in apprehensione aliquorum intrinsecus; et ideo passiones < non > pertine< n > t ad potenciam nutritivam nec ad rationem, sed solum ad appetitum sensitivum. Et quia iste non movetur nisi secundum iudicium de bono vel de malo quod fit aliquando a fantasia boni vel mali, ideo hoc subiungitur in diffinitione, scilicet fantasia boni vel mali. Dico  
 30 tunc quod iste passiones sunt tocius coniuncti. Quod enim non est ens secundum se, eius non est passio sicut subiecti; sed appetitus sensitivus non est ens secundum se, et ideo tocius coniuncti sunt passiones / per animam. Tamen  
 L 125va simpliciter [intelligendum] de habitibus saltem moralibus, quicquid sit de intellectualibus et de potenciis, idem intelligendum.

8 de sensibili] cessibili ut vid. L      12 anime suppl. in marg. L

1 Cf. *Comm.* 211-212.98-25; *Lect.* 113-114.85-86; *Sent.* 90-91.37-112; *ST* 1-2, 22, 1.  
 9 *De an.* 1.1 (403a2-6) et *D* 8; *H* 174 (94).

35 7. Prime rationes probant quia non sint passiones anime absolute. Et concedendum est quod hec sunt tocius coniuncti per animam. Unde quedam passiones sequuntur coniunctum: quedam ratione materie, quedam ratione forme, sicut patet de se.

8. Ad rationem est dicendum in oppositum quod iste passiones sunt perfectiones tocius aggregati, et non anime per se sicut innuitur.

### Questio 13

Consequenter queritur utrum potencie perficiantur per virtutes, sicut innuit Aristotiles?

1. Et quod non videtur, quia unius potencie una est perfectio; sed potenciarum anime sunt alie perfectiones quam virtus, sicut potencie concupiscibilis perfectio est delectacio, et irascibilis ira; ideo, etc.

2. Ad oppositum est Aristotiles.

3. Item, illud quod disponit aliquam potenciam ad operationem est aliqua perfectio eius, si sit dispositio intrinseca; sed virtutes disponunt potencias ad operationem irascitivam et concupiscitivam; quare, etc.

4. Dicendum quod virtutes sunt perfectiones et alicuius potencie vel potenciarum. Omnis enim perfectio alicuius entis in potencia est. Illud autem quod perficitur secundum virtutem moralem est appetitus vel homo secundum appetitum; non facio in hoc differenciam. Appetitus autem secundum quod huiusmodi non est aliud nisi potencia quedam ad irascendum vel concupiscendum: distinguitur enim in hoc appetitus, scilicet in irascibilem et concupiscibilem, et ideo habitus virtutum moralium sunt perfectiones istius potencie. Non enim sunt virtutes aliud in isto quam regula quedam secundum quam ista ordinantur in suas operationes.

5. Ad rationem est dicendum quod unius potencie, unius est actus respectu unius; nichil tamen prohibet respectu diversorum esse plures perfectiones. Ad minorem dico quod concupiscencie potencie et appetitive actus absolutus est concupiscencia. Actus tamen secundum rationem rectam est ipsa concupiscencia recta ratione determinata. Ad unum autem actum determinatur et ordinatur per virtutem ad concupiscendum, quando oportet et que oportet, etc.; ita concupiscencia ordinatur ad virtutem et mediante virtute ordinatur ulterius ad operationes que sunt secundum virtutem.

37 sequuntur] se convenienter L

Questio 13 21 respectu] dii praem. et exp. L 24 unum ut vid. L

Questio 13 1 Cf. *Lect.* 114-115.87-52; *Sent.* 92.186-197; *ST* 1-2, 56, 1. 3, 7 *EN* 2.6 (1106a14-23) et *R* 402.

## Questio 14

Consequenter queritur utrum virtus sit habitus?

1. Et videtur quod non, quia illud quod habet rationem habitus non est ultimum in genere suo, quia habitus ad aliud ordinatur; sed virtus est ultimum  
5 de potencia; quare, etc.

2. Item, omnis habitus semper est sub operatione, nisi aliud prohibeat; virtus autem non est semper sub operatione: potest enim aliquis non operari virtutem semper nullo exteriorum prohibente; quare, etc.

3. Oppositum dicit Aristotiles.

10 4. Item, in anima non sunt nisi tria, potencia, passio et habitus. Virtus autem est aliquid istorum: non autem potencia, quia secundum potenciam non dicimur boni vel mali, secundum autem virtutem dicimur; similiter autem nec [in potencia] est passio propter eandem rationem; quare, est habitus.

5. Intelligendum quod habitus ex ratione sua videtur aliquid dicere ordinatum ad operationem secundum scienciam secundum se acceptam, < quod >  
15 habitum dicimus.

6. Item, habitus est illud quod derelinquitur ex motu, sicut dicitur quinto *Methaphysice*; et istorum quidam sunt habitus corporis, sicut pulcritudo, sanitas; alii sunt habitus anime secundum quos anima operatur, sicut sciencie et  
20 virtutes et sic querimus in proposito. Unde de tali habitu dicit Commentator super tercium *De anima* quod est illud quo aliquis operari potest cum voluerit.

L 125vb 7. Item, virtus est que habentem perficit et opus eius bonum reddit; perficit autem animam; / quare, est habitus sciencie.

8. Ad rationem dico quod habitus non est simpliciter ultimum, sed est in  
25 genere potencie ultimum quia ordinatur ad aliud.

9. Ad aliud concedo maiorem quod habitus semper est sub operatione nisi aliquid prohibeat. Ad minorem dico quod voluntas et appetitus est eorum que sunt secundum rationem. Et ideo habens virtutem non operatur quod non vult.

## Questio 15

Queritur utrum in passionibus sit invenire medium?

1. Et videtur quod non, quia in indivisibili non contingit invenire medium; sed operationes indivisibiles sunt, cum sint qualitates vel actiones que sunt  
5 secundum se indivisibiles; quare, etc.

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Questio 14 1 Cf. *Lect.* 115-116.53-28; *Sent.* 92.187-211; *ST* 1-2, 55, 1. 9 *EN* 2.5 (1106a10-11) et *R* 402. 17-18 *Meta.* 5.12 (1019a27-29) et *M* 99-100. 20-21 *Averrois Cordubensis Commentarium magnum in Aristotelis De anima libros*, ed. F. S. Crawford (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p. 458.26-29 (ad 430a17).

Questio 15 1 Cf. *Comm.* 214-215.75-10; *Lect.* 116-117.90-68; *Sent.* 96.166-192.

2. Item, illud quod habet se perfectum in quolibet indivisibili temporis non est divisibile divisibilitate temporis vel motus; sed delectacio vel passio reperiuntur in quolibet indivisibili temporis vel sunt sub esse perfecto, ut vult Aristotiles in decimo huius, ubi dicit quod delectacio est consequens operationem vel passionem; quare, etc. Quod autem delectacio non sit in corpore patet, quia dicit quod delectacio est sub esse perfecto in quolibet < indivisibili > temporis.

3. In oppositum arguitur: in omni motu est reperire medium et extrema; sed passio et operacio motus sunt; quare, etc.

15 4. Intelligendum quod operationes et passiones circa quas consistit virtus moralis possunt considerari < uno modo > quantum ad naturas proprias et alio modo quantum ad circumstantias. Sed primo modo in ipsis non est reperire medium nec extrema, quia ipsa sunt vel de genere actionis vel qualitatis, et illa sunt indivisibilia secundum se. Si autem consideremus motum secundum  
20 rationem suam, sic non est divisibilis secundum se sicut nec terminus ad quem est motus, et ideo multo minus actio que nominat aliquid existens sub motu. Si autem consideremus ista secundum circumstantias, ut quantum ad qualitatem motus consequentem operationem et alias circumstantias, tunc, cum passio considerata sub mixtione sub contrario, potest esse secundum plus et minus, ut  
25 contingit minus irasci et magis. Si etiam consideretur secundum tempus, contingit invenire medium. Et apparet ad rationes: apparet solucio, quia bene probant quod in passionibus secundum se non est invenire medium.

### Questio 16

Consequenter queritur utrum virtus sit medium?

1. Et videtur quod non, quia illud quod habet rationem extremi medium non est; sed virtus habet rationem extremi, cum virtus sit bonum et bonum  
5 rationem extremi habet respectu mali; quare, etc.

2. Item, si sit medium, aut per abnegacionem, et hoc non contingit: tunc enim lapis diceretur tale medium quod non est unum extremum nec aliud. Iterum, nec medium per compositionem, quia tunc oporteret quod esset compositum ex extremis; hoc autem est falsum. Quare, etc.

10 3. Ad oppositum est Aristotiles.

4. Item, effectus debet proporcionari cause; sed virtus generatur ex operationibus; operationes autem ille ex quibus generatur sunt operationes ad medium adducte; quare, virtus debet esse medium.

9 *EN* 10.4 (1174b31-32) et *R* 570.

Questio 16 1 Cf. *Comm.* 219-221.13-54; *Lect.* 117-120, passim; *Sent.* 95-96.77-136, 98-99.1-145; *ST* 1-2, 64, 1. 10 *EN* 2.7 (1106b36-1107a8) et *R* 404.

5. Dicendum quod virtus est medium quoddam secundum rationem suam  
 15 et propriam speciem, quod patet sic: ratio potencie vel habitus secundum quod  
 huiusmodi sumuntur ex ratione obiecti, quia obiectum rationem finis habet  
 respectu illorum. Virtus autem per rationem suam habitus est, ut ostensum est;  
 et ideo ex obiecto suo debet sumere rationem suam. Obiectum autem virtutis  
 est ipsum medium in operationibus, quia ratio virtutis ex ratione medii. Unde  
 20 virtus est medium in operationibus et passionibus, medium scilicet duarum  
 maliciarum, quia ita se debet habere medium quod est virtus ad extrema, que  
 sunt due malicie, sicut operationes se habent; quia sic est habitibus, sicut in  
 obiectis. Sed sic est in obiectis quod obiectum virtutis est medium inter  
 superhabundanciam et defectum. Quare, sic erit in virtute.

L 126ra 25 6. Et dico medium secundum operationem, quia / in isto medio aqualiter  
 remanent extrema, non tamen sub propriis formis, quia liberalis in dando  
 convenit cum prodigo, et in hoc quod recipit cum avaro; sed manent ista sub  
 rationibus propriis, sicut in tepido remanet calidum et frigidum.

7. Item, operationes generant virtutem et non nisi secundum quod terminata  
 30 sunt sub ratione recta; et sic oportet tunc esse in effectum quod virtus sit medium  
 secundum rationem rectam. Est igitur virtus medium, et est medium duarum  
 maliciarum, et est medium secundum rationem rectam.

8. Ad rationem dico quod idem potest esse medium et extremum respectu  
 diversorum. Et dico quod virtus rationem medii habet. Et cum dicis, virtus  
 35 boni rationem habet quod est extremum respectu mali, intelligendum quod  
 bonitas virtutis consistit in eo quod est agere secundum rationem rectam;  
 malum autem secundum quod malum est declinabile a recta ratione. Et quia  
 utraque malicia convenit in hoc, ideo ambe unum extremum sunt respectu  
 boni. Sed malus per se non contingit declinare a ratione recta, sed intendit  
 40 aliquod delectabile cui coniunctum est declinatio a ratione recta, et ita per  
 accidens hoc intendit. Nichil autem constituitur in esse specie per accidens, et  
 ideo malicia non constituitur in specie quia declinare a malicia. Ideo ratio  
 malicie sumitur ex ratione obiecti; et similiter ratio virtutis consistit in ratione  
 medii. Malicie enim causantur ex passionibus diversis oppositis medio, et ideo  
 45 ab illis sumunt rationem per se.

9. Ad secundum est dicendum quod virtus est medium per compositionem.  
 Et cum dicitur quod sequitur quod virtus sit composita ex extremis, verum est  
 quod est habitus compositus ex extremis, sed non secundum quod extrema  
 manent sub rationibus propriis, sicut si aliquis argueret tepidum esse medium  
 50 inter calidum et frigidum quia est compositum ex illis. Non valent saltim

secundum quod ista manent sub rationibus propriis. Similiter dicendum est in proposito.

Questio 17

NON SUSCIPIT AUTEM OMNIS OPERATIO (1107a8). Consequenter circa partem istam: ibi enim dicit quod furtum, adulterium, homicidium sunt mala.

1. Et videtur quod non, quia omnes operationes speciem sorciuntur ex fine operationis; igitur que ordinantur in bonum finem bone sunt; sed furtum, homicidium, adulterium possunt ordinari in finem bonum, ut propter sustentationem vite; quare, etc.

2. Item, quod contingit fieri ut oportet et quando oportet, tale rationem boni habet. Tale est adulterium, ut dicit commentator quinto huius: dicit quod contingit adulterari ut oportet, ut si aliquis adulteretur cum uxore tyranni ut expediatur civitas in magno bono. Similiter dicit quod furari est bonum secundum quod oportet. Quare, etc.

3. In oppositum est Aristotiles.

4. Item, quod habet rationem extremi non potest habere rationem medii; sed adulterium, furtum et alia extrema sunt, quia non contingit in eis rationem boni invenire; quare, etc., quia bonum existit in medio.

5. Item, illud quod medium est et rationem boni habet non potest habere rationem mali; ergo, illud quod secundum rationem suam malum est non potest habere rationem medii vel boni. Talia autem sunt adulterium, furtum et alia. Quare, etc.

6. Dicendum quod actus morales considerati secundum quod sunt aliquid secundum naturam boni sunt, sed nec boni vel mali sunt relati ad nos. Actiones autem morales sunt bona natura eo quod terminant aliquid. Bonum autem est bonitate moris, quia bonum vel malum moris non dicitur aliquid nisi ut relatum ad finem vel operationem cum rectis circumstantiis determinatam. Operationes autem secundum se acceptae neque bone neque male absolute, dico, et ideo interficere sic non est bonum neque malum simpliciter, nec / accipere rem alienam, quia si <non> esse <n>t mala secundum se, quocumque modo essent mala. Et ideo iste operationes debent accipi secundum quod referuntur ad bonum, ita quod illa operatio que regulata est ratione bona erit, que necnon

L 126rb

Questio 17    14 extremi] boni *praem. et exp. L*    medii] boni *praem. et exp. L*  
 15 non] quia *praem. et exp. L*    17 medium] natum *L*    19 boni] ma *praem. et exp. L*  
 22 boni] bone *L*    23 est] sunt *L*    29 mala] male *L*

Questio 17    1 Cf. *Lect.* 125.32-53; *Sent.* 99-100.146-190.    9 Cf. *Sent.* 266.61-63.

non bene accipere quando oportet et a quo oportet. Unde bonum est simpliciter interficere hominem quando oportet et a quo et propter quid illud habet rationem boni. Quando autem huiusmodi rationes < non > determinantur a ratione recta, tunc sunt male, ut interficere quando non oportet et a quo non  
 35 oportet et ubi non oportet, etc.: hec habet rationem mali. Hoc autem sonas homicidium secundum quod aliquis interficit cum defectu alicuius condicionis existentis ad rectam rationem. Similiter adulterium malum nominat et hoc maxime cum muliere committere quando non oportet et ubi non oportet. Similiter etiam dicendum de furto: accipere rem alienam quando non oportet et  
 40 ubi non et cum non indiget malum est. Ideo dicit Aristotiles quod omnia ista cum malo convolvuntur.

7. Ad rationem est dicendum quod maior vera est. Et cum dicitur, istas operationes contingit ordinare in bonum finem ut interficere quando oportet, dico quod statim tu accipis illud quod non est homicidium; sed si deficiat aliqua  
 45 circumstantia, tunc est homicidium. Similiter de furto: cum dicitur quod contingit accipere rem alienam, statim assumitur illud quod deficit a circumstantia aliqua. Verumptamen est quod aliquando contingit accipere, ut cum aliquis sit in ultima necessitate constitutus; et talis rem alienam non accipit, nec est hoc furtum.

50 8. Ad secundum dicendum quod maior vera est. Et cum dicitur, ista, adulterium, furtum, etc., possunt fieri secundum quod oportet, ut dicit commentator, dico quod commentator postea subdit quod illud dictum erroneum est; unde dicit quod commiscere cum uxore alicuius non est licitum propter aliquod bonum.

### Questio 18

TRIBUS AUTEM DISPO<SICIO>NIBUS (1108b11). Utrum virtus contrariatur duabus maliciis?

1. Et videtur quod non, quia quod opponitur privative aliquibus non est  
 5 contrarium illis; sed virtus opponitur duabus maliciis privative, nam virtus cum sit bonum est privatio mali; quare, etc.

2. Item, tantum unum uni contrariatur; quare, cum virtus sit bonum unum tantum, contrariabitur ei unum; non ergo due malicie.

31 a quo ... bonum] unde oportet bonum L    33 determinantur] -nant L    36 homicidium] rationem *praem. et exp. L*

40 EN 2.7 (1107a9-27) et R 404.

52 Comm. 238-239.68-75 (ad 1119b19-30).

53 Comm. 239.75-82 (ad 1119b19-30).

Questio 18    1 Cf. *Lect.* 131-133, passim; *Sent.* 111-112.1-92.

3. Ad oppositum arguitur: equali contrariatur magis et minus; sed virtus est  
10 equalis, quia est in medio; extrema autem sunt ut plus et minus; quare, etc.

4. Dicendum secundum Philosophum decimo *Metaphysice*, contraria sunt  
sub propria ratione que sunt maxime distancia sub aliquo uno genere. Et  
secundum ipsum, illa que simpliciter participant rationem istam simpliciter  
contraria sunt. Que autem imperfecte participant, imperfecte contraria sunt.  
15 Media autem inter duo extrema non distant ab extremis maxime, sed  
< medium > habet aliquid de uno, et in hoc contrariatur alteri, et e converso.  
Simpliciter non distat medium, quia medium habet aliquid de utrisque. Virtus  
autem medium est inter duas malicias, ut dictum est. Et ideo distat ab extremis,  
et tamen non simpliciter distat. Et ideo non maxime contrariatur duobus  
20 extremis, sed aliquo modo contrariatur.

5. Item, sicut tepidum non contrariatur simpliciter calido et frigido, similiter  
in proposito: virtus inquantum habet aliquid de extremo quod est defectus  
contrariatur habundantie et inquantum habet aliquid de extremo < quod > se  
habet per superhabundanciam contrariatur defectui. Apparet igitur qualiter  
25 virtus contrariatur duabus maliciis.

6. Ad rationem est dicendum quod nichil prohibet illa que secundum unam  
rationem privative opponuntur, secundum aliam rationem esse contraria; sicut  
album et nigrum sunt privative opposita, quia nigrum secundum quod nigrum  
/ dicit privacionem albi, vel secundum quod nigrum deficit ab albo. Similiter in L 126va  
30 proposito est dicendum.

7. Ad minorem dico quod habitus malus est qui deficit a ratione recta. Ex  
hoc autem in aliis est quod deficit ab obiecto. Verumptamen malum secundum  
quod est de genere qualitatis non solum est privacio boni sed malum aliquod  
positive dictum, et sic contrariatur bono, quia utrumque contrariorum dicit  
35 aliquid positive. Secundum ergo quod malicie dicunt privacionem virtutis, sic  
sunt privative opposita; sub rationibus tamen propriis contrariantur virtuti.

8. Ad aliud est dicendum: oportet tantum unum uni contrariatur perfecte.  
Imperfecte autem nichil prohibet plura opponi uni secundum diversas rationes.

### Questio 19

Queritur circa hoc quod dicit Aristotiles quod virtus magis opponitur uni  
malicie quam alter.

Questio 18 33 malum] bonum L

11 *Meta.* 10.4 (1055a6-11) et *M* 192; *H* 135 (243).

Questio 19 1 Cf. *Comm.* 231-232.54-79, 224-225.65-92; *Lect.* 133-134.39-33; *Sent.*  
112.93-157. 2 *EN* 2.8 (1109a1-2) et *R* 408.

1. Et videtur quod non, quia illud quod opponitur duobus et per unam  
 5 rationem reconvenit in illis eodem modo opponitur illis et equaliter; sed virtus  
 contrariatur duabus maliciis per unam rationem, ut quia mala sunt, et virtus  
 bonum; quare, etc.
2. In oppositum dicit Aristotiles.
3. Item, malicia que difficilior est virtuti magis opponitur virtuti; sed virtus  
 10 magis est difficilis uni quam alteri, sicut in fortitudine difficilior est timiditas  
 quam audacia.
4. Dicendum quod virtus magis opponitur uni maliciarum, aliquando illi  
 malicie que est secundum superhabundanciam, aliquando illi que est secundum  
 defectum. Racio primi est quia virtus ratio medii est et est medium etiam quoad  
 15 nos; et compositum aliquo modo ex extremis, ut apparet ex precedentibus.
5. Item, sicut patet decimo *Methaphysice*, compositum ex pluribus est ex  
 altero magis et altero minus, et tunc virtus, cum simul accipitur de uno, magis  
 similis est illi, et ei de quo minus accipit, minus similis, sicut patet de mediis  
 coloribus, quorum quidam plus accipiuntur de albo, quidam minus.
- 20 6. Item, secundum quod patet: quia virtus, cum sit medium inter duas  
 malicias, declinat ab illo ad quod magis <est> secundum inclinacionem  
 naturalem, naturaliter homo inclinat ad delectacionem et fugit tristitiam; et ideo  
 in illis in quibus est maior delectacio magis consistit virtus in illo extremo quod  
 recedit a delectacione, sicut apparet de temperancia que est media inter  
 25 intemperanciam et insensibilitatem; magis enim opponitur intemperancie, quia  
 ad illud magis inclinatur. Similiter autem fortitudo consistit in agrediendo  
 quedam tristitia, et tristitia fugimus naturaliter; ideo, iste virtuosus intendit  
 declinare timiditati, et ideo magis accedit ad audaciam; et per consequens magis  
 opponitur timiditati quam audacie.
- 30 7. Ad rationem in oppositum est dicendum quod maior vera est. Ad  
 minorem cum dicitur quod virtus opponitur duabus maliciis per unam  
 rationem, falsum est. Cum enim aliquid includat de utroque extremorum, per  
 hoc quod includit aliquid de uno opponitur alteri et e converso. Unde avaricie  
 opponitur largitas in quantum dat, et prodigalitati in quantum recepit. Et dico  
 35 quod virtus non opponitur istis secundum quod bonum, sed secundum quod  
 iste malicie habent sibi annexam superhabundanciam et defectum. Et in hoc  
 terminatur secundus liber ethicorum.

DEO GRACIAS

*Stonehill College.*

4 et suppl. s.s. L    5 reconvenit ut vid. L    19 de albo suppl. in marg. L    37 ethicorum  
 suppl. L<sup>2</sup>

16 *Meta.* 10.7 (1057b27-29) et *M* 200; *H* 135 (200).

PETER ABELARD, *CONFESSIO FIDEI 'UNIVERSIS'* :  
A CRITICAL EDITION OF ABELARD'S REPLY  
TO ACCUSATIONS OF HERESY\*

Charles S. F. Burnett

INTRODUCTION

IN the *Confessio fidei 'Universis'*<sup>1</sup> Abelard replies to each of seventeen of the *capitula* under which his heresies had been listed in the *Capitula haeresum xix* attached to St. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistola 190 ad Innocentium papam*, with a brief statement of the orthodoxy of his belief.<sup>2</sup> A much more detailed and scholarly reply to the same *capitula* (in addition to the two which have been omitted in the *Confessio fidei 'Universis'*) appears to have been the subject of Abelard's *Apologia*, of which we have only the opening section and

\* The following abbreviations will be used:

Buytaert = E. M. Buytaert, ed., *Petri Abaelardi Opera theologica*, 2 vols. (CCCM 11, 12; Turnhout, 1969)

Cousin = V. Cousin, ed., *Petri Abaelardi Opera*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1849-59; rpt. Hildesheim-New York, 1970)

Duchesne = A. Duchesne (Andreas Quercetanus), ed., *D. Petri Abaelardi ... Opera* (Paris, 1616) (= F. d'Amboise [Franciscus Amboesius], ed., *Petri Abaelardi ... Opera* [Paris, 1616])

Luscombe = D. E. Luscombe, *The School of Peter Abelard. The Influence of Abelard's Thought in the Early Scholastic Period* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 2nd Ser., 14; Cambridge, 1969)

Monfrin = J. Monfrin, ed., *Abélard, Historia calamitatum*, 3rd edition (Paris, 1967).

<sup>1</sup> This title has become conventional, but is not given in the earliest and best manuscripts (see below, p. 131). Lest there should be any confusion between this work and the *Confessio fidei ad Heloissam* (PL 178.375-78), the latter work will always be referred to by its full title; the word *Confessio* on its own, therefore, will refer only to the *Confessio fidei 'Universis'*.

<sup>2</sup> For previous discussions and editions of the *Capitula haeresum xix* see J. Leclercq, 'Les formes successives de la lettre-traité de Saint Bernard contre Abélard', *Revue bénédictine* 78 (1968) 87-105, and J. Leclercq and H. Rochais, eds., *S. Bernardi Opera* 8 (Rome, 1977), pp. xii-xiii, 39-40. The following article takes into account the most recent investigations of Dr. Constant Mews, and reference is made throughout to his edition of the *Capitula haeresum xix* ('The Lists of Heresies Imputed to Peter Abelard', *Revue bénédictine* 95 [1985] 73-110). Note in particular that *capitulum viii* in Mews's edition is *capitulum xvii* in Leclercq's edition, and *capitula ix-xvii* in Mews's edition are *capitula viii-xvi* in Leclercq's edition.

fragments preserved in Thomas of Morigny's answer to that work.<sup>3</sup> The verbal similarities between the two works suggest that they were composed in the same circumstances.<sup>4</sup> In both works Abelard refutes the allegation in the *Capitula haeresum* xix that the propositions listed are to be found in his *Theologia*, his *Scito te ipsum* (*Ethica*) and his *Sententiae* (a work whose composition he denies). In both works also he brings together the same authorities to show that he has a right and a duty to defend himself. However, there are important differences.

In the first place the *Apologia* is addressed directly to St. Bernard. At the head of the work Abelard draws up the list of the nineteen *capitula*, which he squarely attributes to Bernard himself. He gives the impression that the whole purpose of the work is to sort out the differences and lack of understanding between Bernard and himself; the *Apologia* is a confrontation of the ways of thinking of two minds, and no third party is involved.<sup>5</sup> Abelard's tone is not without arrogance. He accuses Bernard of woolly thinking and lack of understanding of dialectic,<sup>6</sup> but he takes his opponent seriously enough to underpin his own defense with all the scholarly tools at his disposal.

The *Confessio fidei* 'Universis', on the other hand, while referring obliquely to Bernard in perhaps an ironic tone as *amicus noster*,<sup>7</sup> is addressed to the church at large, against which Abelard has no particular grudge. He spares his audience scholarly logical and theological arguments and two recondite *capitula*,<sup>8</sup> and expatiates only on the two *capitula* whose doctrines he wishes to defend.<sup>9</sup> Abelard adopts a more submissive attitude, he admits his fallibility (especially in regard to his conduct<sup>10</sup>) and he calls for charity from his brother Christians.

However, the significance of the *Confessio fidei* 'Universis' does not lie merely in the fact that it is addressed to all Christians, and not to one man alone. Over and above this, it gives the impression of being a formal and public statement disclaiming heresy. At the beginning of the text Abelard recalls the

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Buytaert, I.341-68.

<sup>4</sup> For the parallels see the first section of the apparatus beneath the text, edited below.

<sup>5</sup> Note the repeated use of *tu*, *te* and *tuus* and second person singular verbs throughout the *Apologia*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Apologia* 8 (Buytaert I.363): 'Erras plane, frater, tamquam uim uerborum nequaquam intelligens, et illius expers disciplinae quae disserendi magistra est, nec solum uerba intelligere docet, uerum disserere intellecta ualet.'

<sup>7</sup> *Confessio*, ep. 1 (p. 138 below).

<sup>8</sup> *Capitulum* 3 (the identification of the Holy Spirit with the World-Soul) and *capitulum* 16 (the opinion that the Devil might influence minds through the use of stones and plants).

<sup>9</sup> *Capitulum* 11 (*Confessio* xi), that in Christ there was no spirit of the fear of the Lord, and *capitulum* 13 (*Confessio* xiii), that a man does not win additional merit by his deeds.

<sup>10</sup> Ed. below, pr. 4: '... quamvis impar ceteris sim morum qualitate.'

arguments which he had already brought forward in his *Theologia 'scholarium'*, to be considered when heresy is suspected, applying them to his own case.<sup>11</sup> He shows, for example, that he should not be convicted of heresy simply for holding an erroneous belief since heresy lies in perversely persisting in that belief after its error has been exposed, and he insists that he has always been willing to correct or abandon such beliefs. Throughout the *Confessio* Abelard *states* rather than *argues for* his orthodoxy, and one is left wondering whether the *Confessio* might indeed be a document demanded, or required by convention, from Abelard in the course of the proceedings of an inquisition against heresy.

Those accused of heresy were required to confess the faith of the Catholic Church.<sup>12</sup> The particular form of the confession made by Valdès (before 1184), the eponymous instigator of the Waldensian heresy, has been recorded.<sup>13</sup> However, the closest similarities are those between Abelard's *Confessio* and the proceedings at the trial of Gilbert, bishop of Poitiers, at the Council of Reims in 1148, as witnessed by John of Salisbury.<sup>14</sup>

In both cases it is St. Bernard who initiates the proceedings. Both the accused disclaim heresy and state that they do not wish to persist obstinately in an error which has been shown to be contrary to the teaching of the Catholic Church.<sup>15</sup> Both emphasize that they have taught nothing in secret.<sup>16</sup> In both cases, too, some of the disputed doctrines have been taken from books which the accused claim they have not written. John of Salisbury records Gilbert's indignation at being confronted with a statement in a work he had no hand in composing, and, just as Abelard vehemently condemns the man who upholds the doctrine of the first *capitulum*, so Gilbert pronounces anathema against the heresies and

<sup>11</sup> At the beginning of *Theologia 'scholarium'* Abelard is trying to forestall charges of heresy (*tsch* 7-9 = *TSch* Prolog. 7-9; see Buytaert 2.402-404). It is significant that he should return to the words he uses here (including the quotation from Proverbs 10:19 about speaking too much) when his back is to the wall, as it were, in the *Confessio*.

<sup>12</sup> See for example W. L. Wakefield and A. P. Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages* (New York-London, 1969), p. 85.

<sup>13</sup> Edited by A. Dondaine, 'Aux origines du Valdésisme: une profession de foi de Valdès', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 16 (1946) 191-235 (see 231-32). The confession of Valdès is addressed to 'all the faithful' (*Pateat omnibus fidelibus*), is comparable in length to that of Abelard, and states the orthodox belief with one sentence for each item, as does the *Confessio fidei 'Universis'*; the heretical beliefs are not mentioned except by implication.

<sup>14</sup> See M. Chibnall, ed. and trans., *Ioannis Saresberiensis Historia pontificalis. John of Salisbury's Memoirs of the Papal Court* (Edinburgh, 1956), chaps. 8-14.

<sup>15</sup> '[Gilbertus] dicebat se nec esse hereticum nec futurum, qui paratus erat et semper fuerat acquiescere ueritati et apostolicam sequi doctrinam; hereticum namque facit non ignorantia ueri, sed mentis elatio contumaciam pariens' (*Historia pontificalis* 10, ed. Chibnall, pp. 21-22); cf. *Confessio*, pr. 1-2.

<sup>16</sup> '[Gilbertus] in scolis et in ecclesiis palam mundo, et se in occulto dicebat nichil esse locutum' (*Historia pontificalis* 10, ed. Chibnall, p. 22); cf. *Confessio*, pr. 2.

the author of the book he is alleged to have written.<sup>17</sup> Concerning the works he admits to writing, Gilbert, like Abelard, promises to erase any statements that should be found to be erroneous.<sup>18</sup> The actual profession of faith demanded from Gilbert was formulated not by Gilbert himself but by Geoffrey of Auxerre, St. Bernard's secretary and biographer, who appears to have been the official clerk at the local synod.<sup>19</sup> The profession of faith was formulated in such a way as to bring four of the doctrines which were, as agreed by both sides, held by Gilbert, into line with orthodox faith. Three of the articles begin with the word *credimus*; in the fourth, the verbs *fatemur* and *profitemur* express the profession of faith.

The parallels between the formulae used by Abelard, especially in the prologue and epilogue of his *Confessio fidei 'Universis'*, and the statements that Gilbert is recorded as having made during the course of the proceedings against him suggest that Abelard is deliberately using standard terminology in rebutting charges of heresy. Also, as in Gilbert's case, the affirmation of orthodox belief is attached to each of the articles which contain the disputed doctrine. However, there is no evidence that any part of the *Confessio fidei 'Universis'* was drawn up by another party for Abelard to countersign. For the style and doctrine of the *Confessio* matches that of other works of Abelard, as the apparatus to the text will show. Our accounts of the Council of Sens do not permit us to say whether Abelard presented this *Confessio*, or parts of it, during the proceedings of his case. It is more reasonable to consider the *Confessio* as a document, deliberately drafted as a confession of faith, which was sent to interested parties during the period before the Council, when several documents scrutinizing Abelard's doctrine were being circulated.<sup>20</sup>

The *Apologia* and *Confessio fidei 'Universis'* would both have been written soon after the publication of the *Capitula haeresum xix*. One would expect to find the *Apologia* at the abbey of Clairvaux, where a copy of the reply to his work, the *Disputatio catholicorum patrum contra dogmata Petri Abaelardi* of

<sup>17</sup> (*direct speech*) 'Ego libellum istum cum auctore suo et omnes hereses que in eo scripte sunt anathematizo uobiscum' (*Historia pontificalis* 10, ed. Chibnall, p. 22); cf. *Confessio* 1: '... ego verba ... detestor, et ea cum auctore suo pariter dampno.'

<sup>18</sup> (*direct speech*) 'Iustum enim est, si ego peccaui scribendo, idem puniar in radendo...' (*Historia pontificalis* 11, ed. Chibnall, p. 23); cf. *Confessio*, pr. 2.

<sup>19</sup> This profession of faith is recorded in *Historia pontificalis* 11 (ed. Chibnall, p. 24); see also N. M. Häring, 'Das sogenannte Glaubensbekenntnis des Reimser Konsistoriums von 1148', *Scholastik* 40 (1965) 55-90.

<sup>20</sup> See Mews, 'The Lists of Heresies', 105-106. For the confession of faith which was sent directly to Heloise see my 'Abelard's Last Letter to Heloise? The *Confessio fidei ad Heloisam*: A Discussion and Critical Edition of the Latin and Medieval French Versions' (forthcoming in *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 21 [1986]) and PL 178.375-78.

Thomas of Morigny, was deposited.<sup>21</sup> However, the origin of the one manuscript which contains the *Apologia* itself (unfortunately incomplete through the loss of several folios) has not been securely ascertained.<sup>22</sup> The reference by Otto of Freising to an '*Apollogeticum*' written by Peter Abelard against the '*capitula* of Bernard', with the *incipit* of our *Apologia*,<sup>23</sup> and the fact that Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, asked Thomas of Morigny to write his *Disputatio*, presumably when the latter was at Saint-Martin-des-Champs in Paris, where he lived between 1140 and 1144,<sup>24</sup> give some idea of the audience of the *Apologia*. Historical evidence for the reception of the *Confessio*, however, is not forthcoming, and one is obliged to rely on the testimony of the manuscripts themselves to gauge how the work was published and what readership it reached.

The number of manuscripts – which at twenty (including five lost manuscripts) is relatively high for a work of Abelard – is itself deceptive.<sup>25</sup> For six of the manuscripts (of which two are lost) are closely related copies of the small collection of materials made up of Berengar of Poitiers' letters and Abelard's *Soliloquium*, which was copied widely in the late thirteenth and throughout the fourteenth century (tradition  $\beta$  below). Another four manuscripts (including the manuscript from which Duchesne took his text) represent a late (s. xv-xvii) tradition of manuscripts of the personal correspondence, to which a dossier of works concerning the Council of Sens had been added (tradition  $\epsilon$ ).

In some manuscripts the *Confessio* is associated with letters by St. Bernard concerning Abelard. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 2545 (belonging to the late tradition  $\epsilon$ ) includes St. Bernard's *Epistolae* 188 and 191 and the *Capitula haeresum* xix. London, British Library Cotton Otho C.xiv and its copy, Dublin, Trinity College 780 (D.3.10), include *Epistolae* 189 and 188; these seem to have been copied out alongside Abelard's work as further items in a large collection of letters illustrating ecclesiastical controversies, especially those concerning

<sup>21</sup> For the history of this manuscript (now Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Clmae 16) see A. Vernet and J.-F. Genest, *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Clairvaux du XII<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* 1 (Paris, 1979), p. 52, Buytaert 1.345-50, and N. M. Häring, 'Thomas von Morigny, *Disputatio catholicorum patrum contra dogmata Petri Abailardi*', *Studi medievali*, 3rd Ser., 22 (1981) 302-10.

<sup>22</sup> For the manuscript (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 28363) see P. Ruf and M. Grabmann, 'Ein neu aufgefundenes Bruchstück der *Apologia* Abaelards', *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, philosoph.-hist. Abt., 5 (Munich, 1930), pp. 3-9; summarized in Buytaert 1.343-45.

<sup>23</sup> Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici* (G. Waitz and B. von Simson, eds., *Ottonis et Rahewini Gesta Friderici I imperatoris* [MGH Script. rerum germ. in usum schol. 46; Hanover-Leipzig, 1912], p. 74).

<sup>24</sup> Luscombe, p. 50.

<sup>25</sup> For further descriptions of the manuscripts, see below, pp. 120-29.

English sees, in the twelfth century. A fourth manuscript, now Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 998, but apparently written in the Benedictine abbey of Göttweig, is curious. It is the only early manuscript in which the *Capitula haeresum* xix are also found. The *Capitula*, however, are detached from Bernard's *Epistola* 189 and Pope Innocent II's reply to Bernard's letters condemning Abelard. Moreover, the *Confessio fidei* 'Universis' has been added by a different scribe who has divided the text between two odd spaces left blank in the manuscript, and has added a paragraph from the *Sententiae Petri Abaelardi* (which he calls the 'Theologia' of Peter Abelard) on a fly-leaf at the end of the manuscript.<sup>26</sup> It is apparent, then, that he added Abelard's works to a manuscript already containing letters of Bernard and Pope Innocent II.

These three isolated testimonies do not, therefore, suggest that there was a separate tradition in which Abelard's *Confessio* travelled with those works of St. Bernard in which Abelard's teaching is condemned. There is no evidence that the *Confessio* was ever at Clairvaux, and not one of the fifteen surviving manuscripts can be shown to have come from a Cistercian abbey.

One manuscript, however, in which two letters of St. Bernard are included, directly preceding the *Confessio*, points to another tradition: that of the early 'Northeast French' group of manuscripts, which is designated by the siglum  $\delta$ . All three manuscripts of this tradition are of the twelfth century, and miss out the last phrase of *Confessio fidei* 'Universis' xiii. Of these Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale 532 (D) is a collection of devotional texts which, Leclercq has claimed, was made by the Cistercian Galland of Rigny, who corresponded with St. Bernard. Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Philipps 1732 (R) was in Reims in the fifteenth century, and included *Epistola* 330 and part of *Epistola* 189 of St. Bernard, both concerning Abelard. This manuscript passed through Clermont College in Paris, and is annotated by Jacques Sirmond (1559-1651), confessor to King Louis XIII and a prolific collector of manuscripts. Sirmond writes in the margin, opposite the beginning of Abelard's *Confessio*, 'Petri Abailardi Apologia' – a title which is also in D, and which Duchesne may have used at Sirmond's suggestion. The third manuscript in tradition  $\delta$ , Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale 27 (G), includes some sermons of St. Bernard. The association of Bernardine material with the *Confessio fidei* 'Universis' in these manuscripts need not suggest a Clairvaux origin for tradition  $\delta$ . For it is noticeable that abbeys in northern France and Belgium provide a very fine early tradition for the correspondence of St. Bernard, and that the very abbey from

<sup>26</sup> Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 998, fol. 177r: 'Petrus abaelardus in theologia sua. Predestinatio ut diximus de bonis tantum est ... per quod salvaretur' = *Sententiae Petri Abaelardi* (*Epitome theologiae christianae* [PL 178.1729b-c]). I owe this identification to Dr. Constant Mews.

which D originates (the Benedictine abbey of Anchin) also owned the earliest complete collection of St. Bernard's works. The text that Tissier used for his 1662 edition of the *Confessio fidei 'Universis'* shares with this tradition the omission of the last clause of section xiii.

The manuscript which, textually, turns out to be the closest to the hypothetical ancestor of all fifteen manuscripts directs our attention firmly away from St. Bernard, and towards another, more benign, critic of Abelard.

In Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 14193, written well within the confines of the twelfth century, a scribe has copied out Abelard's work, and his work alone, into a little booklet of the correspondence of Walter of Mortagne.<sup>27</sup> The *Confessio fidei 'Universis'* immediately follows the only manuscript copy we have of Walter's *Epistola ad Abaelardum*.<sup>28</sup> In this letter Walter seeks from Abelard positive confirmation or denial of certain approaches to theology and certain doctrines which are said by pupils of Abelard to be those of their master, and which appear to be confirmed in Abelard's *Liber theologiae*, a copy of the first part of which has come into Walter's hands. In general Walter objects that Abelard should presume to put forward his own opinion rather than truth (*opinionis nostrae sensus* rather than *veritas*) and that he should have the arrogance or foolishness to pretend to know such impenetrable truths as the nature of the Trinity or the mode by which Christ was generated from, and the Holy Spirit proceeded from, the Father. The opinions which Walter picks out concern the local position of God, angels and souls, and, in particular, that (1) the Son should have less power than the Father, (2) Christ won no merit by his preaching, his conduct or even his death, and (3) no one ought to be rewarded or punished because of his good or evil deeds, but only because of his will (*voluntas*). Walter ends his letter by asking Abelard to preach openly (literally 'from the roof-tops'), and to avoid enticing people with 'hidden bread and the sweetness of unseen water'; and he urges Abelard to write back briefly telling him the truth about his beliefs. The *Confessio fidei 'Universis'* has been appended to this letter in ms. lat. 14193 as though the compiler of the little booklet considered it to be the response to Walter's plea. Is there any internal evidence that Abelard himself intended it to be such?

Some resemblances between Walter's letter and Abelard's *Confessio* can be found. Abelard begins his *Confessio* by saying that 'nothing is so well said that it cannot be twisted', implying, one may presume, that pupils of his, such as those

<sup>27</sup> For the manuscripts of Walter's correspondence see L. Ott, *Untersuchungen zur theologischer Briefliteratur der Frühscholastik* (BGPTM 34; Münster, 1937), pp. 142 ff.

<sup>28</sup> Ed. L. d'Achéry, *Spicilegium sive Collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis delituerant*, new edition, 3 (1723), pp. 524-26, reprinted with corrections by H. Ostlender, ed., *Sententiae floridanenses* (Florilegium patristicum 19; Bonn, 1929), pp. 34-40.

with whom Walter had come into contact, might well have distorted his arguments. He objects to accusations of arrogance and denies categorically that he has used subterfuge in his teaching, quoting the very verse from Proverbs concerning hidden bread and secret water with which Walter ended his letter.<sup>29</sup> Abelard admits that he has not been able to avoid *reprehensio* (which Walter warns him not to fall into) but he *has* spoken openly, and in many places. Moreover, he is confident that *veritas* (and thus, implicitly, not the *opinio* expressed in his teaching) frees him from guilt. As for the specific doctrines raised by Walter, that concerning the attribution of power especially (or properly) to the Father is mentioned in the *Confessio*, and it is accepted by modern scholars that Abelard made a revision to his *Theologia 'scholarium'* on the basis of Walter's criticism.<sup>30</sup> Abelard's categorical denial in the *Confessio* that he believes that the Father is a full power, the Son is a certain power and the Holy Spirit is no power shows no particular influence of Walter's letter, but is a direct response to the condemned *capitulum* which heads almost all the lists of *capitula* held against Abelard in the period leading up to the Council of Sens. The other doctrines attributed by Walter to Abelard, however, have hardly been mentioned in recent scholarship. These are, as we have seen, that Christ won no merit by his deeds and conduct,<sup>31</sup> and that, in general, rewards and punishments correspond not to deeds, but rather to the will. The second of these, although it is not couched in the same words as *capitulum* XIII of *Capitula haeresum* XIX ('Quod propter opera nec melior nec peior efficiatur homo'), is reminiscent of certain arguments adduced in support of this *capitulum* (e.g., *Capitula haeresum* XIV has Abelard saying: 'Nec propter opera peior uel melior efficitur homo, nisi, dum operatur, fortassis in aliquo eius uoluntas augmentetur'<sup>32</sup>). The application of this doctrine to Christ, however, does not seem to have been brought up by any of Abelard's opponents except Walter. Moreover, it is precisely this application to Christ (alongside the more general

<sup>29</sup> St. Bernard, however, uses the same phrase in his accusations against Abelard in his *Epistola* 190 (see below, p. 132). Whether this suggests a connection between Walter's and St. Bernard's letters, or simply indicates that the phrase was well-known and the natural one to use in the context, needs to be investigated further.

<sup>30</sup> See H. Ostlender, 'Die *Theologia 'scholarium'* des Peter Abelard' in *Aus der Geisteswelt des Mittelalters ...* (BGPTM Supplementband 3.1; Münster, 1935), pp. 263-81, especially pp. 266-69, and C. Mews, *The Development of the 'Theologia' of Peter Abelard* (D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1980), pp. 161 and 286.

<sup>31</sup> Ostlender compares this with the statement in the *Sententiae florianenses* (belonging to the 'school' of Abelard) that Christ could not be made better (*melior*) by God the Father, but that he could be made more blessed (*beatior*) (*Sententiae florianenses* 39, ed. Ostlender, p. 19); however, no mention is made here of Christ's will or his deeds.

<sup>32</sup> 'Die vierzehn *Capitula haeresum Petri Abaelardi*', ed. N. M. Häring in *Cîteaux* 31 (1980) 35-52 (see p. 50, *capitulum* X).

application) that is brought into Abelard's defence in *Confessio fidei 'Universis'* xiii: 'For not even when the soul of Christ puts its will into effect, ought it to be thought better as a result.'

The *Confessio fidei 'Universis'*, therefore, appears to take up some specific points raised in Walter of Mortagne's *Epistola ad Abaelardum*. It remains, of course, primarily a response to the *Capitula haeresum* xix. But one can perhaps see Abelard, who had earlier on taken Walter's gentle criticisms seriously enough to introduce alterations to his *Theologia*, still remembering Walter's words when he came to write his *Confessio*, and even, perhaps, sending Walter a personal copy of the *Confessio* which was subsequently included in the collection of Walter's correspondence.

The reconstructed archetype for the whole manuscript tradition, which the manuscript including Walter's letters resembles most closely, is marred by two conspicuous corruptions which suggest that no copyist had access to a properly finished text of the *Confessio*.

First, the order of the replies to the condemned *capitula* has been confused. What appears as the second paragraph of the reply to the *capitulum* in *Confessio fidei 'Universis'* vi should rather be added to the reply in section ix. Abelard is replying to the charge that he believed that sins committed in ignorance were free from blame. In its present position this reply interrupts two paragraphs concerning the power of God (to do other than He has done, and to prevent evil), whereas, appended to section ix it would complete the reply to *capitulum* x of *Capitula haeresum* xix which includes both the statement that those who crucified Christ in ignorance did not sin, and that nothing which is done in ignorance should be blameworthy.<sup>33</sup> It is possible that the misplaced paragraph had been written in the margin of the ancestor of the archetype of the extant manuscripts and had been inserted erroneously into section vi because the words 'multa ... facta ... sunt' at the beginning of the marginal addition and the phrase *multa facere* in the reply in section vi suggested to the scribe a sequence of thought.

Another disturbance of order has occurred in *Confessio fidei 'Universis'* xiii. For the natural flow of the argument, the words 'Non enim angelus ... melior inde reputari debuit' should be removed from the position where they are found at present. In this way the application of the argument remains general (for all men) throughout; the change of subject from plural to singular is adequately

<sup>33</sup> The proposed order is supported by the order of *capitula* in *Capitula haeresum* xix; note the following correspondences: *cap.* 7 'Quod ea solummodo possit Deus facere ... non alio' (= *Confessio* vi.1); *cap.* 8 'Quod Deus nec debeat nec possit mala impedire' (= *Confessio* vii); *cap.* 9 'Quod non contraximus culpam ex Adam, sed poenam tantum' (= *Confessio* viii); *cap.* 10 'Quod non peccaverunt qui Christum ignorantes crucifixerunt et quod non sit culpae adscribendum quicquid fit per ignorantiam' (= *Confessio* ix + vi.2).

managed by the use of *quilibet*. The reference to angels and the soul of Christ not adding merit by their deeds cannot be accommodated where it is found at present, not only for reasons of syntax (what would the subject of *permanet* be?), but also for logical reasons; for in no way can angels or the soul of Christ be equally good as other men. The awkwardness of this passage as it stands appears to have led the scribe of the ancestor of tradition  $\delta$  and the scribe of O to juggle with the text in an attempt to make it lie better. It is reasonable to suppose that the clause 'Non enim angelus ... melior inde reputari debuit' was written in the margin, like the second half of section vi, and was inserted in the wrong place by the scribe of the archetype. The omission of the last phrase in the section in tradition  $\delta$  might be a further indication of the garbled state of a previous version of this section.

The picture that seems to be emerging is that Abelard wrote a *Confessio fidei* addressed to the church at large, to counter the list of nineteen *capitula* which were being circulated in order to discredit him before the Council of Sens. We do not have a 'finished' text of this work. What we have is a document which was perhaps written in haste, or, at least, not revised or corrected by its author after copying. Furthermore, the correspondences between the *Confessio fidei* 'Universis' as we have it and the *Epistola ad Abaelardum* of Walter of Mortagne suggest that Abelard may have deliberately altered his text in order to cope with Walter's letter as well as with the *Capitula haeresum* xix. For the most striking correspondence with Walter (the reference to Christ adding merits by his deeds) appears to have been a marginal addition.

#### THE MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS OF ABELARD'S *CONFESSIO FIDEI* 'UNIVERSIS' AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TEXT OF THE PRESENT EDITION

The *Confessio fidei* 'Universis' is found in the following manuscripts:<sup>34</sup>

- A = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 2923, s. xiii med./ex. (perhaps from the south of France), fols. 48v-49v.
- B = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 1896, s. xiv (unknown provenance), fols. 192r-193r.
- C = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale nouv. acq. lat. 1873, s. xv ex. (unknown provenance; Lord Guildford, then Phillippus 6217), fols. 215v-217r.
- D = Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale 532, s. xii (abbey of Anchin [O.S.B.], dioc. Arras), fols. 181r-183r.

<sup>34</sup> For fuller description of these manuscripts including the evidence for their dates and provenance, see D. E. Luscombe, J. Barrow and C. S. F. Burnett, 'A Checklist of the Manuscripts Containing the Writings of Peter Abelard and Heloise and Other Works Closely Associated with Abelard and His School', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 16 (1984-86) (forthcoming).

- E = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 2545, s. xv/xvi (possibly the Nantes codex owned by F. d'Amboise), fols. 56v-57v.
- F = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 13057, s. xvi/xvii (abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés [O.S.B.], Paris), pp. 181-186.
- G = Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale 27, s. xii ex. (Cambrai Cathedral), fols. 187v-189r.
- L = London, British Library Cotton Otho C.xiv, s. xiii (Westminster Abbey), fols. 183v-185r.
- 1 = Dublin, Trinity College 780 (D.3.10), s. xvii in. (Archbishop Ussher's notebook), fols. 13r-14r.
- O = Oxford, Bodleian Library Canon. Pat. Lat. 171, s. xii (in Italy in the Middle Ages), fols. 200v-201v (198v-199v old foliation).
- P = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 14511, s. xii ex. (fols. 1-17) (at abbey of St. Victor [regular canons], Paris, probably only after s. xvi in.), fol. 2r (end only).
- Q = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 14193, s. xii (abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés [O.S.B.], Paris), fols. 6v-7v.
- R = Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Philipps 1732, s. xii (at St. Denis, Reims, in s. xv), fols. 144v-146v.
- W = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 998, s. xii ex. (abbey of Göttweig [O.S.B.], dioc. Passau), fols. 151r-v, 176v.
- Y = Oxford, Bodleian Library Add. C. 271, s. xiv<sup>2</sup> (at Cambrai in late s. xv), fols. 84v-85v.

Three further Latin manuscripts are lost, but are the basis of the following witnesses to the text:

- fr = a French translation, copied in the hand of Gontier Col (c. 1350 - c. 1418), but of uncertain authorship, is found in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 920, pp. 218-222.<sup>35</sup>
- Du = the edition made by André Duchesne in *D. Petri Abaelardi ... Opera* (Paris, 1616), pp. 330-33 (d'Amboise reprints this edition on fol. \*r-\*ii<sup>v</sup> of his publication).
- T = the edition made independently by Bernard Tissier in *Bibliotheca patrum cisterciensium* 4 (Bonnefontaine, 1662), pp. 259-61, from an unidentified manuscript.

The *Confessio fidei 'Universis'* was also once in two manuscripts belonging to the house of the regular Augustinian canons of St. Victor, which are given the

<sup>35</sup> See C. Bozzolo, 'L'humaniste Gontier Col et la traduction française des lettres d'Abélard et Héloïse', *Romania* 95 (1974) 199-215. The French translation of the *Confessio fidei 'Universis'* together with the other Abelardian works in the same manuscript has been edited by F. Beggiano, *Le lettere di Abaelardo ed Eloisa nella traduzione di Jean de Meun*, 2 vols. (Modena, 1977); 'la Confession d'Abaelart general et especial contre aucune articlez contre lui imposez' is in 1.241-46.

shelf marks p 13 and GGG 17 in the early sixteenth-century catalogue of the library of St. Victor by Claude de Grandrue.<sup>36</sup> In the list of contents of ms. p 13 is included *Confessio petri abaelardi de eodem non completa* on fol. 57r. De Grandrue copied the same list of contents into ms. p 13 itself, and it can still be read on fol. 78r (fol. 90r in the old foliation) of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 14669, which bears the St. Victor class-mark p 13.<sup>37</sup> Unfortunately, fols. 49-60 (old foliation), which would have included the *Confessio*, are now missing from the manuscript. In the case of ms. GGG 17 in de Grandrue's catalogue, the manuscript has not been traced. The *Confessio* began on fol. 54r of the manuscript, and is described as *Epistola petri abaelardi contra calumnias quorundam capitulorum sib (sic) obiectorum*.

Duchesne's edition was reprinted by C. E. Du Boulay in his *Historia universitatis parisiensis* 2 (Paris, 1665), pp. 196-98 and in PL 178 (Paris, 1855), cols. 106-107. Tissier's edition, in turn, was reprinted in PL 180 (Paris, 1855), cols. 329-32. Victor Cousin collated Duchesne's edition with mss. PQ in his *Petri Abaelardi Opera* 2 (Paris, 1859), pp. 719-23.

Amongst these witnesses to the text of the *Confessio fidei 'Universis'* three traditions are clearly discernible on the evidence of the variant readings.

β

First, ABY belong together. They share the following divergent readings: pr. 2 *fortassis, dolendis*; v *necnon*; vi.2 *est*; viii *contraxisse nos*; xiv *potest una personarum*; xvii *quo, tam* om. They are alone of the extant manuscripts in giving the work the title *Confessio Petri Abaelardi*.<sup>38</sup> Most conspicuous is the fact that all three manuscripts give in the margin the text of the *capitula* to which Abelard is replying. This text corresponds closely to that of the most widespread tradition of the *Capitula haeresum* xix, and, since it is included in no other manuscript except (in a very different form) Q, one can presume that the scribe of the common exemplar from which ABY derive added these *capitula* himself.<sup>39</sup> The *Confessio fidei 'Universis'* in ABY always follows the *Soliloquium* of Peter Abelard, which in turn is tagged onto the three letters of Berengar of Poitiers which include the *Apologia* for Abelard.<sup>40</sup> Hence this tradition may be called the 'Berengarian tradition'. Agreement of all three manuscripts in this tradition is indicated by the siglum β.

<sup>36</sup> This catalogue is now Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 14767; see G. Ouy and V. Gerz-von Büren, *Le catalogue de la bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor de Paris de Claude de Grandrue, 1514* (Paris, 1983), pp. 84-86 (for p 13), 345-46 (for GGG 17).

<sup>37</sup> *Confessio petri abellardi (sic) de eodem hic non completa*.

<sup>38</sup> A gives no title. The significance of Duchesne's knowledge of the title *Confessio*, which he gives as an alternative to *Petri Abaelardi Apologia*, is discussed below.

<sup>39</sup> See Mews, 'The Lists of Heresies', 87-88.

<sup>40</sup> These manuscripts and this Berengarian tradition have been discussed in detail in my 'Peter Abelard, *Soliloquium*: A Critical Edition', *Studi medievali*, 3rd Ser., 25 (1984) 857-94.

To this tradition would appear to belong the French translation of the *Confessio fidei 'Universis'*. For this immediately follows a translation of the *Confessio fidei ad Heloissam*. It would appear that the translator took his text of this from Berengar's *Apologia* since this is the only context in which the *Confessio fidei ad Heloissam* has survived in Latin. Moreover, textual evidence supports the assignment of the French version to this tradition: e.g., the title is *La confession*; in vi.2 the French *est* agrees with  $\beta$ 's divergent reading *est* in place of *erat*; and in ep. 2 the French *venin* corresponds with the reading *veneno* in BY. To this Berengar tradition would also have belonged the text in the lost part of ms. p 13 of the abbey of St. Victor, which, according to the catalogue of Claude de Grandrue, was entitled *Confessio Petri Abelardi*, and followed at least two, if not all three of Berengar's letters, including the *Apologia*. Finally, a manuscript belonging to this tradition was the source of a few alternative readings recorded in Duchesne's edition, e.g.: the title *Petri Abaelardi Apologia seu fidei Confessio*; pr. 2 *forte*, *al. fortassis*; ep. 2 *nemo al. veneno*. This manuscript would most probably have been B, which is the manuscript used by Duchesne for his edition of Berengar's letters and Abelard's *Soliloquium*.

Within this tradition A gives the best readings. This manuscript is important because it was acquired by Petrarch who made extensive annotations in it. For the *Confessio*, however, Petrarch merely noted Abelard's citations of Augustine and Cicero, near the beginning of the work. B and Y are closer to each other than to A. The Oxford manuscript was in Cambrai by 1471, but it bears no relationship to the twelfth-century Cambrai manuscript which is described below. In pr. 4 BY write *inquam* for *umquam*; in II they omit *id*; in vi.2 they add *et* before *ille*; and in ep. 2 they write *veneno* for *nevo*. Occasionally a second hand in Y has tried to correct obvious mistakes in the text (thus eliding *non* in *necnon* [vi.2] and deleting *tam* in xvii), without, it seems, having recourse to another exemplar.

The manuscripts of the  $\beta$  tradition attest to a humanist interest in the life of Abelard, which was also responsible for a proliferation of manuscripts of the personal correspondence between Abelard and Heloise. In the case of AY and the French translation, the Berengarian corpus has been wedded to the corpus of the personal correspondence itself. The unreliability of the readings in this tradition suggest that it is late, and all the manuscripts within this tradition could derive from one poor manuscript which included the *Confessio fidei 'Universis'* dating from as late as the second half of the thirteenth century.

The second recognizable tradition is that of mss. CEF. Here the title (omitted in F)<sup>41</sup> is given as *Epistola petri abaelardi contra calumpnias obiectorum*

<sup>41</sup> This manuscript gives the first words of the text as the title.

*capitulorum responsio*. In all three manuscripts we find the same omissions, which occur frequently (e.g., of the words *quod*, *est*, *dico*, ep. 1 *cetera* and *vel*), the same transpositions of words (e.g., in vi, vii, x, xii and xiv), and common divergent readings (e.g., v *consociat*, vi *faciet*, vii *divertant*, xi *quippe*, xiii *meriti*, xvii *que moveant*, and ep. 2 *pietatem, nemo, ducis*). The principal manuscript which Duchesne used for his edition belongs to this tradition. His manuscript was very similar to F, which may well have been a copy prepared for Duchesne's or d'Amboise's use.<sup>42</sup> Readings common to CEF and Duchesne are indicated by the siglum  $\epsilon$ .

In all the manuscripts of this tradition the *Confessio fidei 'Universis'* is included in a dossier of documents tagged onto a copy of the personal correspondence between Abelard and Heloise. All three manuscripts include Fulk of Deuil's letter to Abelard, and CE also include a selection of documents concerning the Council of Sens and Abelard's condemnation. The scribe of F seems to have been interested in Abelard's relations with St. Bernard, for he includes Abelard's letter to Bernard concerning the Lord's Prayer (*Epistola 10*). However, the manuscripts of this tradition are all late (s. xv ex. - xvii in.) and the particular selection of documents they contain cannot be shown to derive from earlier collections. The text of the *Confessio fidei 'Universis'* that they give is poor, as is that of the personal letters, and they all compound their common mistakes by adding errors of their own.<sup>43</sup> It is regrettable that Duchesne chose a manuscript of this tradition for his edition, and included only a minimum of alternative readings from the slightly better  $\beta$  tradition.<sup>44</sup>

Another manuscript which would have belonged to this tradition is the lost St. Victor GGG 17 which included the personal letters, the letter of Fulk of Deuil and some of St. Bernard's letters condemning the teachings of Abelard.

Before we turn to the third group of closely related manuscripts it is appropriate to mention three manuscripts and a printed edition which each represent separate traditions.

- L London, British Library Cotton Otho C.xiv was badly damaged in the fire of 1731.<sup>45</sup> Fortunately, most of the *Confessio fidei 'Universis'* can still be read. Moreover, the work was copied from this manuscript into a notebook belonging to James Ussher, archbishop of Armagh, in the early seventeenth

<sup>42</sup> Note that a reader of the seventeenth century has indicated on fol. A<sup>r</sup> that 'Epistolae omnes hujusce codicis evulgatae fuerunt ab Andrea Duchesne' (Monfrin, p. 28).

<sup>43</sup> For example, on five occasions C misses out entire lines.

<sup>44</sup> The inadequacies of Duchesne's edition were pointed out by J. Leclercq in his 'Notes abélardiennes', *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 8-9 (1966-67) 59-62; see p. 60.

<sup>45</sup> This would appear to be the Westminster Abbey manuscript mentioned in the catalogue of 1672 (J. A. Robinson and M. R. James, *The Manuscripts of Westminster Abbey* [Cambridge, 1909], p. 38).

century, so the lacunae in L can be supplied from ms. 1.<sup>46</sup> The scribe of L occasionally omits words (pr. 2 *per errorem* and 3 *meum est*, I *ego*, II *malitie*, IV *quoque* and *asserō*, XIII *tempus*, ep. 2 *Nolite iudicare ... condempnabimini*) or misinterprets an abbreviation (XIV *Deinde* for *Deum*). Other changes preserve the syntax and sense, and on the whole the scribe has produced an intelligent copy.

The text of Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 998 is written in the *schrägoval* style typical of Southeast Germany from the beginning of the eleventh until the end of the twelfth century.<sup>47</sup> This manuscript contains the only copy of the *Confessio fidei 'Universis'* definitely known to come from a Germanic milieu, and one is not surprised to find that its text is not close to that of any other manuscript of the *Confessio*. However, as has been pointed out above, the same scribe who inserted the *Confessio* into empty spaces in the manuscript also copied out a paragraph which corresponds to a passage from the *Sententiae Petri Abaelardi*, of which nine out of the twelve extant or lost manuscripts have a Germanic provenance. In one of these manuscripts (Cologne, Historisches Archiv der Stadt W137), the *Sententiae* appear, moreover, to be called *Theologia Petri Baylardi*.<sup>48</sup> This title corresponds to the title of the fragment in W (*Petrus Abaelardus in theologia sua*), while Abelard is called Baiolardus in the title of the *Confessio* in W.

Tissier's edition of the *Confessio fidei 'Universis'* is based on an unidentified manuscript. It is marred by so many obvious errors that little reliance can be placed on it. Since Buytaert has claimed that there are some 250 differences between the text of Tissier's edition of Thomas of Morigny's *Disputatio* and the Clairvaux manuscript of the work,<sup>49</sup> it is quite probable that many of the errors in the *Confessio fidei 'Universis'* are due to Tissier rather than his exemplar.

Oxford, Bodleian Library Canon. Pat. Lat. 171 may represent a unique Italian copy of the work. However, in spite of the fact that there is an

<sup>46</sup> For information on ms. 1, I am much indebted to Bernard Meehan of the Department of Manuscripts, Trinity College Library, and to the unpublished catalogue of the Trinity College manuscripts by Marvin L. Colker.

<sup>47</sup> See B. Bischoff, *Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1979), pp. 153-54, 170.

<sup>48</sup> The hesitation here is due to the fact that the work referred to as *Theologia Petri Baylardi* in the list of contents of the manuscript on fol. 1 has been excised from the manuscript and only a few words can be recovered from the remaining opening page of the text, which has itself been erased (fol. 179v). From a list of contents, however, on fol. 117v, and the evidence of the few words that can be read, it seems more likely (as Dr. Constant Mews has shown in correspondence) that the work is the *Sententiae Petri Abaelardi* rather than the *Theologia 'scholarium'* which has a similar incipit.

<sup>49</sup> E. M. Buytaert, 'Thomas of Morigny and the *Theologia 'scholarium'* of Abelard',

inscription in Italian of the thirteenth or fourteenth century on fol. 1r, the manuscript may be an import, since the hand in which the entire manuscript has been written shows symptoms of the *schrägoval* style mentioned above. Also, as in W, of which O is roughly a contemporary, the *Confessio fidei* 'Universis' gives the impression of being added as an afterthought: in this case to fill up the last quire of the manuscript. For it bears no relationship to the contents of the rest of the manuscript,<sup>50</sup> and is written in a different-coloured ink, apparently by the same scribe as the rest of the manuscript employing a different pen. O has a few mistakes peculiar to itself (e.g., pr. 1 *ne* and 2 *excitata*, XIII *non* before *prepediatur* [so contradicting the sense], ep. 2 *delinquatur*), and some possible readings which are not shared with any other manuscript (e.g., pr. 2 *usquam* for *uspian* and 4 *fratrum* for *fraterna*, vi.1 *fecit* for *facit* and 2 addition of *nostrae* after *culpe*).

We now come to the manuscripts which are most relevant for establishing the text of the *Confessio fidei* 'Universis': DRG, P and Q.

δ Of these, DRG form a group which might be called the 'Northeast French' group, from their known provenances, and agreement of all three manuscripts is indicated by the siglum δ. The readings distinctive of these manuscripts are as follows: pr. 4 *integra*; II *sicut et patrem*; IV *trinam*; V *facilitas*; X *dicimus*; XIII *si* added and *nec in eo quod non operatur remaneat* omitted (with T); ep. 1 *theologie* omitted (with CE);<sup>51</sup> ep. 1 *repperitur*. Among the three manuscripts GR share the greatest number of variants. The oldest of these is Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Philipps 1732 (= R), which was at the abbey of St. Denis, Reims, by the fifteenth century. The Douai manuscript comes from the Benedictine abbey of Anchin in the diocese of Arras, which has also preserved copies of Abelard's *Theologia* 'scholarium' and *Sic et non*. Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale 532 (= D) consists of a selection of pastoral texts from a wide range of authorities including sermons of St. Bernard, compiled according to Leclercq by Galland of Rigny. The *Confessio* follows excerpts from Hildebert, Isidore, Gregory the Great and John Chrysostom, and is followed by an unidentified letter from 'a certain brother to his friend'<sup>52</sup> and a letter from Peter, prior of St. Jean, Sens, to Hatto, bishop of Troyes. Sermons of St. Bernard are also found in G, a slightly later manuscript from Cambrai, which was certainly at the Cathedral at an early date, but may not have originated there.<sup>53</sup> This manuscript

<sup>50</sup> Entirely works of St. Augustine and Pope Leo the Great.

<sup>51</sup> The omission of *theologie* in CE seems to be an error occurring independently from the δ tradition.

<sup>52</sup> fol. 183v: 'Quidam frater ad amicum suum: Cum nuper Aurelianus de vita trium ... nonnulla colloqueremur te ipso occasionem' (noticed by J. Leclercq, 'Études sur Saint Bernard et le texte de ses écrits', *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis* 9 [1953] 15).

<sup>53</sup> For a full description of the contents of this manuscript see now E. R. Smits, 'An Unedited

consists of a calendar, collects for the whole year, and, besides the sermons of Bernard, a miscellaneous collection of letters, amongst which the *Confessio* is to be found. Three of the letters are by Hildebert of Lavardin, and the fourth is a letter of a certain P. to Geoffrey of Lèves, bishop of Chartres, about the reform movement in the church. Almost all the texts in this manuscript are given only in fragments; the manuscript is a miscellaneous collection of assorted devotional literature probably selected at different times by the scribe himself.

In spite of the early dates of these three manuscripts, and the fact helpful for the editor, that they all belong to the same tradition, not one of them, nor their reconstructed archetype, can be thought to represent the original text of the *Confessio*. There are errors in the text. For example, in section II, perhaps as a result of a two-stage corruption, *sic ex patre* has become *sicut et patrem*. In ep. I the title of Abelard's book has been omitted. Section XIII presents problems peculiar to itself which have been referred to above.<sup>54</sup> But DRG show the same tampering with the intrusive middle clauses, and they all omit the final clause either because of homoeoteleuton, since two clauses end in *-neat*, or because a marginal addition to the text has been ignored. Nevertheless, in view of their early date it has seemed right to draw attention to the variant readings of these manuscripts in the first *apparatus criticus* which records *lectiones potiores*.

It is a pity that we have only the last few sentences of the *Confessio fidei 'Universis'* in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 14511 (= P), since the first seventeen folios of this manuscript are the remnant of what would have been, in all probability, a highly important early collection of Abelard's works. All that is left of this manuscript is a column of the *Confessio*, Abelard's *Sermo 14* (concerning the Lord's Prayer), and his commentaries on the Apostles' Creed and the Athanasian Creed. P would appear, from its script, to be an early manuscript of the *Confessio*. Where it was written before it came into the possession of the Canons of St. Victor, Paris, is unknown. Since it is not mentioned in Claude de Grandrue's early sixteenth-century catalogue, it was probably bound with the much later copy of Abelard's *Problemata Heloissae* and *Epistola 9* after that date.<sup>55</sup> P does not clearly belong with any other manuscript of the *Confessio*, and has a curious reading of its own, which, while

P

Letter (1132-33) to Geoffrey de Lèves, Bishop of Chartres, concerning Louis VI and the Reform Movement', *Revue bénédictine* 92 (1982) 407-17.

<sup>54</sup> See pp. 119-20.

<sup>55</sup> De Grandrue describes only the second half of this manuscript (fols. 18-50, s. xv in.) under the shelf mark GGG 19; see Ouy and Gerz-von Büren, *Le catalogue*, p. 347. Hence it is not possible to discover the contents of the lost portion of P as it is, say, for St. Victor p 13. The letter of St. Benedict and the list of works of St. Augustine given in a later hand on the fly-leaf of P do not appear to belong to the fragment containing Abelard's works.

making sense, appears to employ the word *caritas* once too often: ep. 2 *fraternam vestram caritatem exoro ne innocentiam meam ... infamie nevo respergendo in caritate delinquatis*.

Q Without doubt the manuscript which gives the best complete text is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 14193 (=Q). This text stands closest to the hypothetical archetype reconstructed from all the extant manuscripts of the *Confessio fidei 'Universis'*. Q, however, must be a copy of an earlier manuscript. For, on occasion, the scribe has made a spelling mistake (e.g., pr. 2 *edicationem* for *edificationem*, *satisfationem*, ix *crucifixiores*, ep. 1 *concesserit* for *concluserit*). The error in section x (*quia tam* for *qui tamen*) is more serious, and on the few occasions when Q gives a different order of words from the main manuscript traditions (in pr. 2 and 4, i, ii and iii) or omits a word (in pr. 2 and ep. 2), one is inclined to believe that Q diverges from the archetype.

Q is a codex from the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. It consists of at least thirteen small manuscripts of different dates and contents. It is as if a librarian of the abbey has gathered up miscellaneous leaflets and fragments of manuscripts and bound them together to keep them tidy. The manuscript which concerns us is the first in the codex, and consists of a mere nine folios. The central folios (fols. 2r-7v) contain six doctrinal letters of Walter of Mortagne and the *Confessio fidei 'Universis'*, added to the last of these, all written in the same hand. Surrounding these letters is a collection of poems, including two longer poems by Petrus Pictor, written in three different hands, which apparently have been added to the fly-leaves of this gathering of letters after the letters themselves had been copied.<sup>56</sup> The *Confessio fidei 'Universis'* has been copied immediately after Walter's *Epistola ad Abaelardum*, and is written out as a letter: i.e., without a title, and beginning with the *salutatio*. A much later hand has added the words 'Petri Abelardi' in the margin opposite the beginning of the letter. The scribe of the letters has inserted, after writing the *Confessio*, the relevant *capitula* to which Abelard is replying. It seems that he did not find these in his exemplar, but took them from elsewhere, presumably from a copy of the *Capitula haeresum* XIX, for he has squeezed them into the text wherever he can, sometimes before Abelard's reply, sometimes after, and, while considerably abbreviating some of the *capitula*, he has left out the final one altogether.<sup>57</sup> In adding the *capitula* he has also numbered them in the

<sup>56</sup> The most careful description of this manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 14193, fols. 1-9) is given by L. Van Acker in his *Petri Pictoris Carmina* (CCCM 25; Turnhout, 1972), pp. xcvi-xcviii, clxi and 48. Van Acker shows that the original order of the folios was 1, 8, 2-7, 9, and that a tenth folio has been torn out.

<sup>57</sup> e.g., i 'Contra primum capitulum quod tale est: quod filius sit quedam potentia, spiritus sanctus nulla' (abbreviated); ii 'Contra quod filius solus sit ex substantia patris' (corresponds with tradition β against *Capitula haeresum* XIX 2); iv 'Contra quod Christus non sit tertia persona in

margin. That he did not, in all probability, find the *capitula* in his exemplar is supported by the fact that they are not included in any of the other manuscripts of the *Confessio* except those of the  $\beta$  tradition in which the *Capitula haeresum* XIX have been copied 'more fully and carefully and independently from Q. Moreover, the scribe, whoever he was, appears to have taken upon himself the role of an editor; for the clarification of the doctrinal controversies exemplified in the *Confessio* by the addition of the *capitula* themselves shows the same tendency as the omission of the personal details in the address and valediction in the letters of Walter of Mortagne in this particular manuscript. The evidence that the arrangement of this manuscript gives for connecting the *Confessio fidei 'Universis'* with Walter's circle has been discussed above.<sup>58</sup>

The archetype which can be reconstructed from the texts of the fifteen extant manuscripts of the *Confessio fidei 'Universis'* was itself a flawed manuscript. In two places, as we have seen, it seems to have contained clumsily inserted marginalia. In another two places it evidently gave wrong readings. In pr. 3, within a quotation from Gregory the Great, an *est* appears to have been wrongly added; the resultant syntactical difficulties lead different scribes to adopt different solutions, and it was only with Duchesne (and the closely related ms. F) that the correct text of Gregory was restored. In viii a *nos* appears to have been omitted; for the infinitive *contraxisse* in direct statement demands an accusative subject, and the fact that *nos* was added in later traditions, but in different positions, suggests that it was lacking in the early tradition of the text.

Aside from correcting these two errors in the text, the edition which follows presents the hypothetical archetype of the extant manuscripts (see  $\psi$  in the stemma on p. 130 below). The edition is therefore based largely on the agreement of the best manuscripts, Q and DRG, and P as far as it goes. Wherever these manuscripts differ, their readings, together with those of the other manuscripts, are given in the first *apparatus criticus* and before the readings of other manuscripts. Often the cause of these differences is self-evident, being due to an obvious error of copying in one manuscript or another. However, where Q, DGR and P offer equally viable readings, those of Q have in principle been adopted, not only for the sake of consistency, but also because, taken as a whole, Q gives the most reliable text. Q has been examined *in situ*. Its orthography has been retained, but the punctuation is the editor's own, and is meant primarily to make the syntax of the sentences clear. The *capitula*

trinitate' (abbreviated); ix 'Contra quod per ignorantiam non peccatum' (first half of *capitulum* x omitted); xiv 'Contra quod sapientia aut benignitas ad patrem non pertineat'; xvi 'Contra quod anima Christi per se non descendit ad inferos' (abbreviated); xvii omitted. See Mews, 'The Lists of Heresies', 87-88, 108-10 for a full list of the variants in the *capitula* in Q.

<sup>58</sup> See above, pp. 117-19.



included in Q have not been reproduced, since they do not appear to come from the archetype, as has been indicated.

The title presents a particular problem, since none is given in Q. D gives *Apologia Petri Abailardi*, which is the title added by Jacques Sirmond in R. This accurately describes the nature of the letter, but is liable to lead to confusion with the longer *Apologia* addressed by Abelard to St. Bernard. The titles *Excusatio* and *Confessio* also occur. Most manuscripts, however, give *Responsio* (or *Epistola*) *Petri Abaelardi contra calumnias obiectorum capitulorum*, or some variant of this. As a letter the *Confessio* would not have been given a title by its author, and different scribes have described the nature of the letter in different ways. I have, therefore, followed Q in not giving a title in the edition itself, and followed convention in referring to the work as the *Confessio fidei 'Universis'* elsewhere.

The *apparatus fontium* gives parallels in other works of Peter Abelard and sources and parallels from works other than those of Abelard. In the first instance it is not our intention to draw up passages from the works of Abelard which would support or deny the propositions in the *capitula*; this has been done elsewhere,<sup>59</sup> and the reader can also find concordances for the enunciation of the *capitula* themselves in other publications.<sup>60</sup>

The variants in the first *apparatus criticus* are more useful for illustrating the history of the text rather than for establishing the text of the archetype. The variant readings in all the manuscripts except Dublin, Trinity College 780 (D.3.10) in that it is a direct copy of London, British Library Cotton Otho C.xiv are given in full. The minor errors in Q and DRG are given in the second *apparatus criticus*. The variant readings are given in roughly the chronological order of the manuscripts, while manuscripts belonging to the same tradition are grouped together.

It remains to thank very warmly the librarians who have provided microfilms of the manuscripts containing the *Confessio fidei 'Universis'* and the hospitality afforded by the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, the British Library, and the Bodleian Library, where I was able to consult the manuscripts *in situ*. Finally I would like to express my debt to David Luscombe, the late Neil Ker, Julia Barrow, Bob Moore, Edmé Smits and Constant Mews for their unfailing help and encouragement. This research has been made possible by a grant from the Leverhulme Trust.

<sup>59</sup> See Luscombe, pp. 102-42.

<sup>60</sup> Comparisons between the different sets of *capitula* have been set out by W. Meyer in 'Die Anklagesätze des hl. Bernard gegen Abälard', *Nachrichten der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, philol.-hist. Klasse 4 (1898) 379-468, by C. Ottaviano, 'Appunti abelardiani', *Rivista di cultura* 16 (1930) 343-55 and by Buytaert 2.458-60, 468-69. For a revised account see Mews, 'The Lists of Heresies'.

Q 6v  
R 144v  
PL 178.106

UNIVERSIS ECCLESIE SANCTE FILIIS  
PETRUS EX EIS UNUS SED IN EIS MINIMUS

*Praefatio* 1 Notum proverbium est, nichil tam bene dictum quin possit depravari, et, ut beatus meminit Ieronimus, 'qui multos scribit libros, multos  
5 sumit iudices'. Ego quoque cum scripserim pauca, vel, ad comparisonem aliorum, nulla, reprehensionis notam effugere non potui; cum tamen in his de quibus graviter accusor, nullam, sciat deus, meam recognoscere culpam, nec si qua fuerit, procaciter defendam. 2 Scripsi fortassis aliqua per errorem que non oportuit, sed deum testem et iudicem in animam meam invoco quia in his  
10 de quibus accusor, nichil per superbiam aut per malitiam presumpsi. Multa in scolis multis locutus sum, nec umquam aquas furtivas vel panem absconditum

*Praefatio* 3 Notum proverbium: cf. H. Walther, *Proverbia sententiaeque latinitatis medii aevi* 3 (Göttingen, 1965), no. 16637a. 4-5 qui ... iudices: non inveni; cf. Abael., *Carmen ad Astralabium* (B. Hauréau, 'Le poème adressé par Abélard à son fils Astralabe', *Notices et extraits des manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques* 34.2 [Paris, 1895], p. 184): 'Qui scribunt libros caveant a iudice multo'. 9 deum testem ... animam meam: cf. 2 Cor 1:3. 10 nichil ... presumpsi: cf. Abael., *Theologia 'scholarium' (tsch)* 8 (ed. Buytaert, 2.403). 11 aquas furtivas vel panem absconditum: Pr 9:17 (*Aquae furtivae dulciores sunt, et panis absconditus suavior*). Cf. Gualterium de Mauritania, *Epistola ad Abaelardum*, ed. H. Ostlender (*Florilegium patristicum* 19; Bonn, 1929), p. 40: 'De supradictis ... super tecta praedicate, ne incurratis reprehensionem illius stultae mulieris, quae, cum sit inops aquae, praetereuntes tamen invitat occultum panem et aquae latentis dulcedinem attingere'; cf. Bernardum, *Epistola 190 ad Innocentium papam* 11 (ed. Leclercq, 8.27): 'Aguas furtivas et panes absconditos, puto, apponet nobis iste (Abaelardus).'

*Titulus* Petri Abelardi *Q* (*man. rec.*), Excusatio Petri *R* (Petri Abailardi Apologia *add. Sirmondus*), Apologia Petri Abailardi *D*, *sine tit.* *G*, Petri abaelardi contra calumnias obiectorum capitulorum responsio *O*, Epistola petri baiolardi contra calumpnias obiectorum capitulorum *W*, Responsio magistri petri abaelardi contra calumpnias obiectorum capitulorum *L*, Responsio Petri Abaelardi contra calumnias obiectorum *T*, *sine tit.* *A*, Confessio petri abaelardi *BY*, Epistola petri abaelardi contra calumpnias obiectorum capitulorum responsio *CE*, Epistola tertia *F*, Epistola *XX* quae est Petri Abaelardi Apologia, seu fidei Confessio *Du* (*P incipit subter ep. 1, lin. 2*)

*Praefatio* 5 quoque] vero *δOAY* 7 recognosco *δWAB*: recognoscat *Y*: cognoscam *FDu* 8 forsitan *δ*: forte *ε* (forte, *al.* fortassis *Du*) 9 anima mea *δ* invoco] *ante* in animam meam *Q* 10 per<sup>2</sup> *om.* *Q*

*Praefatio* 1 sancte ecclesie *WLTF* 2 post Petrus *add.* Abaelardus *EFDu* in eis *om.* *CEF* 3 quin] quod non *WLTε* 4 meminit beatus *WT* Ieronimus ait *CEF* 5 scriberim *DG* (*ante corr.*) pauca scripserim *ε* *ante* ad comparisonem *add.* parva *ε* 6 in *om.* *F* his] iis *T* 7 nec] ne *O* 8 pos] procaciter *add.* culpa *D* defendo *W* per errorem *om.* *L* que] quod *W* 9 quia *om.* *C* his] iis *T* 10 nichil] vel *B* per malitiam aut per superbiam *ε* 11 umquam] numquam *B*: *om.* *W* aquam furtivam *WT*

habuit mea doctrina. Palam locutus sum ad edificationem fidei sive morum, quod michi salubre visum fuit, et quecumque scripsi libenter omnibus exposui, ut eos iudices non discipulos haberem. Quod si uspiam per multiloquium excessi – ut scriptum est: *in multiloquio non effugies peccatum* – numquam 15 importuna defensio me effecit hereticum, paratum semper ad satisfactionem de maledictis meis corrigendis sive delendis. In quo certe proposito usque in finem perseverabo. 3 Sed, sicut meum est maledicta mea si qua sunt velle corrigere, sic crimina non recte michi obiecta propulsare me convenit. Cum / enim beatus dicat Augustinus 'crudelis est qui famam suam negligit', ac, iuxta Tullium, 20 'taciturnitas imitatur confessionem', conscriptis contra me capitulis equum duxi respondere, ea videlicet ratione servata qua contra derogantium linguas beatus Gregorius fideles his instruit verbis: 'Sciendum est quia linguas detrahentium sicut nostro studio non debemus excitare, ne ipsi pereant, ita per suam malitiam excitatas debemus equanimiter tolerare, ut nobis meritum crescat; aliquando 25 autem etiam compescere, ne, dum de nobis mala disseminant, eorum qui audire nos ad bona poterant, corda innocentium corrumpant'. 4 Agnoscat igitur

R 145r

15 in ... peccatum: Pr 10:19; apud Abael., *tsch* 7 (ed. Buytaert, 2.403). 15-16 numquam ... hereticum: cf. Abael., *tsch* 9 (ed. Buytaert, 2.404): "'Si de anima falsitatis assertio proferatur, et falsitas mendacem et falsitatis importuna defensio haereticum facit'" (hic attribuitur Augustino in *Epistola ad Optatum*, i.e., *Ep.* 190, sed in hoc textu non invenitur). 19-27 Cum ... corrumpant: apud Abael., *Apologia* 4 (ed. Buytaert, 1.361). 20 crudelis ... negligit: Augustinus, *Sermo* 355, *De vita et moribus clericorum suorum* 1.1 (PL 39.1569); apud Abael., *TChr* 2.102 (ed. Buytaert, 2.177) et *Sermo* 33 (PL 178.600b). 21 taciturnitas ... confessionem: Cicero, *De inventione* 1.32.54. 23-27 Sciendum ... corrumpant: Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in Hiezechielem* 1.9.17 (CCL 142.132).

17 dolendis R $\beta$  19-20 dicat beatus DGWT $\epsilon$  23 quia] quod QL 26 autem etiam] autem est etiam QRGO: autem est \utile/ etiam D: etiam W: eos debemus L: autem T: etiam CE

12 habuerit O edicationem Q sive morum] vel morum L: infirmorum W 13 salubre visum] salubrius visum T: visum salubre W fuit] est TF: fuerit A omnibus libenter T 14 Quod] Et L uspiam] usquam O per multiloquium] in multiloquio W 16 effecit] fecit WTBYE paratus OLE: paratam Y semper] me D ad satisfactionem] ad satisfactionem Q: om. T 17 ad finem E 18 meum est om. LT si qua] sic qua CE sunt] fuit CE: sint Du vellem T 19 michi ante non recte  $\epsilon$  michi obiecta] obiecta michi W: iniecta michi  $\epsilon$  (iniecta om. E) me propulsare  $\epsilon$  21 confessionem imitatur T: imitetur confessionem D conscriptis] cum scripsit CE: quae scripta sunt FDu (al. conscriptis add. Du) capitulis] capitulum C 22 ea om.  $\epsilon$  qua contra] quam circa T: que contra B derogantium] detrahentium T 23 fideles om. C instruit verbis] verbis instruit L: instituit verbis T detrahentium linguas WL 24 malitiam suam WTCE 25 excitata O: -tatos W ante debemus add. eos L 26 mala ante de nobis T disseminant] seminant O: consentiant E 27 poterant ante nos ad bona O ad bona om. CE innocentium corda CE igitur] ergo T $\epsilon$  (igitur E)

Q 7r  
30 fraterna caritas me, qualemcumque filium ecclesie, cum ipsa integre cuncta recipere que recipit, cuncta respuere que respuit, nec me umquam unita/tem fidei scidisse, quamvis impar ceteris sim morum qualitate.

I Quod igitur michi vel per malitiam vel per errorem impositum est, quod de deo scripserim quia pater est plena potentia, filius quedam potentia, spiritus sanctus nulla potentia, hec ego verba non tam humana quam diabolica, sicut iustissimum est, abhorreo, detestor, et ea cum auctore suo pariter dampno. Que  
5 si quis in meis repperiat scriptis, non solum me hereticum, verum etiam heresiarchem profiteor.

R 145v  
5 II Tam filium quam spiritum sanctum sic ex patre profiteor esse ut eiusdem sint cum patre substantie, eiusdem penitus voluntatis atque potentie, quia quorum est / eadem omnino substantia vel essentia, nulla potest esse vel voluntatis diversitas vel potentie inequalitas. Quisquis autem me scripsisse  
5 asserit quod de substantia patris spiritus etiam sanctus non sit, malitie id vel ignorantie maxime fuit.

I 4-6 Que si ... heresiarchem profiteor: cf. Abael., *Apologia* 5 (ed. Buytaert, 1.362): 'Profer scriptum si potes, et me conuincas haereticum....'

II 1-4 Tam filium ... inequalitas: cf. Abael., *Apologia* 16 (ed. Buytaert, 1.366): 'Cui primum respondeo me plane asserere in eodem libro (cf. *tsch* 26-27 [ed. Buytaert, 2.411-12]), ubi te reputas hoc reperire, Patrem, Filium et Spiritum Sanctum eiusdem penitus esse substantiae uel essentiae, siue eandem omnino substantiam esse uel essentiam, et tam Filium quam Spiritum Sanctum de Patre esse....'

28 integra  $\delta$  29-30 fidei unitatem DQ 30 ceteris sim] sim ceteris  $\delta T$ : ceteris  $\epsilon$

I 1 per errorem vel per malitiam Q: per malitiam  $\epsilon$  2 est om. DG $\epsilon$  4 Que] Quod  $\delta OCF$  5 scriptis] libris QW 6 heresiarchem sic Q: -cham *cett. codd.*

II 1 sic ex patre] sicut et patrem  $\delta$ : sicut ex patre L: ex patre T $\epsilon$  profiteor] confiteor DG 3 vel<sup>2</sup> om.  $\delta O$  me scripsisse] scripsisse me Q 5 etiam sanctus] sanctus etiam  $\delta O\epsilon$ : sanctus WB

28 fraterna] fratrum O 28-29 me recipere integre cuncta T cuncta que recipit recipere, cuncta que respuit respuere  $\epsilon$  29 recipit] recepit Y cuncta om. WT umquam] inquam BY unitatem] veritatem T: unionem  $\epsilon$  (unitatem E) 30 quamvis] licet W: cum T sim] ante impar W

I 1 igitur michi] ergo michi F: michi igitur T: igitur nihil CE vel<sup>1</sup> om. T aut per errorem T imposita R 2 de deo om.  $\epsilon$  scripserim] scripsi L: descripserim CE potentia<sup>1</sup> om. E quedam] plena C 3 ego om. L humana] heretica F Du diabolica] dialectica E 4 auctore] actore R: auctoritate C suo auctore F Du 5 libris repperit W me om. E verum] sed T 6 profiteor om. G

II 2 voluntatis penitus WT quia] quae  $\epsilon$  (quia F) 3 est om.  $\epsilon$  omnino eadem W $\epsilon$  omnino ... essentia om. T post essentia add. est F potest] potet Q 3-4 esse ... diversitas] vel voluntatis diversitas esse T 4 autem] etiam  $\epsilon$  (autem E) 5 post patris add. et filii T malitie om. L id om. BY 6 maxime] ante malitie W

**III** Solum filium dei incarnatum profiteor ut nos a servitute peccati et a iugo diaboli liberaret et superne aditum vite morte sua nobis reseraret. /

PL 178.107

**IV** Iesum Christum sicut verum et unicum dei filium, ex substantia patris ante secula genitum, ita tertiam in trinitate personam, spiritum quoque sanctum tam ab ipso filio quam a patre procedentem, et credens assero et asserens credo.

**V** Gratiam dei ita omnibus necessariam dico ut nec nature facultas nec arbitrii libertas sine illa sufficere possit ad salutem. Ipsa quippe gratia nos prevenit ut velimus, ipsa subsequitur ut possimus, ipsa nos conservat ut perseveremus.

**VI** 1 Deum ea solummodo facere posse credo que ipsum facere convenit, et quod multa facere posset que numquam facit. 2 Multa quoque per ignorantiam facta culpe sunt adscribenda, maxime cum per negligentiam nostram contingit nos ignorare quod nobis necessarium erat prenoscere. Qualis ille fuit de quo psalmista dicit: *noluit intelligere ut bene ageret*. 5

**VII** Mala deum frequenter impedire fateor, quia non solum effectum malignantium prevenit ne quod volunt possint, verum etiam voluntates eorum immutat ut a malo quod cogitaverant / penitus desistant.

R 146r

**VI** 5 noluit ... ageret: Ps 35:4.

**III** 2 nobis] *ante* morte sua *Q*

**IV** 1 Iesum] *Ipsu* *δOWLTβ* 2 tertiam] *trinam δ*

**V** 1 facultas] *facilitas δ*

**VII** 3 cogitaverant] *-verunt δT: cogitant L*

**III** 1 dei filium *BY* confiteor *W* nos] *post* diaboli *WT* 2 liberare *A: liberet C* aditum] *editum C*

**IV** 1 verum *om. CF* 2 tertiam] *post* in trinitate *T* quoque *om. L, in ras. F* 3 assero *om. L*

**V** 1 dico *om. ε* nec nature] *necnon AB: nec + non in ras. Y* 2 quippe] *quoque β* nos] *ante* quippe *W* 3 conservat] *consociat ε*

**VI** 1 solummodo ea *O* facere posse] *posse facere ε: facere ea Y: facere T* facere<sup>1</sup> ... ipsum *om. B* 2 posset] *potest Wε* numquam] *non WT: nequaquam F* fecit *O: faciet ε* Multa quoque] *Multa C: Mala FDu (al. Multa quoque add. Du)* per *om. E* 3 post culpe *add. nostre O* sunt *om. L* 3-4 per negligentiam nostram] *ex negligentia nostra W: negligentia nostra T* 4 contingat *Wε* quod] *que OFDu* erat] *est β* nosse *WT* Quales *E: Quod B* 5 ante ille *add. et BY* dicit] *ait WL: om. Tβ*

**VII** 1 impedire frequenter *ε* affectum *W* 2 voluntatem *T* 3 mutat *Lε* desistant] *divertant ε*

VIII Ex Adam in quo omnes peccavimus tam culpam quam penam nos contraxisse assero, quia illius peccatum nostrorum quoque peccatorum omnium origo extitit atque causa.

IX Crucifixoires Christi in ipsa eius crucifixione gravissimum peccatum fateor commisisse.

X Multa de Christo dicuntur que non tam secundum ipsum caput quam secundum corpus ipsius quod est ecclesia sunt accipienda, ut ille spiritus timoris qui est initium sapientie, quem videlicet timorem perfecta caritas foras mittit. Huius ergo timoris spiritum in anima Christi que perfectissimam habuit  
5 caritatem numquam fuisse credendum est, qui tamen inferioribus eius membris non deest. Tante quippe perfectionis et tante securitatis anima illa extitit per ipsam verbi unionem ut sciret nichil omnino se posse committere unde penas incurreret vel deum offenderet.

Q 7v XI Castum vero timorem in seculum seculi permanentem qui proprie reverentia caritatis dicitur, tam ipsi anime Christi quam electis angelis et hominibus semper inesse recognosco. Unde et de ipsis supernis / spiritibus scriptum est: 'adorant dominationes, tremunt potestates'.

VIII 1 Ex Adam in quo omnes peccavimus: cf. Rom 5:12.

X 2 corpus ... quod est ecclesia: Col 1:24. 2-3 timoris ... initium sapientie: Eccli 1:16. 3 timorem ... mittit 1 Jo 4:18.

XI 4 adorant ... potestates: cf. *Liber usualis*, ed. monachi Solesm. (Tournai, 1963), p. 8.

VIII 1 nos] post contraxisse β: om. QδOL

X 1 dicuntur] dicimus δ: dicunt E 4 ergo] igitur δW: om. OTβ que] qui DGFDu 5 qui] quia Q tamen] tam QBY 7 penam δOWL

VIII 2 post quia add. et L illa Y peccatum] peccatorum E quoque om. LT 2-3 omnium peccatorum T 3 causa] eam B

IX capitulum deest in W 1 Crucifixoires Q ipsa om. T eius om. ε eius ... X I dicuntur om. C

X 1 ipsum caput] caput ipsum WL: caput ε 2 corpus ipsius] ipsius corpus G: corpus C ante ecclesia add. in B ille] illud WL post timoris add. domini W 3 qui] quod ε foris L 4 spiritum timoris WT 5 ante inferioribus add. in Wε eius membris] membris eius A: membris BYε 6 non] numquam OW 6-7 Tante<sup>1</sup> ... per ipsam om. C 6 Tante<sup>1</sup>] Tam R tante<sup>2</sup>] tam R 7 ut sciret] si sciret L: nesciret CE se] ante nichil W committere posse ε 8 incurrerent A: incurreret E

XI 1 vero] ergo T: quippe ε (al. vero add. Du) qui proprie] quippe A 2 reverentiam CE caritatis dicitur reverentia dicitur A ante anime add. quidem T post angelis add. eius TW 2-3 et hominibus] et omnibus E: om. T 3 semper inesse] inesse semper ε: semper T de ipsis om. T 4 adorant dominationes om. T

**XII** Potestatem ligandi et solvendi successoribus omnibus apostolorum eque ut ipsis apostolis concessam esse profiteor, et tam indignis quam dignis episcopis, quamdiu eos ecclesia susceperit.

**XIII** Omnes in dilectione dei et proximi equales equaliter bonos esse confiteor et meritis pares, nec quicquam meriti apud deum deperire si bone voluntatis affectus in suo prepediatur effectu. Non enim angelus cum a deo missus id quod facere vult impleverit, aut / anima Christi sue voluntati effectum addiderit, melior inde reputari debuit, sed eque quilibet bonus 5 permanet, sive operandi tempus habeat sive non, dummodo equalem bene operandi voluntatem teneat, nec in eo quod non operatur remaneat. R 146v

**XIV** Deum patrem eque sapientem ut filium, eque benignum ut spiritum sanctum profiteor, quia in nulla boni plenitudine, in nulla dignitatis gloria, differre una personarum potest ab alia.

**XV** Adventum filii in finem seculi posse attribui patri, numquam, sciat deus, in mentem meam venit, nec se verbis meis inseruit.

**XVI** Sic et animam Christi non per se ad inferos descendisse sed per potentiam, omnino a verbis meis et sensu remotum est.

**XIII** 4-5 anima Christi ... debuit: cf. Gualterium de Mauritania, *Epistola ad Abaelardum* (ed. Ostlender, p. 40): 'Praeterea apud nos ventilatum est vestram affirmare sapientiam, quod Christus praedicando, laborando, ad extremum moriendo nihil meruerit, et quod nemo propter opera sua bona vel mala nisi pro sola voluntate remunerari debeat vel puniri.'

**XIII** 3 a om.  $\delta C$  4 missus] *add.* si  $\delta$ , *add.* est O 7 nec in eo quod non operatur remaneat om.  $\delta T$

**XIV** 2 profiteor] potestor DG: confiteor T

**XVI** 1 anima  $\delta L$

**XII** 1 et] atque TBY $\epsilon$  omnibus successoribus T apostolorum omnibus  $\epsilon$  2 eque] post ut ipsis  $\epsilon$  dignis quam indignis T 3 susceperit] recipit WT: suscepit L

**XIII** 1 equales om. A esse om. T 2 confiteor] profiteor WLT meritis] merito T: meriti  $\epsilon$  (meritis Du) quodquam W meriti] post apud deum T deperire] perit T: deperire et W 3 affectus] effectum C: affectu E in] a  $\epsilon$  (in E) suo] solo L ante prepediatur *add.* non O 4 id om. T ante anima *add.* ipsa T voluntate Q 4-5 sue voluntati ... debuit] melior efficitur cum suae voluntati effectum addidit T 5 effectum ante 4 sue voluntati W effectum ... quilibet om. C 6 sive operandi] simul operandi L operandi tempus] tempus operandi WT $\epsilon$ : operandi L habeat] teneat L equalem] ante voluntatem WT 6-7 bene operandi ... XIV I Deum om. C 7 teneat] retineat W: habeat T quin operetur W

**XIV** 1 Deum] Deinde L ut filium] in filium DGA: et filium T 2 plenitudine boni LBY 3 differre] post una personarum  $\epsilon$  persona T potest] ante una personarum  $\beta$ , post ab alia W potest ... XV I patri om. C

**XV** 1 fine OWY $\epsilon$  (finem E) attribui posse W 2 ante verbis *add.* in O inserit L

**XVI** 1 et om. G 2 meis verbis TCFDu post sensu *add.* meo O

**XVII** Novissimum quoque capitulum, quod scripsisse criminor quod neque opus neque voluntas neque concupiscentia neque delectatio que movet eam, peccatum sit, nec debemus eam velle extinguere, non minus a meis tam dictis quam scriptis alienum est.

*Epilogus* 1 Quod autem capitula contra me scripta tali fine amicus noster concluderit ut diceret: hec autem capitula partim in libro theologie magistri Petri, partim in libro sententiarum eiusdem, partim in libro cuius titulus est Scito te ipsum reperta sunt, non sine admiratione maxima suscepi, cum  
5 nusquam liber aliquis qui sententiarum dicatur a me scriptus repperiatur. Sed sicut cetera contra me capitula, ita et hoc quoque vel per malitiam vel per ignorantiam prolatum est. 2 Si qua igitur consolatio in Christo Iesu, si qua sunt viscera pietatis, fraternam caritatem vestram exoro ne innocentiam meam, quam a culpa veritas liberat, infamie nevo respargendo delinquat. Caritatis  
10 quippe est obprobrium non accipere adversus proximum, et que dubia sunt in meliorem partem interpretari, et illam semper dominice pietatis sententiam attendere: Nolite iudicare et non iudicabimini, nolite condemnare et non condemnabimini.

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*Epilogus* 2-4 hec autem ... reperta sunt: cf. Abael., *Apologia* 3 (ed. Buytaert, 1.360): 'Demum supramemorata capitula tali fine criminor concludens ait: "Haec capitula partim in libro *Theologiae* magistri Petri, partim in libro *Sententiarum* eiusdem, partim in libro cuius titulus est *Scito te ipsum* reperta sunt".' 7-8 Si qua ... caritatem: Phil 2:1-2. 8-9 ne innocentiam ... liberat: cf. Abael., *Apologia* 1 (ed. Buytaert, 1.359): '... ut innocentiam meam ipsa rerum veritas ... excuset.' 10 obprobrium ... proximum: Ps 14:3. 12-13 Nolite ... condemnabimini: Lc 6:37.

**XVII** 1 quod<sup>1</sup>] quo β: om. δOLT 3 eam] ea δOWTYε tam om. δOWLTβ 4 quam] add. a DG

*Epilogus* 2 capitula] incipit P theologie om. δCE 3 eiusdem om. δPOL, add. ipsius W 5 repperitur δ 8 vestram caritatem ROPA 9 delinquat] in caritate delinquantis P Caritas δPOWAY 11 semper om. Q, est per W

**XVII** 1 quoque] autem W: om. T capitulum] casum C 2 voluntas] voluptas L que movet eam] que moveant ε (quae movet eam, al. quae moveant Du) 3 nec minus Tε post non minus add. tam ABY (in ras.) 3-4 a scriptis meis quam dictis W

*Epilogus* 2 concluderit] concusserit Q diceret] dicens W: dicet B autem om. T 2-3 magistri Petri] Petri magistri DG: om. T 3 cuius] cui T est om. TY 4 reperta sunt] inveniuntur W: reparata sunt B suscepi] recepi W 5 nusquam] numquam Tε aliquis liber T scriptum E 6 cetera om. CEF vel<sup>1</sup> om. ε vel per<sup>2</sup> et T: vel ε 7 est om. T qua<sup>1</sup>] que D: quid T igitur ergo F consolationis T 8 sunt om. T fraternitatis vestre caritatem W: supernam vestram caritatem BY: fraternam pietatem vestram ε ne] ut T: nec C innocentiam] ignorantiam W meam om. T 9 post culpa add. mea D veritatis C infamie om. BYε nevo] veneno TBY: nemo ε (al. ueneno add. Du) nevo ... delinquat om. G delinquatur O: relinquat ε (delinquat Du) 10 post proximum add. suum W 11 dominice] ducis ε (dominice Du) 12-13 Nolite iudicare ... condemnabimini om. L condemnabimini] add. explicit R, add. explicit responsio magistri petri circa calumpnias obiectorum capitulorum L

GOSCELIN OF CANTERBURY'S ACCOUNT  
OF  
THE TRANSLATION AND MIRACLES OF ST. MILDRITH  
(*BHL* 5961/4):  
AN EDITION WITH NOTES\*

*D. W. Rollason*

THE text here edited, namely, the 'Translatio s. Mildrethe uirginis cum miraculorum attestatione', has been used as a source by medieval and

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The following abbreviations have been used throughout the article:

- ASC* = *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. C. Plummer, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1892-99)  
(corrected dates are derived from *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. and trans.  
D. Whitelock, D. C. Douglas and S. I. Tucker [London, 1961])
- ASE* = F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edition (Oxford, 1971)
- BHL* = *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, ed. Société des  
Bollandistes, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1898-1901)
- CS* = *Cartularium saxonicum*, ed. W. de G. Birch, 3 vols. (London, 1885-93)
- EH* = *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. B. Colgrave and  
R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969)
- GR* = Ordnance Survey, National Grid Reference
- HBC* = *Handbook of British Chronology*, ed. F. M. Powicke and E. B. Fryde, 2nd edition  
(London, 1961)
- HP* = M. L. Colker, 'A Hagiographic Polemic', *Mediaeval Studies* 39 (1977) 60-108
- HRH* = *The Heads of Religious Houses. England and Wales 940-1216*, ed. D. Knowles,  
C. N. L. Brooke and V. C. M. London (Cambridge, 1972)
- HSAC* = Thomas of Elmham, *Historia monasterii s. Augustini cantuariensis*, ed. C.  
Hardwick (RS 8; London, 1858)
- ML* = D. W. Rollason, *The Mildrith Legend: A Study in Early Medieval Hagiography in  
England* (Leicester, 1982)
- RMLWL* = R. E. Latham, ed., *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish  
Sources* (London, 1965)
- Sawyer* = P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*  
(London, 1968) (numbers cited refer to numbers assigned to charters in this  
work)
- Scriptores* = *Historiae anglicanae scriptores X*, ed. R. Twysden (London, 1652).

modern writers but it has never been published.<sup>1</sup> It is important in a variety of ways to students of eleventh-century history, hagiography and Latinity. First, it is a firmly attributed work of the Flemish hagiographer Goscelin, who appears to have been a prolific writer of accounts of English saints, including a *uita* of Mildrith (whose translation and miracles are described in the present text) and a polemical tract concerning the whereabouts of her relics, the 'Libellus contra inanes s. uirginis Mildrethe usurpatores' (*BHL* 5962).<sup>2</sup> Secondly, it contains information not otherwise available about the important early Kentish abbey of Minster-in-Thamet and about the city of Canterbury and in particular the extra-mural abbey of St. Augustine. Thirdly, it provides material for studying the cult of Mildrith, an eighth-century abbess of Minster, at a period when English saints' cults were being affected by the changes in the English Church associated with an influx of ecclesiastics trained in Normandy and elsewhere on the Continent.

## I

## GOSCELIN OF CANTERBURY

Evidence for attributing the present text to Goscelin is indirect but firm. A contemporary note in the eleventh- or twelfth-century manuscript, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 312, attributes the 'Liber amplior (historia maior) de aduentu beatissimi Anglorum apostoli Augustini sociorumque eius in Britannia' (*BHL* 777) to Goscelin. At the finish of this work, Goscelin stated that he intended to supplement the 'Liber amplior' with a collection of posthumous miracles. This was evidently done for the collection appears to be extant under the title 'Historia maior de miraculis s. Augustini' (*BHL* 779). In this composition Goscelin referred to the 'Textus translationis Mildrethe' as his own work.<sup>3</sup> He must have written the latter in the period 1087-91 since he made no allusion to the translation of Mildrith's relics in 1091 to the chapel of the Holy Innocents in the then newly constructed abbey-church of St. Augustine, yet he referred to Abbot Scotland's death which occurred in 1087.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It was used extensively by William Thorne and Thomas of Elmham. See *Scriptores*, cols. 1908-10, and *HSAC*, pp. 220-22 and 224-25. In the modern period, it has been referred to in, for example, *ASE*, p. 426 and n. 2, and F. Barlow, 'Two Notes: Cnut's Second Pilgrimage and Queen Emma's Disgrace in 1043', *English Historical Review* 73 (1958) 649-56.

<sup>2</sup> See below. The *uita* is printed in *ML*, pp. 105-43, the 'Contra usurpatores' in *HP*, pp. 68-96.

<sup>3</sup> *ML*, pp. 20-21; and, for the texts, *Acta sanctorum Mai.* 6.395 and *Acta sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, ed. J. Mabillon, 9 vols. (Venice, 1733), 1.525. This argument is based on T. J. Hamilton, *Goscelin of Canterbury: A Critical Study of His Life, Works and Accomplishments* (Diss. University of Virginia, 1973). My debt to this work is great and I wish to express my thanks to the author for his permission to use it.

<sup>4</sup> *ML*, p. 20 and below, p. 207.

Goscelin's literary output is important for two reasons. First, he seems to have been among the most prolific writers of eleventh-century England, producing chiefly hagiographies but also the polemical 'Contra usurpatores' referred to above and the devotional text known as the 'Liber confortatorius'. The full extent of his *œuvre* is disputed but he certainly wrote *uitae* for the abbeys of Wilton, Sherborne, Barking, Ely and Ramsey before settling at St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. Secondly, his literary abilities represent an aspect of the influence of Continental scholarship on later Anglo-Saxon England for, originally a monk of Saint-Bertin in Flanders, he came to England in the early 1060s to become a member of the household of the Lotharingian bishop, Herman of Ramsbury.<sup>5</sup> His skills were highly prized in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries as shown not only by the demand for his services but also by the comments of other writers. Reginald of Canterbury described him as a 'rhetor and grammarian, a dear friend of the muses'; and William of Malmesbury extolled his 'distinguished skill in letters and in singing' and rated him second only to Bede as a hagiographer of English saints.<sup>6</sup>

Goscelin's style therefore merits attention in any study of the development of Latin writing in England.<sup>7</sup> Its most notable feature is its extensive use of figurative writing. Goscelin sometimes uses whole phrases in this way. For example, he refers to the nuns of Minster-in-Thamet in the face of Viking attack standing as 'Christiane Amazones contra demonum castra' (i); to the fluctuating fortunes of Minster-in-Thamet as the waxing and waning of the moon (iv); to the abbey as the 'uinea Domini' and to the Lord as the vintager (ii); to Cnut as the Good Samaritan and his accession as a 'serenitatis aura' (vi); and to Ælfstan, the abbot who translated Mildrith's relics, as acting 'ut auarus auri ac gemmarum' (xiv). In many cases, however, the imagery is inherent in Goscelin's vocabulary itself and the reader is given no clue that an image is being invoked. Thus Goscelin uses the word *plantationes* to mean the

<sup>5</sup> Hamilton, *Goscelin*, pp. 130-93; *The Life of King Edward Who Rests at Westminster Attributed to a Monk of St Bertin*, ed. and trans. F. Barlow (London, 1962), pp. 91-111; DNB 22 (1890) 253-54; and C. H. Talbot, 'The *Liber Confortatorius* of Goscelin of Saint Bertin', *Studia anselmiana* 37 (1955) 1-22. For other texts by Goscelin, see 'La légende de S<sup>te</sup> Édith en prose et vers par le moine Goscelin', ed. A. Wilmart, *Analecta bollandiana* 56 (1938) 5-101 and 265-307; 'Texts of Goscelin of Canterbury Which Relate to the History of Barking Abbey', ed. M. L. Colker, *Studia monastica* 7 (1965) 383-460; and 'The Life of Saint Wulsin of Sherborne by Goscelin', ed. C. H. Talbot, *Revue bénédictine* 69 (1959) 68-85.

<sup>6</sup> 'Reginald von Canterbury', ed. F. Liebermann, *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 13 (1888) 542-46, especially 543.55, and William of Malmesbury, *De gestis regum Anglorum*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols. (RS 90; London, 1887-89), 2.389.

<sup>7</sup> In what follows, I rely heavily on Hamilton, *Goscelin*, pp. 375-414. For the section on Goscelin's vocabulary, I am entirely dependent on the generous assistance of Dr. Michael Lapidge. Errors are, of course, my own. The Roman numerals in parentheses refer to chapters of the text edited below on pp. 156-210.

community of Minster (ii), *tentoria* (presumably with Biblical overtones) to refer to the property of the Church (vi), *consulares* to signify the saints of St. Augustine's Abbey (xvi), *lampades* to signify Mildrith's virtues and so on (xiii). Certain of these usages have military overtones, perhaps derived from a reading of classical authors. Into this category come the use of *contubernium* to refer to a monastic community (xxxvi), *classicum* to refer to a peal of bells (xx) and the verb *librare* (usually used of spears) to describe the hoisting of sails (xi). Others are more domestic, such as references to the Church as beehives (*aluearia*) and its members as swarms of bees (*apum examina* [xxx]). Some figurative usages in Goscelin's work were common to many other medieval writers: *tripudium* to mean 'joy', for example (xix), and *pignus* to mean 'relics' (although Goscelin also uses it in the present text to mean 'child' [i, xiii, xvi]). The sheer profusion of imagery in Goscelin's work, however, does seem to set it apart.

Goscelin's writing was further enriched by the use of classical and, more often, Biblical quotations, sometimes presented as such but usually adapted and absorbed into Goscelin's own sentences. Mildrith's shrine, for example, is said to have been borne 'euangelice quaterno humero', an allusion to the story of the paralytic carried to Christ by four men (xiv). In a similar fashion, Goscelin's description of Cnut's peril in a storm at sea is heavy with adapted usages from Virgil's *Aeneid* (xi).

As we could surmise from his easy and fluent use of classical allusion, Goscelin was evidently a man of extensive and thorough Latin training. He has an exceptionally wide vocabulary. In common with many Anglo-Latin authors of the tenth and eleventh centuries, Goscelin made extensive use of recondite and often obscure words and unusual usages, although it must be stressed that his inclination to such words was not as pronounced as in an author like Frithegod or Byrhtferth.<sup>8</sup> In the present text one might note Goscelin's use of masculine agentive nouns in *-tor*: *castigator* (xxi), *conspector* (xxi), *contemplator* (xxi), *dilapidator* (xviii), *dissuasor* (xxi), *excitator* (xxxv), *expugnator* (xxiii), *orationator* (xxi), *somniator* (viii, xxii), and *uiolator* (xxiii). Corresponding to these masculine nouns is a series of unusual feminine agentive nouns in *-trix* (used for the most part to describe Mildrith herself): *castigatrix* (xxxvii), *certatrix* (xxxvii), *coadiutrix* (xi), *curatrix* (xxiv, xxxi), *ductrix* (xxiii), *fautrix* (xxii), *insidiatrix* (xviii), *liberatrix* (xxiii), *miseratrix* (xxvi), *proditrix* (xviii), *protectrix* (xxvi) and *sanatrix* (xxvii, xxix, xxxi, xxxvi). Grecisms, which are common in tenth-century Anglo-Latin writing, are not frequent in Goscelin, but he does employ the following: *apoteca* (xiv, xxxv), *basileus* (x), *extasis* (xxi),

<sup>8</sup> M. Lapidge, 'The Hermeneutic Style in Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Literature', *Anglo-Saxon England* 4 (1975) 67-111.

*fantasma* (xxi), *ierarcha* (xxi), *ierarchia* (xxii), *monarchia* (vi, xi), *mysteriar-ches* (xxi), *symmista* (xxxv), *thimiamata* (xiv) and *tyrannis* (xxv, xxxvii). Alongside these grecisms Goscelin also uses several words which might be described as grecizing formations: *agonizare* (xxviii), *chorizare* (xxxvi) and *somnista* (xix). Goscelin also resorted, not infrequently, to neologism.<sup>9</sup> Compound adjectives are widely used and give Goscelin's prose an especially ornate character (his use of such words, common in poetry, enhances the figurative aspect of his prose mentioned above). Examples include: *almifluus* (xxvii), *aurotectus* (xvi), *Deiferus* (xxxvii), *dulcifluus* (xvi), *dulcimodus* (xvi), *largifluus* (xxxiii), *laudisonus* (xvi), *lucifluus* (xxx), *magnidicus* (vii), *mellifluus* (xxx), *nardifluus* (xiv), *opiferus* (xxviii), *regificus* (xxi), *saluificus* (xxxvii), *salutiferus* (xxxvii) and *soliferus* (v). Compound nouns include *psalmidicus* (v) and *uatidicus* (xxx).

Words which are peculiar to medieval Latin writing do occur but they are not used on a large scale and are often employed in specialised ways. Examples include: *argenteus*, 'silver coin' (xxii); *birrus*, 'cloak' (xix); *cambutta*, 'crutch' (xxiv); *conducticius*, 'hired' (xxiii); *fasciamentum*, 'cloth' (xxii); *ierarcha*, 'ecclesiastic' (xxi); *indutiatus*, 'legally delayed' (ix); *manica*, 'sleeve' (xxii); *resolido*, 'rebuild' (ix); *tegna*, 'tricks' (ix); *theatrum*, 'spectacle' (xix); and *theoricus*, 'contemplative' (xxi).<sup>10</sup> Spellings such as *extimplo* for *extemplo* (xi) and *nauim* for *nauem* (v) also reflect medieval usage.

Goscelin's syntax is generally sound and his sentences, although often composed of numerous clauses, are fundamentally simple in construction, avoiding, for example, the potential difficulty of indirect speech. Many passages in the present text, however, have been made markedly rhetorical by the use of such devices as alliteration, rhymed prose and climactic use of synonymous phrases and clauses. A good example is the passage describing the degradation of Emma, Cnut's widow (xviii):

Franguntur conclauiā, perrumpuntur penetralia, reserantur clausa, rimantur archana. Euertunt congestos regum thesauros, montes auri et argenti fulgidos. Extrahunt thecas et scrinia diuitiarum, insignia ornamentorum, uasa gemmea, aurea et argentea, et uix in plebeio culto relinquitur uastata.

The effect is to heighten further the involved and ornamented character of the prose and, perhaps, to make it more impressive to the Continental churchmen who came to dominate the English Church in the second half of the eleventh century.

<sup>9</sup> Examples include: *orationator*, 'one who prays' (xxi); *chorizare*, 'to sing in choir' (xxxvi); *somnista*, 'sleeper' (xix); and *caluatura*, 'baldness' (xxi).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *RMLWL* s.v.

## II

## ST. MILDRITH AND MINSTER-IN-THANET

According to a tradition which may well be authentic and which Goscelin himself relayed in his 'Vita Mildrethe', Minster-in-Thanet was founded when Egbert, king of Kent (664-673), granted land on the Isle of Thanet to the Kentish princess Domne Eafe, who became the first abbess.<sup>11</sup> She was succeeded by her daughter Mildrith, who was in turn succeeded by Eadburg, who translated Mildrith's relics to a newly constructed second church at Minster. For the subsequent history of the abbey, the present text is the earliest source, although a series of probably authentic charters also provides some information.<sup>12</sup>

Minster seems to have been an important abbey in the independent kingdom of Kent and its estates were certainly highly prized by the community of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, which obtained them and the relics of St. Mildrith in the early eleventh century, as the present text describes. Minster became a grange of that abbey and was clearly a valuable source of income.<sup>13</sup>

The precise reasons for Mildrith's veneration as a saint are obscure, as is so often the case with saints created before the advent of papal canonisation in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. She is said to have survived an attempt to incinerate her, to have calmed a storm at sea and to have enjoyed various visions; her body is said to have been undecayed when translated by Eadburg.<sup>14</sup> But it is difficult to see what lies behind these accounts or why such beliefs should have been current about Mildrith rather than about her mother or her successors.

## III

## THE CULT OF ST. MILDRITH IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

The present text has three components: chapters 1-5 are chiefly a history of Minster-in-Thanet; chapters 6-17 are a *translatio* describing the involved circumstances of Mildrith's translation in 1035 from Minster to St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury; and chapters 18-37 are a collection of *miracula* which allegedly occurred in the course of the eleventh century through Mildrith's intercession. These *miracula* do not represent an ongoing register of miracles;

<sup>11</sup> The history of Minster-in-Thanet and the legends surrounding it are discussed fully in *ML*.

<sup>12</sup> For the charters, see below, text-note 65.

<sup>13</sup> C. Platt, *The Monastic Grange in Medieval England* (London, 1969), pp. 18-20 and 217-19.

<sup>14</sup> *ML*, pp. 11-13. The chief source for these accounts is the 'Vita Mildrethe', printed in *ML*, pp. 105-43.

rather they have been assembled by Goscelin from various sources and have been arranged in a literary fashion to give maximum effect.

The light cast on St. Mildrith's cult in eleventh-century Canterbury (and on Goscelin's attitude to it) is considerable. Among the important points arising from the present text are the following. First, it is striking that the *miracula* enable us to reconstruct the fortunes of the cult through the period of the Norman Conquest. It appears to have been flourishing in the pre-Conquest period and to have won enthusiastic acceptance from the new Norman abbots of St. Augustine's, Scotland and his successor Wido.<sup>15</sup> The present text is thus evidence relating to the influences of purely English practices and traditions on the Anglo-Norman Church, a process observable also, for example, in the evolving attitudes of Lanfranc and Anselm to the Anglo-Saxon heritage.<sup>16</sup>

Secondly, Goscelin's work makes it very clear that he envisaged a close link between Mildrith's relics and the liturgy of St. Augustine's Abbey. He describes how Abbot Ælfstan and his party were unable to open Mildrith's tomb at Minster-in-Thamet until they had promised that exceptional devotions should be paid to the saint at their abbey, and Goscelin goes out of his way to emphasise that this promise was kept.<sup>17</sup>

Thirdly, the link between the cult of Mildrith and the possession of her erstwhile lands was also strong. The present text describes how Wulfric, abbot of St. Augustine's Abbey, habitually celebrated Mildrith's feast at Minster. No doubt it was appropriate for the abbot of the monastery which possessed Mildrith's relics to honour the site associated with her in this way, but we may suspect that Wulfric's practice was also intended as a symbolic representation of the bonds between St. Augustine's Abbey's tenants on Thanet and their monastic overlord. The alternation of miracles between Thanet and Canterbury was presumably also intended to emphasise links which were territorial as well as spiritual.<sup>18</sup>

Finally, the present text is an example of the narrowness of the divide between historiography and hagiography.<sup>19</sup> By careful reconstruction of the early history of Minster and by references to ancient charters and other sources, Goscelin was in effect using historical methods to establish the credentials of the

<sup>15</sup> The miracles described in chapters 18, 19 and 30 clearly belong to the pre-Conquest period. Scotland's attitude emerges from chapter 36, Wido's from the fact that he translated Mildrith's relics (see above, p. 140).

<sup>16</sup> *The Life of St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury*, by Eadmer, ed. and trans. R. W. Southern (Oxford, 1962), pp. 51-54, and R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and His Biographer* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 249.

<sup>17</sup> *ML*, p. 66, and chapters 13, 17 and 20 below.

<sup>18</sup> *ML*, pp. 66-67, and chapters 19-37 below.

<sup>19</sup> A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307* (London, 1974), pp. 105-35.

relics possessed by St. Augustine's Abbey. That this was necessary was shown by the bitter and long-lived dispute which broke out when the canons of St. Gregory's Priory, Canterbury, began to claim publicly that they possessed the true relics of St. Mildrith, a claim which led Goscelin to write his 'Contra usurpatores'. This text sought to refute the claim partly by historical argument and partly by descriptions of pertinent miracles.<sup>20</sup> One of the latter is found in two manuscripts of the present text and may have been taken over from the 'Contra usurpatores'.<sup>21</sup>

#### IV

##### MANUSCRIPTS

The 'Textus translationis Mildrethe' is preserved in the following manuscripts. All of them have been consulted and the sigla here assigned to them correspond to those used in the notes to the text.

A = London, British Library Cotton Vespasian B.xx, fols. 166r-196v.

N. R. Ker has analysed this manuscript palaeographically and shown that it was written in three kinds of script: 'a purely English hand like that of the missal written at St. Augustine's in the last decade of the eleventh century'; a script of the type developed at Christ Church, Canterbury, at the end of the eleventh century and used until the mid-twelfth century; and a 'mixed' script combining features of these two. The palaeographical evidence shows that the book was written at Canterbury or Rochester and, although precise dating is impossible, it points to a date in the late eleventh or early twelfth century.<sup>22</sup> Study of the illuminated initials of the manuscript has provided evidence in favour of a Canterbury provenance. C. R. Dodwell has regarded them as representative of the 'Canterbury School' and suggested a date between 1100 and 1130.<sup>23</sup> An ex libris inscription on fol. 1r shows that the book belonged to St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, and its contents make it virtually certain that it was also produced there.<sup>24</sup> The contents are as follows:

<sup>20</sup> *ML*, pp. 62-64, and *HP*.

<sup>21</sup> See below, chapter 35 and notes.

<sup>22</sup> N. R. Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest* (Oxford, 1960), pp. 27, 29, 30 and pl. 11. Fol. 166r, the first page of the present text, is reproduced in E. M. Thompson et al., eds., *The New Palaeographical Society. Facsimiles of Ancient Manuscripts, etc.*, First Series, 2 (London, 1903-12), pl. 85, where it is incorrectly described as the first page of the 'Vita Mildrethe'. The editors regarded its script as typical of St. Augustine's Abbey in the period 1100-25.

<sup>23</sup> *The Canterbury School of Illumination, 1066-1200* (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 28 and 123.

<sup>24</sup> It does not, however, appear in the medieval catalogue of the abbey's books. On this and the ex libris inscription, see M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge, 1903), pp. 519 and 531.

- (1) fol. 2r-v: 'Bulla plumbea' of St. Augustine (CS 7; Sawyer 1244)<sup>25</sup>
- (2) fols. 3r-18v: 'Historia minor de uita s. Augustini' (BHL 778)
- (3) fols. 18v-23v: 'Historia minor de miraculis s. Augustini' (BHL 780)
- (4) fols. 26r-60r: 'Liber amplior (Historia maior) de aduentu beatissimi Anglorum apostoli Augustini sociorumque eius in Britannia' (BHL 777)
- (5) fols. 61r-85v: 'Historia maior de miraculis s. Augustini' (BHL 779)
- (6) fols. 86r-93v: 'Sermo in festiuitate s. Augustini'
- (7) fols. 93v-141v: 'Historia translationis s. Augustini' (BHL 781)
- (8) fols. 143r-166r: 'Vita s. Mildrethe uirginis' (BHL 5960)
- (9) fols. 166r-196v: the text here edited (BHL 5961/4)
- (10) fols. 197r-248v: hagiographical works concerning the archbishops Laurence (fols. 197r-203r, BHL 4741), Mellitus (fols. 203v-212v, BHL 5896), Justus (fols. 214r-217r, BHL 4601), Honorius (fols. 217r-220r),<sup>26</sup> Deusdedit (fols. 220r-221v, BHL 2153), Theodore (fols. 222r-231r, BHL 8083) and Abbot Adrian (fols. 233r-248v, BHL 3740 and 3742)
- (11) fols. 251v-259v: the 'Libellus responsionum' of Gregory the Great and the epitaph of Augustine
- (12) fols. 260r-276r: 'Libellus contra inanes s. uirginis Mildrethe usurpatores' (BHL 5962)
- (13) fols. 276r-279r: charters allegedly granted to St. Augustine's Abbey by Edward the Confessor (fol. 276r-v, Sawyer 1248) and Æthelberht (fols. 277r-279r, CS 5 and 6, Sawyer 3 and 4)<sup>27</sup>
- (14) fols. 279r-284v: privileges allegedly granted to St. Augustine's Abbey by Popes Boniface, Adeodatus, Agatho, John and (a fragment) Calixtus<sup>28</sup>
- (15) fols. 285r-286v: an additional miracle of St. Augustine in a later hand (compare item 4 of ms. B).

Item 9, the 'Textus translationis Mildrethe', is written on four gatherings (fols. 166r-196v). The 'Vita Mildrethe' impinges on the first gathering (fol. 166r). The single hand of the latter text also wrote the 'Textus translationis Mildrethe' down to the end of fol. 173v. The remainder of the text was written by two further hands, both of which seem to have written sections before the 'Vita Mildrethe' and after the 'Textus translationis Mildrethe'; the chapter numbered 'XXXV' in the two other complete manuscripts (B and C) is lacking. These observations make it likely that the manuscript took shape in its present form at or soon after the time of writing. The only items unlikely to have been part of it at the outset are items 1, 13, 14 and 15; a contents-list of c. 1300 on fol. 1v lists only items 2-12, which suggests that the remaining items were not part of the

<sup>25</sup> See especially W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 198-99.

<sup>26</sup> T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland, to the End of the Reign of Henry VII*, 3 vols. (RS 26; London, 1862-71), 1, no. 657.

<sup>27</sup> These charters were, like CS 7, almost certainly forged at St. Augustine's Abbey in the eleventh century. See Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 223-25 and 346.

<sup>28</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 181-82 and 199 ff.

manuscript at that date. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that items 13-15 have a complete gathering to themselves and item 1 occupies a folio which has been added to the beginning of a gathering.

B = London, British Library Harley 105, fols. 158r-188r.

This manuscript was owned in the seventeenth century by Sir Simonds d'Ewes, who obtained it by an exchange with Sir Robert Cotton. Sir Simonds had it bound and added various notes, an elaborate title-page and chapter and folio numbers.<sup>29</sup> His foliation, however, which is in ink, has been disregarded here in favour of the official pencil foliation added, as noted on fol. 250v, at the then British Museum in 1875.<sup>30</sup>

M. R. James regarded the script of the codex as like that of Christ Church, Canterbury, in the twelfth century and C. R. Dodwell has regarded the illuminated initials as further products of the 'Canterbury School'.<sup>31</sup> According to the latter, however, the style of illumination indicates that the manuscript was written somewhat later than A, namely, in the period 1140-60. B has no ex libris inscription and does not appear in any medieval catalogue, but its contents, which are close to those of A, suggest that it too was owned and probably written by the community of St. Augustine's Abbey. The contents comprise:

(1) fols. 3r-37v: 'Liber amplior (Historia maior) de aduentu beatissimi Anglorum apostoli Augustini sociorumque eius in Britannia' (*BHL* 777) (the dedication is lacking, probably because of the loss of leaves)

(2) fols. 37v-38v: an 'interjectio' on the status of monks

(3) fols. 38v-65v: 'Historia maior de miraculis s. Augustini' (*BHL* 779)

(4) fols. 65v-67r: a further miracle of St. Augustine in a later hand (compare item 15 of ms. A)

(5) fols. 68r-74v: 'Libellus responsionum' of Gregory the Great

(6) fols. 75r-135v: 'Historia translationis s. Augustini' (*BHL* 781)

(7) fol. 136v: epitaph for St. Mildrith<sup>32</sup>

(8) fols. 137r-156r: 'Vita s. Mildrethe uirginis' (*BHL* 5960)

(9) fols. 156r-158r: lections for St. Mildrith

(10) fols. 158r-188r: the text here edited (*BHL* 5961/4)

(11) fols. 198r-204r: 'Libellus contra inanes s. uirginis Mildrethe usurpatores' (*BHL* 5962)

(12) fols. 205r-250v: hagiographical works concerning Abbot Adrian (fols. 205r-218v, *BHL* 3740 and 3742) and the archbishops Theodore (fols. 218v-227v, *BHL* 8083), Laurence (fols. 227v-233v, *BHL* 4741), Mellitus (fols. 233v-243r, *BHL* 5896), Justus

<sup>29</sup> A. G. Watson, *The Library of Sir Simonds d'Ewes* (London, 1966), pp. 116-17 and also pp. 22-24. The binding is reproduced as a frontispiece and the title-page as plate IV (between pp. 72 and 73). See also C. E. Wright, *Fontes harleiani* (London, 1972), p. 131.

<sup>30</sup> Sir Simonds' ink foliation was erroneously used in *ML*, pp. 105-106.

<sup>31</sup> James, *Ancient Libraries*, p. 532, and Dodwell, *Canterbury School*, pp. 52-53 and 123.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *Scriptores*, col. 1912.

(fols. 244r-246v, *BHL* 4601), Honorius (fols. 246v-249r, *BHL* 3986) and Deusdedit (fols. 249r-250v, *BHL* 2153).

This manuscript is very tightly bound so that it is impossible to distinguish all the gatherings. It is notable, however, that the 'Vita Mildrethe' seems to begin on a new gathering (fol. 137r) and that the three preceding leaves are blank apart from the epitaph on fol. 136v. Item 11, the 'Contra usurpatores', also begins on a new gathering (fol. 190r) but its contents-list (fol. 189r-v) is written on the last leaf of the previous gathering. Moreover, the note at the end of this list giving the title is in the same hand as the text itself, so that the two gatherings must have been placed together at or very soon after the time of writing. Items 8, 9 and 10 are all in the same hand so they are likely to have been together from the outset. Since item 12 seems to begin on a new gathering (fol. 205r) it is possible that it was once separate. It should be emphasized, however, that the manuscript seems very consistent in script and layout, which suggests that all its constituent elements were bound together at an early date, perhaps at the time of writing.

C = London, British Library Harley 3908, fols. 51r-100r.

Fols. 1-100 of this codex are written in the 'Christ Church Script' which was used, according to N. R. Ker, from the late eleventh to the mid-twelfth century.<sup>33</sup> Fols. 101-117 are in a much later hand and contain verses by John of Bridlington (fols. 101r-117r) and a fragment of a history by Ælmer, monk of St. Augustine's Abbey. There is no illumination in the manuscript. The script of fols. 1-100 suggests that this section was written in Canterbury (or Rochester). There is no ex libris inscription but the contents, which are entirely devoted to St. Mildrith, make it likely that the book was owned by and written at St. Augustine's Abbey. They comprise:

- (1) fols. 1r-35r: 'Vita s. Mildrethe uirginis' (*BHL* 5960)
- (2) fols. 35r-39v: lections for St. Mildrith
- (3) fols. 40r-41v: lections and homilies
- (4) fol. 42r-v: 'Missa de s. Mildretha'
- (5) fols. 43r-50v: 'Historia de s. Mildretha' with musical notes
- (6) fols. 51r-100r: the text here edited (*BHL* 5961/4).

Item 6 contains a full version of the present text but the chapter numbered 'XXXV' in B here forms the last chapter, i.e., it follows the chapter numbered 'XXXVII' in B. In C, chapter numbers have been added in a sixteenth-century antiquarian hand, and these conform to those given in B despite the difference in the arrangement of the chapters. C's version of the text is carelessly written and there are numerous corrections and erasures.

The manuscript, which was rebound on guards in 1977, is composed mostly of gatherings of eight folios. The final gathering comprises fols. 100-117 and thus contains the end of the 'Textus translationis Mildrethe' and the material in a later hand. Of the

<sup>33</sup> *English Manuscripts*, pp. 26 and 30.

other items all overlap onto the gatherings of the adjacent texts with the exception of item 5 which is restricted to one gathering occupied by this item alone. Since item 5 seems to follow logically from item 4, however, it is unlikely that it is a subsequent interpolation into the manuscript.

D = London, British Library Cotton Otho A.viii, fol. 6.

Before its almost complete destruction by fire in 1731, this manuscript contained the following texts:<sup>34</sup>

- (1) 'Vita s. Praxedis uirginis'
- (2) 'Vita s. Mildrethe uirginis' (*BHL* 5960)
- (3) the text here edited (*BHL* 5961/4)
- (4) 'De obitu Bede' by Cuthbert
- (5) a life of St. Machutus in Old English
- (6) homilies relating to St. Machutus
- (7) verses on the twelve apostles
- (8) various prayers
- (9) a chronological table up to 1550
- (10) the privileges of St. Augustine's Abbey.

A few leaves of the book remain but in a very damaged condition. Of these, fol. 6 preserves fragments from chapters 30-32 of the 'Textus translationis Mildrethe'; and fragments of the 'Vita Mildrethe' are also to be found on fols. 1-5. David Yerkes has suggested that these folios may be in a late eleventh-century script probably earlier in date than the script of A, B and C.<sup>35</sup> It is therefore much to be regretted that this copy of the text has been almost completely lost. The inclusion of items 2, 3 and 10 suggests that, like A, B and C, D may have been produced at and for St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, but the book's damaged state makes firm conclusions impossible.

## V

### MANUSCRIPT RELATIONSHIPS AND EDITORIAL PRACTICE

As we have noted, D may be the oldest manuscript on palaeographical grounds but the charred and fragmentary condition of its few surviving folios makes it of no value for reconstructing either the text or the interrelationship of the manuscripts.<sup>36</sup> We must therefore concentrate on A, B and C. As noted above, A is probably the oldest of these since it seems to represent a book

<sup>34</sup> T. Smith, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Cottonianae* (London, 1696), pp. 66-67.

<sup>35</sup> D. Yerkes, 'Earliest Fragments of Goscelin's Writings on St. Mildred', *Revue bénédictine* 93 (1983) 128-31. I am very grateful to Professor Yerkes for drawing my attention to this manuscript and for giving me access to his paper before publication.

<sup>36</sup> See above.

transitional between the English script of the eleventh century and the 'Christ Church Script' developed at the end of that century. Although Dodwell dates its illumination not earlier than 1100, it does seem possible that A is older than that and that it was written very near in time to the composition of the 'Textus translationis Mildrethe'.<sup>37</sup> There are two grounds for this assertion. First, A's chapter-list originally lacked entries for chapters 32, 33, 34, 36 and 37 although the chapters themselves are found in the text. (Later hands have added a summary and a full version of the entry for chapter 32 as found in B.<sup>38</sup>) These deficiencies in A's chapter-list suggest the possibility that the chapters in question were added to the text after the list's composition. Secondly, A lacks chapter 35 which relates directly to the dispute between St. Augustine's Abbey and St. Gregory's Priory over Mildrith's relics.<sup>39</sup> This dispute presumably postdates the original composition of the 'Textus translationis Mildrethe' since it is not otherwise referred to in that text. Moreover the chapter in question also appears in the 'Contra usurpatores', a text which itself postdates the present one (to which it refers).<sup>40</sup> All this suggests that chapter 35 is a later addition to the 'Textus translationis Mildrethe' and that its absence in A is testimony to A's greater antiquity.

B, as we have noted, was probably written a generation later than A and its chapter-list, although not complete, extends to chapter 34. Moreover B incorporates chapter 35. The relationship between A and B cannot be direct since sometimes one and sometimes the other seems to have the better text.<sup>41</sup> Both must therefore descend from an earlier version. That version cannot be represented by C which, where it diverges from B, is generally (especially in its uncorrected form) in agreement with A.<sup>42</sup> Since C's script may be somewhat later than A's, it is not impossible that C is copied from A. For, although there are minor differences between their versions, it should be noted that C is carelessly copied and such differences may have arisen from scribal errors.<sup>43</sup> C's history is rendered more complex by two facts. First, its text has in several places been corrected to make it conform with B's where it previously

<sup>37</sup> See above, p. 146.

<sup>38</sup> See below, text-note 3.

<sup>39</sup> See below, text-note 252.

<sup>40</sup> *HP*, p. 63.

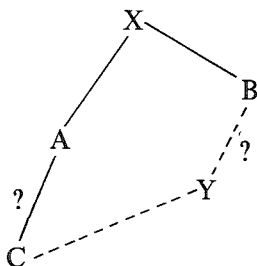
<sup>41</sup> See below, text-notes 94, 99, 138, 156, 184, 187, 208, 212, 226 and 240 (where A seems to have erroneous readings) and 79, 101, 110, 218, 239, 241, 244, 261 and 262 (where B seems to have omissions and erroneous readings).

<sup>42</sup> See below, text-notes 5, 60, 153, 160, 208 and 214.

<sup>43</sup> See below, text-notes 162, 175, 182 and 256 (where C differs from A and B) and 100, 213, 222, 226-228, 235-238 (where C has been corrected, usually by insertion of words, to bring it into line with A and B). These corrections seem usually to be in the hand of the original scribe although in some cases, notably n. 227, another corrector may be involved.

resembled A's.<sup>44</sup> The script of these corrections is difficult to assess, being rather rough and cramped, but it appears to differ from that of the original scribe. It therefore seems that a corrector with access to a text resembling B's has revised C's version. Secondly, a hand slightly different from that of the rest of the text has added B's chapter 35 apparently as a postscript to C's version; this further suggests that a B-type text has been used to revise C. It is, however, unlikely that the reviser used B itself since C's text of chapter 35 often diverges from B, resembling rather the text in the 'Contra usurpatores'.<sup>45</sup>

If the text underlying A and B is designated X and the text used by C's reviser designated Y, we can tentatively propose the following stemma:



The relationship between B and Y must remain in doubt although Y was clearly closer to B than to A or the unrevised C.

These conclusions must be regarded as very provisional until the interrelationships of all the texts contained in A, B and C have been more closely studied. The signs are that these books were produced and used in close relationship to each other and that their contents, barring fols. 101-117 of C, were regarded as closely interconnected. It would be of the greatest interest to examine them as entities and to relate them to other apparently parallel manuscripts, notably Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 312 and Oxford, St. John's College 96. For the moment, it is sufficient to note that the apparent relationship of A, B and C seems to indicate that no one manuscript can be presumed to have the best text and that variants must therefore be treated on their merits. Whichever reading seemed closest to the author's sense has accordingly been retained and others relegated to footnotes. Minor corrections and errors clearly arising from scribal carelessness have generally not been noted.

Variations in the spelling of proper names have been noted except in the case of 'Mildretha', which is spelt quite inconsistently 'Myldretha' and, less frequently in this text, 'Mildritha'. Other orthographical variants have been

<sup>44</sup> See below, text-notes 134, 156, 179, 184, 187, 212, 226 and 240.

<sup>45</sup> See below, text-note 252.

disregarded. Since A seems to be the oldest manuscript preserving a complete text, its orthographical practice has generally been preferred although inconsistencies within it have been eliminated in favour of the forms most frequently found. Spelling in B and C differs to a certain extent and is also inconsistent within each manuscript. Variants include the addition of an initial *h* to *abundantia* in B; the spelling *archa* for *arca* (C); the omission of *p* in *dampnum* and (in A and C) of *h* in *hactenus*; the inconsistent rendering in all manuscripts of *quatinus* as *quatenus* and inconsistent variations in the spelling of *solemnitas* and its compounds in the forms *solempn-* and *solemn-*; and the use of *mihi* for *mihi*. There is frequent and inconsistent variation in the use of *i* and *y* as in *Syon* for *Sion*, and in the use of *f* for *ph* in *sicophanta*. Consonants are on occasion doubled as in *Brittannia* for *Britannia* (A), *protellauit* for *protelauit* (B), or omitted as in *suplicibus* for *supplicibus* (A) and *penis* for *pennis* (A). The letter *n* is sometimes substituted for *m* in *cum-*, *quamuis*, *quemdam* and *uerum-*, and *p* is on occasion added to the last of these. The prefixes *imm-* and *imp-* are from time to time replaced by *inm-* and *inp-*.

Angle brackets have been used to indicate material supplied by the editor to supplement apparently defective passages. Round brackets are occasionally used as parentheses to assist with the punctuation of Goscelin's often lengthy sentences.

CAPITULA LIBRI TRANSLATIONIS SANCTE MILDRETHE VIRGINIS<sup>1</sup>

i. Prenotatur translatio uirginis, quam famosam uirtutibus ex tota Britannia uisitabant pietate et nomine Mildretham, et filie emulabantur bonis studiis, aromatizantes post eam.

ii. Eadburge successit Sigeburga, quo tempore paulatim decedit in direptionem Domini uinea que est ecclesia, unde transferende Mildrethe iam parabatur uia.

iii. Vastant pirate uirginis insulam, unde grex suus exercebatur ad patientiam, imitans doctrinam apostolicam.

iv. Vt familia beate Mildrethe per multos annos durauerit, donec uindemiator Dominus totam celo reciperet.

v. Tempus putationis aduenit; hostilis exercitus inundauit; sacerdotes iugulantur; uirgines cum monasterio conflaurantur; in plebeiam parrochiam monasterium deinceps destituitur.

vi. Sub rege Cnuto Ælfstanus abbas possessionem ecclesie sancte Mildrethe a secularibus ereptam adiecit sui Augustini cenobio, huc ipsam uirginem transferre iam meditando.

vii. Indoluit abbas destitute uirginis iniuriam, quam ut ad meliora transferat diuinam pulsat beniuolentiam.

viii. Perseuerans in precibus docetur per uisum uotum suum explendum et aduersa quidem eum passurum, sed palmam adepturum.

ix. Abbas Ælfstanus totam uirginalis monasterii hereditatem, dono regis et priuilegio, dicioni sancti Augustini perpetuat. Petitam uero translationem rex in aliud tempus protelat.

x. Romam rex proficiscens protestatur apud sanctum Augustinum huc condignam Mildretham transferendam post suum reditum, affirmans illam maxime decere hunc locum parentum suorum regum et apostolicorum principum.

xi. Miraculum sancti Augustini, ubi rex in mare periclitans eius<sup>2</sup> nominis ad inuocationem subita serenitate liberatur, quod in hoc textu uirginis uelut commune refertur, sicut illa quoque sibi iam in eodem templo sociatur.

xii. Abbas Ælfstanus, impetrata uirginis translatione, in insulam Tanetum properat, plebem conuiuuiis caute supplantat.

xiii. Primo impetu uirginalis tumba durior calibe resistit; illa promissis placata ultro cedit.

xiv. Panditur aromatica tumba; erumpit in omnes paradisiaca fraglantia; effertur celestis margarita.

<sup>1</sup> C omits the list of chapters.

<sup>2</sup> *huius* B

xv. Sacri corporis asportatorem persequitur plebs armata. Quo elapso plangit sua dampna Tanetus desolata, quos iugiter consolatur uirginis presentia.

xvi. Quo triumpho et gaudio Augustiniensi cenobio suscepta sit uirgo.

xvii. Squalentibus aruis siccitate, celum dedit pluuiam et terra fructum, uirgine adueniente cum inundatione Helie.

xviii. Regina a summa opulentia deiecta, a gloriosa Mildretha per uisum consolata et priori copie iuxta suam promissionem est reddita.

xix. Quendam inter nocturnos ymnos lectulo sopitum uisa uirgo uerbis et alapis increpat et ad ecclesiam fugat.

xx. Alium quoque ad tumultum suum dormientem impacta alapa excitat et a sacrario suo exturbat. Quam dormiens uidit de tumulto exire et aperte iam uigilans eodem redire.

xxi. Quo uisionum mysterio et signo uerberati ac decaluati iussa sit uirginalis ecclesia in Taneto cooperiri.

xxii. Mercator ex diuite pauper a uisa sibi splendida Mildretha Romam iturus docetur et ditescendus promittitur et breuis uite terminus sibi insinuat.

xxiii. Fur captiuatus inuocata Mildretha exsoluitur; per alta precipitia euadens ad Augustinianum uirginis asylum liberatur.

xxiv. Quidam paralyticus et calcaneo in terga affixo debilitatus iussu apostoli Petri deuenit in Tanetum ad ecclesiam sancte Mildrethe ibique donatur promissa sospitate.

xxv. Eodem quoque loco et hora mulier a caduco morbo eripitur, apparente sibi Mildretha per quam sanabatur.

xxvi. Vt frater a tertianis febribus liberatus sit in eius festiuitate.

xxvii. Quomodo puella a natiuitate paralytica et muta ad sacra uirginis pignora sit curata.

xxviii. Quomodo apud militem Cantuarie colonum puella moriens per beatam Mildretham noscitur uite reddita.

xxix. Vt ipse miles ad uirginis tumbam febres amiserit.

xxx. Superest anus anachorita que, ante translationem uirginis, in Taneto insula ad ipsius pignora dum moreretur deferri iussa, uite longiori est reddita.

xxxi. Eadem quoque post hec per annum cecitate temptata, eius iussu deducta ad sua busta, ibidem est illuminata.

xxxii. Quendam terre uirginis Mildrethe particulam rusticus quidam ad Christi Ecclesiam pertinere astipulans, strophose hoc dum iurat, eius oculi excutiuntur, postque dies bis septenos sicophanta probatus flebiliter moritur.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> In A, this entry is written in lighter ink and in a different, possibly later, hand. Written in a rough hand on the line above is a summary of this entry which reads, 'De quodam per fallaciam periurante utroque oculo ratione periurii orbato'.

xxxiii. Cuidam filia Sion sacrata ob sui structuram imperfectam monasterii anxio apparet incolarum, per illum suggillans tenaciam suamque ad inchoata consumanda spondens munificentiam.<sup>4</sup>

xxxiv. Tholis monasterii huius erectis, cum tigni ponerentur eorum unus parietibus ab oppositis pedibus tribus breuior reperitur; mane sex peduum metreta quam ante fuerat productior.

TRANSLATIO SANCTE MILDRETHE VIRGINIS  
CUM MIRACULORUM ATTESTATIONE<sup>5</sup>

Translationem exposituri gloriose uirginis Mildrethe<sup>6</sup> ad locum quo nunc presentiam suam mirifice propalat, prius monasterii sui diurnam institutionem uel distractionem, ut ibi per multa annorum lustra requiescens pietatis carismatibus ubique innotuerit, retexere ad temporis notitiam et fidei edificationem utile duximus.

i

Iam itaque precellentissima uirgo, de celo quasi sol in centro terris refulgens, radios uirtutum longe lateque respersit ac totius Britannie nationes odorifera fama ad eius uiuifica requietionis merita contraxit. Nam quis tam benignam frustra uisitauit? Quis cecus, mutus, surdus, quocumque languore, quacumque debilitate infractus ab ipsa non rediit emendatus? Quis gemens, merens, anxius, morbidus non hic mutauit dolorem tripudio, infirmitatem remedio? Hic adeo sanus augetur uirtute, detritus reformatur sospitate. Reuera est gratia et nomine Mildretha, quod patria lingua sonat 'pia' uel 'pietate fundata',<sup>7</sup> que in quascumque gentes se poscentes pio nectare redundat in secula. Certabant etiam deuotissima huius nardiflue matris pignora eius seruare instituta, et sancta conuersione apud Deum et homines attollebant materna preconia.<sup>8</sup> Stabant firma acie concordie ut Christiane Amazones contra demonum castra; et caritate, humilitate, patientia, pudicitia, temperantia, iugulabant odia, super-

<sup>4</sup> This and the following entry are found in B only.

<sup>5</sup> A and C have the title 'Textus translationis et institutionis monasterii beate Mildrethe cum miraculorum attestacione'. Although the word *institutio* is presumably being used in the sense of *historia*, this version of the title nevertheless seems to make less sense and to relate less closely to the content of the text than B's.

<sup>6</sup> *Mildrethe* om. AC.

<sup>7</sup> A better translation of the name might be 'merciful strength' or 'mild strength'. In B, a marginal note in a modern hand gives the derivation of the name as 'milde rede', i.e., 'mild counsel'.

<sup>8</sup> The subject of this sentence, *pignora*, is here used in the sense of 'children'.

biam, iracundiam, luxuriam, gulam et cetera uitiorum agmina. Fugit Aquilo pigritie hiemalis et uenit Auster estiuæ fructificationis. Perflauit hortum Domini et in tota Anglia bono odore Christi fluxerunt aromata illius. Sic matris emula Eadburga, Christi famula, quam in calce uite uirginalis annotauimus, ducens choros Domini in sanctitate et iustitia migravit ad celestia premia.<sup>9</sup> Annus erat septingentesimus quinquagesimus primus ab Incarnatione Dominica.<sup>10</sup>

ii<sup>11</sup>

Regnabat tunc iunior Athelbertus,<sup>12</sup> regis Wihtredi filius, succedens germano suo Eadberto.<sup>13</sup> Iunior autem dicitur ab illo beate Mildrethe proauo rege Athelberto, a protodoctore Augustino primitus Christianizato.<sup>14</sup> Sub isto post Eadburgam Sigeburga ab archipresule Cuthberto<sup>15</sup> in curam monasterii est ordinata, que nichilominus strenua pietate attollebat ducis Mildrethe uexilla. Cum ergo sic floreret uinea Domini Sabaoth, tandem ineffabili sed uero et omnia bene ordinante Dei iudicio cepit paulatim in direptionem et uastationem decidere. Iam nimirum superna prouidentia beate Mildrethe parabatur uia ut ad illustriora, que nunc perpetuo ut prenotatum est possidet, migraret habitacula et

<sup>9</sup> Eadburg's career as abbess is described in the work to which Goscelin here refers, his *Vita Deo dilectæ uirginis Mildrethæ* (BHL 5960), printed and discussed in *ML*, pp. 20-21, 60-62, 77-79 and 105-43. An abbess called Eadburg corresponded with St. Boniface; see *Die Briefe des Heiligen Bonifatius und Lull*, ed. M. Tangl (Berlin, 1916), pp. 8, 53, 54, 60, 137 and 143. The identity of this person with the abbess of Minster-in-Thamet mentioned in the present text was assumed by W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 139 and 150. Doubt has been cast on this by P. Sims-Williams, 'An Unpublished Seventh- or Eighth-Century Anglo-Latin Letter in Boulogne-sur-Mer MS 74 (82)', *Medium Ævum* 48 (1979) 22 n. 119.

<sup>10</sup> The date of Eadburg's death is given as 751 by Thorne (*Scriptores*, col. 1908) and by Thomas of Elmham in *HSAC*, p. 220; but this is probably taken from the present text. The source of the date is obscure. Eadburg appears as the recipient of toll-remission in a charter of 748 (CS 177, Sawyer 91 and see below, n. 65). The latest extant letters addressed to her can be dated no later than 746; see *Bonifatius und Lull*, ed. Tangl, pp. 137 and 143. In C a second hand has added in the margin *anno domini 751*.

<sup>11</sup> In C, a second hand has from chapter 2 onwards added chapter numbers in Arabic numerals, often squeezed in above the text (see above, p. 149).

<sup>12</sup> In A, a space has been left before 'bertus' and never filled; the corrector has added 'Athel' on the previous line.

<sup>13</sup> *Eadberto* B. Eadberht and *Æthelberht* II were almost certainly joint rulers before the former's death. Goscelin's erroneous assertion that *Æthelberht* succeeded Eadberht is probably connected with (and may be based on) a late eleventh- or early twelfth-century interpolation to that effect in the Canterbury manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. See *ASC* 1.46 and 2.xxvi; *EH* 5.23 and *Venerabilis Baedæ Opera historica*, ed. C. Plummer, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1896), 2.338; and *HBC*, p. 8.

<sup>14</sup> *Æthelberht* I (d. 616) was converted by Augustine of Canterbury. See *EH* 1.25-2.5.

<sup>15</sup> *Cudberto* A, *Cutberhto* C. Cuthberht was archbishop of Canterbury from 740 to 760. Sigeburg is mentioned as abbess of Minster-in-Thamet in charters of the period 759-764 (CS 189 and 188, Sawyer 29 and 143 – see below, text-note 65).

cum Iob, perdita priori substantia, hic reciperet duplicia. Satagebat primum electas animarum plantationes, uindemiante Domino, celo suscipere et diutina desolatione cum silentio patientie tanquam conscia diuini examinis salutare Domini exspectare, donec ipse uindictam in hostes suos retribueret et propitius terre populi sui esset.

## iii

Igitur pirate gentilium Danorum et ceterarum gentium transmarinarum, dum maria latrocinandi et predandi studio peruagantur, splendide uirginis insulam Tanetum populosissimam cunctisque rerum copiis refertissimam insperati irrumpunt, et in plebem longa pace solutam ceu lupi in pecudes grassantur.<sup>16</sup> Cedunt, laniant, rapiunt, fugant et uastant omnia, nec Christi familiam et Dominica sancta secus habuere quam ludum et spolia. Initium dolorum hec. Sed adhuc parcente Domino abscedunt onusti preda et in alia similiter debachantur loca. Ita per singulos fere annos, ut fera gustatum sanguinem sitiens, regressi crebro impetu uexabant gregem Domini; et uelut unde maris insulam turbidis incursibus quatiebant ecclesiam. Hinc opulentissimum alme Mildrethe monasterium abstractis uel exhaustis possessionibus defecit; ablataque pascua grex suus defluxit et pauci facti sunt et uexati sunt a tribulatione malorum et dolore. Pars tamen optima, que in temptatione remanserat cum Domino, pro muro habebat matris Mildrethe exempla, cuius imitando patientiam optabant consortia simul et apostolica (uelut armaturam Dei) induebant documenta. *Omne gaudium inquit Iacobus existimate cum in temptationibus uariis incideritis.*<sup>17</sup> Et Petrus: *Communicantes Christi passionibus gaudete ut in reuelatione glorie eius gaudeatis exultantes.*<sup>18</sup> Paulus quoque ait: *In omnibus tribulationem patimur sed non angustiamur*, et cetera;<sup>19</sup> et *Per multas tribulationes oportet nos introire in regnum Dei;*<sup>20</sup> et *Quis nos separabit a caritate Christi?*<sup>21</sup> et cetera usque ad id: *Estimati sumus ut oues occisionis.*<sup>22</sup> His sanctorum patronorum suorum ceterisque diuinis exortationibus fideles anime

<sup>16</sup> The first line of chapter 3 makes clear that Goscelin envisages these Viking raids as occurring in Sigeburg's time, that is, in the middle of the eighth century. Whereas the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle does not mention any such events in Kent until 835, charter evidence suggests that Viking armies may have been operating there much earlier. See N. Brooks, 'The Development of Military Obligations in Eighth- and Ninth-Century England' in *England before the Conquest. Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), p. 80.

<sup>17</sup> Jac 1:2.

<sup>18</sup> 1 Pet 4:13.

<sup>19</sup> 2 Cor 4:8.

<sup>20</sup> Ac 14:21.

<sup>21</sup> Rom 8:35.

<sup>22</sup> Rom 8:36.

armate ultro gladiis hostilibus ceruices parabant, uel ad quascumque mortes et supplicia animum roborabant, quia maioribus certaminibus gloriosorem coronam repositam nouerant. Quas et si persecutoris preterierit seuitia, non cassant martyrum premia, quibus erant martyrii uota.<sup>23</sup>

## iv

Post obitum uero abbatisse Sigeburge, Siledritha<sup>24</sup> a rege Cuthredo subrogatur et ab archipresule Adelardo<sup>25</sup> consecratur. Que consurgens et induens fortitudinem (brachium Domini) in tempore iniquo, non solum fessas sororum animas confirmare et ad pristinum numerum supplere certabat, uerum etiam res ecclesie absortas uelut a leonum faucibus eruere satagebat. Quod quantis laboribus et aduersitatibus consecuta sit, qua instantia etiam a Wlfredo archiepiscopo Adelardi<sup>26</sup> successore terras abstractas reuocauerit, quam pie ipsa uixerit, in annalibus antiquorum patrum, priuilegiis quoque et cartis monasterii sui euidenter elucescit.<sup>27</sup> Sic itaque in multa annorum curricula per prescriptas et succedentes matres, quarum omnium nomina uel gesta retexere longum est, sanctissime Mildrethe familia durabat et per paces ac bella more lune crescebat uel decrescebat, donec eam iustus Dominus uindemiaret totamque celo benignissimus reciperet.<sup>28</sup>

## v

Tandem ergo illud tempus putationis diuine aduenit et Diabolus, tanquam expetita non solum substantia sed et carnibus Iob,<sup>29</sup> exultans malignitatis

<sup>23</sup> 'And if the ferocity of the persecutor passes them by, they do not forfeit their martyrs' crowns, for which they had vowed themselves to be martyrs.'

<sup>24</sup> *Syledritha C.*

<sup>25</sup> *Cuðredo A; Aldelardo B.* Likely dates for King Cuthred are 798-807; Æthelheard was archbishop of Canterbury from 793 to 805 (*HBC*, pp. 9 and 209). Elmham gives 797 as the date of Sigeburg's death but his source, if any, is unknown (*HSAC*, p. 221).

<sup>26</sup> *Athelardi C.*

<sup>27</sup> Wulfred was archbishop of Canterbury from 805 to 832 (*HBC*, p. 209). Much light has been cast on his policy with regard to monasteries by N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066* (Leicester, 1984), pp. 175-97. No annals corresponding to those referred to by Goscelin have survived and no extant privileges or charters relating to Minster-in-Thanel mention Abbess Seledrith. *CS* 317 (Sawyer 160, dated 804), however, does refer to a person of this name as abbess of Lyminge (Kent). On her probable identity with the abbess of Minster-in-Thanel mentioned by Goscelin, see *ML*, pp. 24-25.

<sup>28</sup> Elmham's assertion (*HSAC*, pp. 221-22) that Seledrith and her nuns were massacred by Vikings and that this led to the conversion of Minster-in-Thanel to a parish church is clearly based on a misunderstanding of Goscelin's account. Elmham seems to have 'telescoped' the information given in this and the succeeding chapter, ignoring the content of the present sentence.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Job 1:12.

licentia, totum uirus longe inuidie euomuit ac per deterrimas copias suas in Christicolas deseuit. Venit ingens cum ingenti classe Danorum gentilium exercitus aliarumque gentium barbaria non iam ad predandum tantum, uerum ad totum Britannie regnum sibi subiugandum uel pessumdandum.<sup>30</sup> Totam Tanetum ac si mare effusum obruit ipsamque apostolicam nauim uirginalis templi beate Mildrethe suis fluctibus operit. Quicquid consequi possunt ad interniciem profligunt, et frequentes populos uelut condensas segetes ferro uel igne demetunt. Resistentes conferta acie proscindunt, fugientes sagittis et telis crispantibus transadeunt. Contiguos confodiunt pilis, trucidant bipennibus et gladiis. Non etati, non sexui, non pregnantibus uel parturientibus parcitur. Senes cum pueris, iuuenes et puelle uno discrimine proteruntur. Infantes confossi longis hastilibus in aera pro signo attolluntur; lactantes ad saxa alliduntur. Clamor periclitantium in astra iaculatur; senum et iuuenum eiulatus, feminarum ululatus ac paruulorum uagitus ubique uersatur. Prebebant etiam miserabile spectaculum corpora occisorum inhumata<sup>31</sup> et raptorum infanda crudelitate nudata, ut et ipsa Dei pietatem prouocaret iniuria. Complebaturque illud psalmidicum: *Posuerunt mortalia seruorum tuorum escas uolatilibus celi, carnes sanctorum tuorum bestiis terre, nec erat qui sepeliret.*<sup>32</sup> Nec trans fluuium erat tuta fuga.<sup>33</sup> Ibi quoque callidus hostis insequitur transmissos uel preuertitur, et uolucris alis ab utraque ripa ubique debachatur. Confugiant trepidantia agmina cum esset iam iudicium de domo Domini in beate Mildrethe ecclesiam, uelut nauim<sup>34</sup> tempestatibus addictam iamque cum suis plebibus et suo pondere fluctibus absorbendam, ubi nec sanctis nec ipsi Christo parcebatur ut ab eius longanimitate patientiam docerentur. Erant ibi uelut in conclauis et fauce hostili ac captiuo asylo, hoc tamen extremo usi solatio ut ibi in conspectu

<sup>30</sup> Viking armies are known to have been active in Kent at various times in the ninth century (ASC s.a. 832, 838, 851, 865 and 893). The most likely context for the invasion described in this chapter, however, is the period 994-1013 when Swein Forkbeard was attacking England. Goscelin would naturally have regarded the attacks of those years as a concerted attempt at conquest, since they led to the accession of the Danish king, Cnut. Kent was affected directly in 994, 999, 1009 and 1013 (ASC s.a.) and especially in 1011 when Canterbury was captured (ASC s.a.). William Thorne, an historian of St. Augustine's Abbey in the fourteenth century, believed that the events at Minster-in-Thamet described in this chapter were contemporary with the capture of Canterbury (see *Scriptores*, col. 1908). Goscelin's account later in the chapter suggests that he may have regarded the attack on Minster as having occurred in 1009 or 1010 (below, text-note 40).

<sup>31</sup> *inhumana* B.

<sup>32</sup> Ps 78:2-3.

<sup>33</sup> The navigable channel separating Thanet from the mainland came as a result of silting to consist only of the courses of the River Wantsum, flowing northwest, and the River Stour, flowing southeast past Minster. Goscelin is presumably referring to the latter. His use of *fluuius* suggests that the silting process was already well advanced in his time. See D. Hill, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1981), p. 11.

<sup>34</sup> *in nauim* B.

Dei immolarentur Domino. Iam incursante hoste mugitus emittunt in celum ut, si non mererentur ab instanti nece liberari, mererentur tandem a clementissimo Salvatore suscipi. Rigant pauimenta fletibus mox sanguine rigaturi. Tum uero sacratissima cohors uirginum affuse humi cum sacerdotibus et leuitis, sacris uestimentis uelut armatura Dei indutis, commendant<sup>35</sup> et suas et omnium animas in manus benignissimi Redemptoris, in psalmis scilicet et letaniis, cum alta contritione cordis et estuantibus lacrimis. Sacerdotes item cum leuitis ac ceteris Dei ministris uel missas canere uel Dominicas cruces et euangelia tanquam celestia arma affectant manibus gestare, quatinus inter ipsa sacra et sacrificia sacrificium Domini mererentur fieri cum uoto tali: 'Sicut in holocaustis arietum et taurorum et sicut in milibus agnorum pinguum, sic fiat in conspectu tuo Domine sacrificium nostrum. Canite tuba in Sion,<sup>36</sup> quia sacrificium et libamen Domino Deo nostro et solennitas uictimarum Domini est.' O beata commercia! De terrenis dampnis fiunt celestia lucra. Inuadunt itaque uniuersum ouile Christi cruentissime bestie, sagittant, iugulant, transfigunt omnesque pariter nuptos et innuptos, parentes cum liberis et cunctis personis, diuersis armis ac pennis interimunt. Sacerdotes cum comministris sacrorum inter sua libamina mactantur. Beatissime uero uirgines, Dominicis septis incluse, una cum monasterio suo cunctisque officinis pariter concremantur et tanquam aromatum incensa in odorem suauissimum Domino regi et sponso suo offeruntur, a quo uelut astra splendentia in celesti sede, Mildretha duce, componuntur.<sup>37</sup> Talia nimirum incensa data sunt angelo in turibulo aureo, ut adoleret ea in altari aureo coram Domino.<sup>38</sup> Tali igitur fine diuina roseta et florigere Mildrethe plantaria collecta sunt ad Dominum, ut ipsa liberius aliquando mutaret habitaculum a Deo paratum.<sup>39</sup> Neque hoc neglegenter est animaduertendum, in tanta tamque frequenti licentia malorum ipsius sanctissimum monumentum quanta protectione Dei celi semper manserit intactum. Hostes itaque omni inmanitate tota Cantie prouincia depopulata ad Orientales Anglos deuoluuntur, classe nauium ascensa; ibique similiter multa demoliuntur cenobia, nec paruum collegium sanctorum mittunt ad sidera, cesis

<sup>35</sup> *commendauit C.*

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Joel 2:1.

<sup>37</sup> According to the twelfth-century compiler of the *Historia regum*, an abbess 'of St. Mildrith's monastery' called Leofrun was captured in Canterbury by the Vikings in 1011. See *Symeonis monachi Opera omnia*, ed. T. Arnold, 2 vols. (RS 75; London, 1882-85), 2.143. The same account is given by Thorne (*Scriptores*, col. 1908). This should be compared with ASC s.a. 1011, where a certain Leofrun, abbess of an unspecified monastery, is said to have been captured by the Vikings in Canterbury. This event may be subsequent to the massacre described by Goscelin.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Apoc 8:3.

<sup>39</sup> A reference to Mildrith's translation to St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury (see below, pp. 170-76).

Dei famulis et famulabus cum plebe innumera.<sup>40</sup> Cognito uero hostium discessu, insulani Taneti qui per diuersa latibula mortem euaserant ad propria recursant; sed uisa lugubri suorum strage et rerum uastitate miseros se clamitant qui superessent, illos uero beatos qui hec mala morte finissent, immo secundum ecclesie fidem de temporali tribulatione<sup>41</sup> ad eterna gaudia transissent. Dehinc conuenientes tecta monasterii beate Mildrethe restaurant, quod tamen ad pristinam dignitatem nequaquam ultra conualuit, sed quod pridem ter uiginti aut amplius sanctimonialium pollebat caterua, deinceps duorum aut trium clericorum plebeia erat parochia.<sup>42</sup> Iamque ibi Hesperie Mildrethe factum est uespere, ut apud amantissimum patronum Augustinum renascenti surgeret soliferum mane. His modo ad uirginis comitatum expositis, iam uia patet ipsius translationis. Res adeo diuersa et morosa, dignaque explicari potius quam transiliri, amicis auribus mauult satis fieri. Et primo quidem dicemus de rege cuius illa fauore ac de abbate cuius transducta est labore.

## vi

Anno Dominice Incarnationis millesimo septimo, post diuturnam tempestatem bellorum, Athelredo rex Cnutus quasi serenitatis aura successit. O Dei prouidentiam bene cuncta dispensantem et sepe nobis etiam contra nostram sententiam consulentem! Ille externus, ille barbarus, ille cedibus et flammis regna demoliens, cuius dicionem tota Anglia septeno congressu preliorum repulerat, quis crederet quod optento regno pater Anglorum fieret et de Saule quodammodo Dauid exhiberet?<sup>43</sup> Quis natiuus dux, quorum plerique suos deuorant, tantum subditis contulit, tam modestis legibus populos beatificauit?<sup>44</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Goscelin could be thinking of the period 1009-10 when the Viking army moved from Kent to East Anglia (*ASC* s.a.).

<sup>41</sup> *tribulatione temporali* C.

<sup>42</sup> Thorne emphasises the parochial functions of the church at this time (*Scriptores*, col. 1908). Minster-in-Thanel's reduced status is confirmed by the fact that it does not appear as a mother church in the eleventh-century lists of such churches. See *The Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church Canterbury*, ed. D. C. Douglas (London, 1944), pp. 8-13. Instead it appears as a subordinate church of St. Augustine's Abbey in a list contained in the White Book of that house. See G. Ward, 'The Lists of Saxon Churches in the Domesday Monachorum and the White Book of St. Augustine', *Archaeologia cantiana* 45 (1933) 85.

<sup>43</sup> The date should be 1017 (*ASC* s.a.). For an account of Cnut's accession, see *ASE*, pp. 386-93 and 398-99 and L. M. Larson, *Canute the Great* (London, 1912), pp. 85-107. Here and elsewhere Goscelin seems to be reflecting the rosy view of Cnut's reign which was prevalent in England; see *ASE*, p. 398 and Larson, *Canute*, p. 325.

<sup>44</sup> On Cnut's laws, see *ASE*, pp. 409-10; D. Whitelock, 'Wulfstan and the Laws of Cnut', *English Historical Review* 63 (1948) 433-52, and 'Wulfstan's Authorship of Cnut's Laws', *ibid.* 70 (1970) 72-85; and P. Wormald, 'Æthelred the Lawmaker' in *Æthelred the Unready. Papers from the Millenary Conference*, ed. D. Hill (British Archaeological Reports, British Series 59; Oxford, 1978), pp. 47-80.

Sane nec sacerdos nec leuita tam erat proximus plagato quam Samaritanus qui fecit misericordiam in illo.<sup>45</sup> De quo uiro, ut multa insignia pretermittantur, illud quo omnium regum uicit prestantiam memoretur quod, cum quattuor regnorum monarchia precelleret<sup>46</sup> et in die sancto Pasce regalibus insigniis ornatus Wintonie procederet, regiam coronam (que tantam solennitatem decebat gestare) renuit sed coram omni populo et curia sua uero regi regum Christo optulit et capiti crucifixi Domini deuotissime hanc imposuit, dicens se non esse regem nec dignum corona sed illum per quem reges regnant, qui dominatur in regno hominum et cuicumque uoluerit dabit illud, cuius regnum sine fine permanet, in cuius dicione cuncta sunt posita sicut et fecit omnia. Cumque decem et nouem annis potentissime regnaret, nunquam coronari regio fastigio acquieuit, dum se seruum Domini Maiestatis prona reuerentia recolit.<sup>47</sup> Cum uero religiosissima deuotione cuncta fere Britannie cenobia regia munificentia et opibus illustraret, ita precellentissimi protodoctoris Anglorum Augustini ac principum apostolorum Petri et Pauli habitaculum coluit, ut hoc solum sibi cure esse inter cetera uideretur, et uelut apicem regni sui et Anglice Christianitatis instrumentum subnixius ueneraretur.<sup>48</sup> Augebant quoque haud inmemorem eius affectum experta sepe tanti patris beneficia. Simul etiam hoc illi non paruo erat miraculo quod, ante se paganis uastantibus cetera monasteria, istud semper illesum manserit sub tanto defensore suo – nimirum hoc prouidente Domino ut cetera membra respirarent, uertice seruato. Adeo

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Lc 10:29-37.

<sup>46</sup> The title given to Cnut in the late eleventh-century Latin translation of his 1027 proclamation describes him as 'rex totius Anglie et Denemarcie et Norreganorum et partis Suanorum' (printed in *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. F. Liebermann, 3 vols. [Halle, 1903-16], 1.276 and *The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I*, ed. and trans. A. J. Robertson [Cambridge, 1925], pp. 146-47). Alternatively Goscelin may have misunderstood the statement in *ASC* s.a. 1017 that Cnut divided England into four.

<sup>47</sup> Cnut died in 1035 (*ASC* s.a.). Goscelin seems to be the earliest writer to tell this story of Cnut's refusal to wear the crown. It appears in different words in the work of Henry of Huntingdon (*Jl. s. xii med.*), Ralph of Diceto (d. c. 1201), Henry Knighton (d. c. 1396) and John Brompton (*Jl.* 1437), who present it as a sequel to Cnut's order to the tide not to rise. See *The History of the English by Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, from A.C. 55 to A.D. 1154*, ed. T. Arnold (RS 74; London, 1879), p. 189; *The Historical Works of Master Ralph of Diceto, Dean of London*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols. (RS 68; London, 1876), 1.174; *Chronicon Henrici Knighton vel Cnithon, monachi leycestrensis*, ed. J. R. Lumby, 2 vols. (RS 92; London, 1889-95), 1.28; and *Scriptores*, col. 912. It is difficult to judge whether any actual incident lies behind it or whether it was invented to reinforce Cnut's reputation for piety (on which, see *ASE*, pp. 410-11). I am grateful to Dr. Simon Keynes for help with this note.

<sup>48</sup> On Cnut's benefactions, see Larson, *Canute*, pp. 168-77. There is no evidence that he was especially generous to St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, although Thorne repeats Goscelin's assertion (*Scriptores*, col. 1782). The only extant documents purporting to record grants made by Cnut to the abbey are two writs of doubtful authenticity, one of which concerns the translation of St. Mildrith itself. See F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (Manchester, 1952), pp. 190-98 and below, pp. 166-67 and text-note 67.

autem hunc sibi elegerat in omnibus patronum et ita fratrum suorum religiosum amplectebatur contubernium, ut hinc episcopos et magistros aliarum affectaret ecclesiarum. Vnde et uenerabilem uirum Ælmerum, eiusdem cenobii tunc abbatem, in pontificalem cum uite merito assumpsit dignitatem.<sup>49</sup> Ælfstanum uero tunc monasterii prepositum, uirum precipuarum uirtutum, ingenii apud ecclesiam et seculum prestantissimi, illum per quem tandem pretiosissima Domini margarita Mildretha dignaretur huc ad desiderabiles patres suos transferri, Deo amabilis rex tam intimum habuit et uenerabilem ut ei illustrissimum Wintonie pontificatum infligeret, enitens et flagitans omnibus modis ut susciperet. Qui cum pre humilitate nulla acquiesceret ratione, tandem regimen proprie abbacie (licet hic quoque tota uirtute renitens) non potuit recusare, adeo illum obruerant fratrum uel regis preces uiolente, ita nimirum Dei prouidentia uolente.<sup>50</sup> Ordinatus ergo pro Ælmero ab archipresule Ælnotho<sup>51</sup> quod inuitus susceperat ita uoluntarie exercuit, quasi hanc potestatem iam olim sitisset. Vt prelatus ita certabat omnium esse officiosissimus. Quod monebat in se monstrare satagebat. Monasterium situm ut auctoritate ita et opibus principale reddidit; religione uero ac litterarum studiis in totius patrie speculam extulit.<sup>52</sup> Erat carus omnibus meritis totius probitatis, maxime ipsi regi in omni consilio et familiaritate rerumque postulatione acceptabilis. Inter cetera uero quibus dilatabat ecclesie sue tentoria, emerat opulentissimam uillam que Folkestan est appellata, pro qua uenditor medietatem possessionis ecclesie beate Mildrethe (qui tunc possidebat) reposuit.<sup>53</sup> Sic Laban supplantatorem

<sup>49</sup> Ælfmaer was abbot of St. Augustine's Abbey from 1006 to 1023 × 7 and then bishop of Sherborne until an unknown date not later than 1031 (*HRH*, p. 35). It is difficult to verify Goscelin's more general claim that monks of the abbey were widely promoted. Thorne repeats it but adds no further information (*Scriptores*, col. 1782). Goscelin's praise of Ælfmaer in this passage contrasts with his condemnation of him in 'The Life of Saint Wulsin of Sherborne by Goscelin', ed. C. H. Talbot, *Revue bénédictine* 69 (1959) 482.

<sup>50</sup> According to *HRH*, p. 35, Ælfstan was abbot of St. Augustine's Abbey from 1023 × 7 till 1045/6. There is no corroboration of Goscelin's assertion that he was offered the see of Winchester. Doubt is cast on this by Goscelin's later statement (below, p. 166) that Ælfwine was appointed to the see when he refused. Since this person did not become bishop of Winchester until 1032, either Goscelin's account of the course of events is erroneous or the accepted dates of Ælfstan's and Ælfwine's careers are incorrect. See *ASC* s.a. 1032 and W. G. Searle, *Anglo-Saxon Bishops, Kings and Nobles* (Cambridge, 1899), pp. 72-73.

<sup>51</sup> Ælnoth AB. Æthelnoth was archbishop of Canterbury from 1020 until 1038; see Searle, *ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>52</sup> Just as the monastery had been founded preeminent in authority, so he rendered it foremost also in wealth; indeed with religion and scholarship he made it a watchtower for the whole kingdom.'

<sup>53</sup> The meaning seems to be: 'Among other things with which he was expanding the possessions of his church, he had bought a very wealthy vill called Folkestone, for which the vendor put down half the lands of the church of St. Mildrith, which he held at that time.' The vendor in question may have been Christ Church, Canterbury, to which a number of pre-Conquest charters (of varying degrees of authenticity) assign land at Folkestone (see *CS* 660,

Iacob supplantauit et nunc uersa uice Rachel pulcherrimam pro Lia subiecit.<sup>54</sup> Quod diuina factum credimus prouidentia quatinus, dicioni summi Augustini parte uirginalis possessionis adiecta, deuotissime abbati maior accenderetur fiducia, quod ipsa demum uirgo prosequeretur tota.

## vii

Agebatur tunc filia Sion in manu secularis Babylonie captiua; uindemiabant eam omnes mundi uiatores, destructa protectionis Dei maceria; marcescebat humi celestis rosa; uilescebat hominibus angelica margarita; sedebat in terra cum Iob amissa substantia et ipsa ecclesia mundi erat sentina. Indoluit animosa fides abbatis tante dignitatis iniuria, totaque mente exardescit hanc sideream gemmam de raptorum illuue eruere et decentissimo Augustino cum toto ipsius monasterio ac residua possessionis parte adiungere, ubi condigno celebraretur honore. Anhelabat hinc regem deponere sed animaduertit prudenter tantum propositum sine superno<sup>55</sup> nutu et ipsius diuina uirginis uoluntate nequaquam explebile:<sup>56</sup> *cor enim regis in manu Domini et bonum est sperare in Domino quam in principibus.*<sup>57</sup> Ne quid ergo attemptaret temere, studuit assiduis precibus Domini arbitrium consulere ipsamque Deo dilectam magnidicis uotis inuitare.<sup>58</sup>

## viii

Cui iuxta euangelicum nocturni petitoris exemplum perseueranter pulsanti tandem aperuit, nunquam repellens fidelem inopportunitatem, benignitas Dei.<sup>59</sup> Nam quadam nocte, ubi lumina sibi sopor obduxit, internis oculis eius uigilantibus persona prefulgida apparuit, que uultu et habitu lucidissimo astitit

Sawyer 398; J. M. Kemble, *Codex diplomaticus aevi saxonici*, 6 vols. [1839-48], nos. 896 and 1327, Sawyer 981 and 1047; and *Scriptores*, col. 2224). By the time of Domesday Book, Folkestone was held by Odo of Bayeux, who may well have obtained it from St. Augustine's Abbey (*Domesday Book*, ed. A. Farley, 2 vols. [London, 1783], fol. 9b).

<sup>54</sup> 'Thus Jacob supplanted the usurper Laban, and now in turn he substituted the most beautiful Rachel for Leah.' Cf. Gen 29-31.

<sup>55</sup> *superbo* B

<sup>56</sup> The need to ask Cnut's permission for the translation may have been connected with the stipulation of the Council of Mainz that no translations of saints' relics could take place without the consent of the bishop or prince; alternatively it could have arisen because Cnut was actively involving himself in translations as a means of showing himself a worthy heir to the piety of the English dynasties. See *Concilia aevi karolini* 1, ed. A. Werminghoff (MGH *Leg.* 3.2; Hanover-Leipzig, 1906), p. 272; and (on Cnut's involvement in translations) Harmer, *Writs*, p. 191, and *ML*, p. 58.

<sup>57</sup> Prov 21:1; Ps 117:9.

<sup>58</sup> '... and he strove to attract the one beloved of God (sc. Mildrith) by vows in which he offered her great things' (literally 'by bragging vows').

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Lc 11:5-8.

trepidantique hoc insolito iubare blandiens dixit: 'Letificare te, uenerabilis pater, hec amica presentia et hic iocundus splendoris intuitus debet, non terrere. Scias enim me tam fidelem quam optatum tibi nuntium adesse, tu modo dictis meis fidem et intellectum incunctanter adhibe. Certissime quippe de pretiosi corporis alme Mildrethe translatione desiderium et uotum tuum consequeris, Dominoque cooperante subsequenti tempore hoc gaudium tuum adimpletum uidebis. Sic enim placitum<sup>60</sup> et decretum est gratie Dei dilecte sponse sue honori multorumque saluti prospicienti, sic et ipsi in Domino suo gratissimum est uirgini.<sup>61</sup> Nil ergo dubites regis expetere beniuolentiam, apud quem Deo aspirante inuenies gratiam. Verumtamen angustiarum patieris procellam, quia aduersarius Iob<sup>62</sup> per inuidie satellites tibi excitabit pugnam, ut eo gloriosius quo laboriosius hanc optineas palmam.' His dictis qui loqui uidebatur disparuit, et somniator euigilans e stratu exiliit, ita in iubilo cordis exhilaratus ac si iam optata fuisset adeptus.

## ix

Continuo, remota omni ambiguitate, postpositis rerum negotiis, uelut uenditis omnibus que possidebat, ad emendum hanc unam pretiosam margaritam exestuat quam inuenerat.<sup>63</sup> Ad summum amicum suum Wintonie pontificem proficiscitur Ælfuuinum,<sup>64</sup> quem pro se gauderet intronizatum, uirum illustris animi, excellentis consilii, inuicte fidei, infatigabilis auxilii et apud regem accessus potentissimi. Huic fidissimo cordis sui sigillo intimat et misterium intentionis sue et reuelationis diuine, ipsumque in omni bono beniuolum et maxime tanti amici beniuolentie congratulantem ad regis interpellationem celerem et ultroneum accipit comitem. Rex gratissime suscipiens utriusque suggestionem, dat ultro per amicum abbatem dilectissimo patrono suo Augustino et reliquam possessionis alme Mildrethe portionem et totius simul iuris ac monasterii eius intra et extra insulam dicionem, partesque ab iniquorum tyrannide ereptas in ipsius summe ecclesie resolidat unitatem atque in unicam hereditatem.<sup>65</sup> Id adeo regio testamento et priuilegio est perpetuatum

<sup>60</sup> *placidum* AC.

<sup>61</sup> 'For just as it was resolved and decreed by God's grace, providing for the honour of his beloved spouse and for the salvation of many, so also it is most pleasing to the virgin herself in her Lord.'

<sup>62</sup> sc. Satan.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Mt 13:44 and 46.

<sup>64</sup> Ælfwinum B. Ælfwine, bishop of Winchester, 1023-47; see above, text-note 50, and Searle, *Bishops, Kings and Nobles*, pp. 72-73.

<sup>65</sup> The early charters of Minster-in-Thamet claim that the abbey received lands on the Isle itself and also on the mainland at Sturry, Bodsham, *bi Northanuude* and various places in the Weald, as well as grants of privileges, specifically of toll-remission for ships entering London, Fordwich and Sarre (C.S. 35, 40, 41, 42, 44, 86, 88, 96, 141, 149, 150, 177, 188, 189 and 846;

omniumque pontificum et<sup>66</sup> magnatum regni subscriptione astipulatum.<sup>67</sup> Petitionem autem transducende uirginis benignis modo pollicitationibus refouit, uerum in tempus oportunius et consultius uti tantam rem protelauit. Nec dubium diuinitus hoc fuisse induciatum, quatinus uenerabilis Ælfstani ex dilatione cresceret desiderium et ex difficultate cumularetur gaudium. Hinc uero enarrare uetat series proposita quos aduersitatum impetus, quas supplantationes et seductiones pertulerit a quodam maxime Leofuuino potentissimo<sup>68</sup> pecuniarum ac terrarum impendiis uix placabili, et ab insulanis diuitiarum fastu ac libertate tunc indomitis, aliisque ecclesie emulis insidiantibus sibi diuersis tignis.<sup>69</sup>

## X

Interea religiosus rex, Romam proficiscens ad orationem principum apostolorum, illud apostolicum ipsorum apud suum Augustinum ante omnia reuisit domicilium, quatinus huius domus interuentu et huius patris comitatu ad ipsam arcem ecclesiarum prosperum ageret cursum atque inde ad sua recursum.<sup>70</sup> Aderat in reliquo primatum contubernio ille preclarissimus presul

Sawyer 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 26, 29, 86, 87, 91, 143, 1180 and 1648). On the authenticity or otherwise of these charters see A. Scharer, *Die angelsächsische Königsurkunde im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1982), especially pp. 73-84, 86-92, 103-106, 115-16, 196-207 and 210-11. Sturry, Bodsham and Fordwich were all held by St. Augustine's Abbey in 1086 (*Domesday Book*, fol. 12a-b) and Fordwich was the subject of a writ of Edward the Confessor in favour of the abbey (Harmer, *Writs*, no. 39). Tenterden may also have belonged to Minster at an early date since the name means 'den of the Thanet men' and the church there was dedicated to Mildrith (see *ML*, p. 36). The rights to Minster's estates had presumably reverted to the crown and were thus in Cnut's gift.

<sup>66</sup> ac C.

<sup>67</sup> A document purporting to be a Latin translation of a writ of Cnut is preserved in the thirteenth-century cartulary of St. Augustine's Abbey (London, British Library Cotton Julius D.ii) and printed and discussed in Harmer, *Writs*, pp. 191-97, 198 and 454-57. Serious doubt can be cast on its authenticity but the possibility that a genuine Old English document lies behind it cannot be ruled out. If there was such a document, Goscelin's account is garbled since the Latin translation of the alleged writ has no subscribers (i.e., is a writ rather than a charter) and grants the body of Mildrith together with the lands of her monastery.

<sup>68</sup> Leowino petentissimo B.

<sup>69</sup> 'Hence indeed the < complexity of the > series of events which befell forbids us to narrate what attacks of adversity....' A document recording a settlement between Ælfstan and Leofwine, possibly a priest of Dover, about St. Mildrith's property (?) is printed by A. J. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (Cambridge, 1939), p. 190. Its editor assigns it to 1044/5, suggesting that the dispute was indeed long-drawn-out. The document also suggests that Cnut's role may not have been as simple as Goscelin asserts since Leofwine is represented as saying that he bought the lands in question off Cnut. No other documents relating to Ælfstan's dealings with holders of St. Mildrith's lands are extant.

<sup>70</sup> 'Meanwhile the religious king, when he was setting out for Rome to pray to the princes of the apostles, revisited as a first priority that apostolic domicile of theirs at the monastery of his

Ælfuwinus,<sup>71</sup> ad iter et consilia regis electissimus et abbati (ut prenotatum est) amicissimus. Hic, facta ab omnibus ad sanctos summissa oratione, iterum regem sollicitat de sancte Mildrethe transmigratione. Tum rex, coram ipso presule et patre monasterii ceterisque amicis, adiecta beati patris tumbe dextera, patria uoce se in hec astringit uota: 'Si larga Domini gratia me, huius sanctissimi patroni mei Augustini (sepe michi in necessitate probatissimi) sociorumque eius suffragiis, prospere deduxerit et reduxerit, sciatis quod promitto hoc suum sacrosanctum habitaculum munifice donandum et, quod nostra pompa ditius est, beatissime uirginis Mildrethe translatione – uoluntas Dei modo faueat – illustrandum. Vbi enim unquam decentius conueniet hanc sanctam et regiam gemmam proponi quam in hac precellentissima sanctorum aula inter beatorum scilicet parentum suorum regum insignia et inter apostolicorum Anglice renouationis principum splendentia candelabra?' <sup>72</sup> Iam illam, credo, huc inuitant ipsi progenitores sui reges, quorum purpuras condecorat eternaliter uernans rosa quorumque ipsa est corona. Iam adducunt sibi diuini patres, archipresules et abbates in letitia, quos tota uirtute ac dilectione emulata est filia.<sup>73</sup> Dignius itaque in hac arce preclara, inter tanta luminaria ueneratorumque officia, lucebit hec lampas siderea quam in illa desolata ubi iam uilescit ecclesia.' Hec memorabiliter prefatus omniumque precibus comitatus, propositum iter explet deuotus, gentibus et linguis gratosus quod, regnorum basileus, apostolicus excessisset peregrinus. Rome quoque exorata precelsorum apostolorum soluendi et patrociniandi potentia, ubi regia litat dona, quod de beata Mildretha sponderat prefati pontificis hortatu sedulo confirmat, quo prospere redeat.

own Augustine ....' Cnut is known to have made a journey to Rome in 1027 (*ASC* 2.206-207). Since Goscelin represents Mildrith's translation in 1035 as an almost immediate consequence of the journey presented here, he must either be describing an otherwise unknown second journey made by Cnut to Rome, or he is muddling the chronology and associating the 1027 journey with the 1035 translation in order to introduce the miracle story told in chapter 11. For arguments in favour of the second of these possibilities, see F. Barlow, 'Two Notes: Cnut's Second Pilgrimage and Queen Emma's Disgrace in 1043', *English Historical Review* 73 (1958) 650-51.

<sup>71</sup> *Alfwinus* A, *Ælwinus* B. See above, p. 166.

<sup>72</sup> '... know that I promise to endow this his sacrosanct habitation munificently and, what is richer than all our pomp, I promise to make it illustrious by the translation of the most blessed virgin Mildrith (if only the will of God should favour this). For where was there ever a place more suitable for this holy and royal jewel to be placed than in this preeminent hall of the saints, in other words, among the memorials of her blessed royal relatives and among the splendid candelabra of the apostolic princes who brought about the renewal of England?' Goscelin is referring to the functions of St. Augustine's Abbey as a burial place of the kings of Kent and the early archbishops of Canterbury. See *EH* 1.33.

<sup>73</sup> 'Now in happiness the divine fathers, archbishops and abbots lead her to them, they whom the girl emulated in all virtue and love.'

xi<sup>74</sup>

Regressus tandem feliciter cum apostolica absolutione ac benedictione ad Anglicum oceanum, obuia suorum classe letissime excipitur ac deducitur. Fauebat grata maris temperies et uenti comites, librant ad summum uela naute gratulantes. Iam medietate pelagi transcursa, iam patria oculis hausta, insolescebant securitate uaga pectora. Tum regia fiducia plus forte intendebat regnum quam gubernatorem suum Augustinum.<sup>75</sup> Pungendus erat et docendus, cuius hactenus patrocínio esset deductus. Repente ergo horrida tempestas exoritur; mare subuertitur, procellosis montibus ad sidera surgit et in Tartara dehiscit. Puppis iactantur turbinibus et inter fluctuosos scopulos ac infernos gurgites pendula prora subitam minatur uoraginem.<sup>76</sup> Insequitur clamorque uirum, stridorque rudentum.<sup>77</sup> Pro ludo subiit letalis terror, pro gaudio plangor; presentemque uiris intentant omnia mortem.<sup>78</sup> Rex ipse, qui se putauerat totum imperium suum<sup>79</sup> iam manu tenere, etiam uite cepit diffidere nec de tota quattuor regnorum monarchia saltem sibi speratur sepultura.<sup>80</sup> Iam pene absorbendus hiatu fluctuum, querula uoce notum inclamitat sui Augustini patrocínium: 'Ad hocne' inquit 'pater sancte, hucusque illesum deduxisti, ut sepelires in hac lacuna pelagi et marinarum beluarum traderes ingluuiei? An sepulchra non erant peregrino tuo in tanto terrarum spatio nisi in hac abyssu? Quis ultra presumet de tuis subsidiis si tantopere me tibi commendatum deserueris? Succurre iam succurre, mi pater Augustine, et erue naufragum tuum solita subuentione ab instanti nece quatinus, una cum pretioso coadiutricis Mildrethe thesauro, uota mea reddam Domino in suo sancto,<sup>81</sup> cui

<sup>74</sup> *de miraculo Augustini* A, added in a later hand between the chapters. Goscelin subsequently retold this miracle in slightly different form in chapter 5 of his *Libellus de miraculis sancti Augustini*, printed in *Acta sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, ed. J. Mabillon, 9 vols. (Venice, 1733), 1.525-26.

<sup>75</sup> 'Now, having crossed half the ocean and having drunk in their homeland with their eyes, the breasts of the wanderers became puffed up with a feeling of security. Now perhaps the king was placing all his trust in his kingdom rather than in his governor, Augustine.' Although the syntax of the second sentence is complicated by the fact that *fiducia* is made the subject, the above seems to be Goscelin's meaning.

<sup>76</sup> '... the heaving bows were left hanging over a horrid void.' The vocabulary and imagery of this and the preceding sentence seem to be derived from Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.102-107. The presentation of the whole incident of the storm seems in fact to have been inspired by the storm which Juno inflicted on Aeneas' fleet and which Neptune calmed (*ibid.* 1.81-156).

<sup>77</sup> *ibid.* 1.87.

<sup>78</sup> *ibid.* 1.91.

<sup>79</sup> *suum* om. B.

<sup>80</sup> 'The king himself, who had thought that his whole empire was then in his hands, also began to despair of his life and to look for no more from the rule of his four kingdoms than a place to be buried.'

<sup>81</sup> *sancto suo* C.

tu presides, templo.' Vix preces finierat et ecce ad nomen dilecti Deo presulis, cui Dominus amicissime diceret (ut intimo Moysi) 'Nouite ex nomine', euangelicum Dominici imperii miraculum apparuit.<sup>82</sup> Extimplo enim omnis furor aeris et ponti uelut tenebre a facie lucis euanuit, utque populosa seditio a terrore potentioris presentie conquieuit.<sup>83</sup> Fit dicto citius magna tranquillitas, mira serenitas atque a periculo gratior multo<sup>84</sup> securitatis iocunditas. Ita celeberrimus Augustinus uirtutibus probauit se presentem<sup>85</sup> adesse, et uidebatur proloqui inclamantibus leta rerum facie: 'Ecce assum: quid uocastis me?' 'Qualis est hic' dicebant et mirantes naute 'cui in uice Domini qui mirabilis est in sanctis suis parent elementa, obediunt uenti et mare?' Et quid mirum si imperat flatibus uentorum, qui dominatur spiritibus aeriarum potestatum? Nichil ergo rex dampni pertulit uel rerum uel hominum in tanto turbine, ut sciret sanctum ductorem suum se probare uelle, non ledere.<sup>86</sup> Nil agunt ale nauium cessantibus uentis; frustra protenduntur carbasa; naute remis nituntur ad litora. Hoc itaque miraculum terra pelagoque potentis Augustini haud onerosum uideatur<sup>87</sup> in hac serie gloriose uirginis Mildrethe recenseri, siue proprium siue commune sit utriusque,<sup>88</sup> cum illa iam unum idemque cenobium eius sortita sit cohabitationis et caritatis unanimitate.

## xii

Vbi ergo rex litus optatum contigit, sua Anglia congaudens occurrit, letis sinibus parentem suum excipit; turbe ecclesiarum solenniter candidate obuiam procedunt, canoris laudibus saluant, expetunt et conducunt. Ille haud immemor liberatoris sui cum omnibus ad precellentissimum Augustinum contendit. Susceptus omnium iubilo preces et uota sua regaliter persoluit, narransque omnibus prosperitatis uel temptationis sue seriem in celum gratias agit. Suggestionem episcopi Ælfwini<sup>89</sup> de translatione sancte Mildrethe letissime annuit, ipsumque monasterii patrem Ælfstanum in diem Pentecostes iam imminentem uenire ad se precepit. Venit, immo ipsum diem prescriptum anteuenit, et in illo sancto Sabbato regis donum, regina Emma simul fauente, totumque desiderium suum cum regiis litteris Deo aspirante optinuit.<sup>90</sup> Nec moram passus nec requiem (iuxta illud poeticum Lucani, 'nocuit differre

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Ex 33:17, and Mt 8:26, Mc 4:37 and Lc 8:22.

<sup>83</sup> The image of the storm as a popular sedition is taken from Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.148-156.

<sup>84</sup> *multa* B.

<sup>85</sup> *uirtutibus se probauit se presentem* A.

<sup>86</sup> '... so that he should know that his saintly leader wanted to test and not harm him.'

<sup>87</sup> *uideretur* B.

<sup>88</sup> *utrisque* AC.

<sup>89</sup> *Alfuini* AC.

<sup>90</sup> Formerly queen of King Æthelred II, Emma was married to Cnut in 1017 (*ASC* s.a.).

paratis<sup>91</sup>): eodem Sabbato rediit et crastino in Tanetum beate Mildrethe hospitium, ipso scilicet die Pentecostes, peruenit.<sup>92</sup> Qui quamuis regia suique dominii auctoritate munitus sit, tamen efferum populi animum (dissimulato negotio ne quid turbaretur) prudenter eludit. Ingenti et uario conuiuiorum apparatu turbam primorum et plebis asciscit, suisque ministrantibus uel conuiuantibus sobrietatem priuatim indicit. Post epulas letum ducere tam solennem diem postulat, ipse a conuiuio quasi ab itinere fessus declinat causamque aduentus docte dissimulat.<sup>93</sup>

## xiii

Sub noctem omnibus infatigata amministratione fatigatis et ad sua regressis, peruigil pater cum fidissimis et electissimis monachis ac militibus suis, quos prouide adduxerat, gloriose Mildrethe ecclesiam tanquam suam capellam intrat, ostia intrinsecus diligenter<sup>94</sup> offirmat et quasi cuncta sibi in manus data exultat.<sup>95</sup> Itaque prelibata oratione cum diuina reuerentia et tremore ad celestis thesauri tumbam accedunt, amouendo operculo manus cum ferramentis incutiunt. Quid enim nisi protinus cessurum uiribus<sup>96</sup> lapidem crederent, primo modestius, deinde acrius instant.<sup>97</sup> Deficiunt inanes conatus. Insurgunt, impellunt, insudant, et lapis instar scopuli manet immotus. Stupent brachia, languent uires, et contra omnia ferramenta saxum eis uertitur in calibem et clauos et malleos et secures retundit. Iam multum noctis transierat et nichil promouerant. Cum mora sit furtis contraria, non parum eos uexabat hec mora. Ad hec memorabilis pater, multa secum uoluens, ingemuit diuque elusos conatus cessare precepit. 'Aliis' inquit 'armis hec duricies uincenda est.' Itaque cum omnibus in orationem procidit et inter lacrimosa suspiria in tales questus prorupit: 'Heu beata domina! Que est hec offensio nostra, que auersio tua? Si hinc abduci uis cur resistis? Si uero renuis cur irritos labores imposuisti nobis?

<sup>91</sup> Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* 1.281.

<sup>92</sup> This reference to a hospice of St. Mildrith is presumably evidence of active pilgrimage to her shrine, although Goscelin may of course be referring to a hospice which existed in his own time but may not have existed in Ælfstan's.

<sup>93</sup> 'After the meal he asked that such a day of festival should be spent happily, and he himself left the banquet (as if tired from his journey), cunningly concealing the real purpose of his coming.'

<sup>94</sup> *diligenter* om. A.

<sup>95</sup> For a discussion of the literary tradition and general significance of presenting translations as thefts (as Goscelin does here), see P. J. Geary, *Furta sacra. Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1978).

<sup>96</sup> *suis uiribus* B.

<sup>97</sup> 'For, believing nothing less than that the stone would at once yield to their strength, they attacked it, at first moderately, then fiercely.'

Credidimus diuinis super te reuelationibus ut hec presumeremus. An tu<sup>98</sup> deuotos famulos fantasiis deludi patereris? Ne nos, quesumus, des in opprobrium hominum et commotionem capitis in populis et fabulam seculi, ne subsannemur nostris nisibus exinaniti. Veni iam ueni, desiderantissima, ad precellentissimos patres et proauos tuos, ad ecclesiasticos et regios principes nostros. Auge gloriam domus Dei lampadibus tuis, induere tot sanctorum contuberniis uelut uestibus ac monilibus tuis, quatinus cum eis suppliciter<sup>99</sup> uenereris in eadem ecclesia cum quibus sullimiter triumphas in celesti regia. Vouemus enim quod et nos et<sup>100</sup> omnis posteritas nostra obseruemus federe perpetuo tua festa precipuis sanctorum<sup>101</sup> solenniis omnimodis coequanda omnique die ad cumulum glorie tue super sacrosancta pignora tua matutinalis misse celebranda sacramenta, semper etiam tam diebus quam noctibus concelebrandam te inter sanctorum preconia.<sup>102</sup> Talia patris uota omnes ultro confirmantes eius hortatu opus repetunt. Iam uirgine promissis pacata quasi dote sibi data, dant gratum miraculum lapidosa obstacula impellentibus iam leuiter cedentia. Mirantur ut prius difficultatem, ita nunc facilitatem. Nunc est obsequio quod erat prius impedimento.

## xiv

Panditur ut arca testamenti uirginalis apoteca; lucent oculis aurea pignora ut cerea mella. Verum precurrunt bibulas nares incomparabilia odoramenta, omnem suauitatem spirantia. Eminus sentitur quod querebatur, antequam penitus uideatur. Impletur intrinsecus ecclesia extrinsecus atria, omnesque inebriant effusa thimiamata uelut ab uberrimo fonte dulcedinis late erumpentia flumina. Reddebat scilicet nardiflua uirgo antiqua aromata, que supra scripsimus in prima translatione sub abbatissa Eadburga<sup>103</sup> late respersa, quando inuenta est ut uiuens integra.<sup>104</sup> Nunc autem resoluta corpore in pulcherrimum partum et natiuitatem resurrectionis, tanquam tritis pigmentis dedit odorem uite perhennis. Igitur gaudentibus cunctis, sicut exultant uictores capta preda, preclarus pater una cum fratribus reuerentissime cum incenso<sup>105</sup> orationum accedit, oblata diuinitus pignora cum tremore colligit et, ut auarus auri ac gemmarum, totas reliquias exhaurit uixque ipsum puluerem pigmentarium orbate plebi relinquit. Ipsi fratres, impigri seruitores, sacra spolia nitidis lintheis

<sup>98</sup> *An ut tu* A.

<sup>99</sup> *suppliciter* om. A.

<sup>100</sup> *et* s.s. C.

<sup>101</sup> *contuberniis ... sanctorum* om. B.

<sup>102</sup> Goscelin emphasises later that this was actually done. See below, pp. 180 and 188.

<sup>103</sup> *Ædburga* B.

<sup>104</sup> A reference to the *Vita Mildrethe*. See *ML*, p. 143.

<sup>105</sup> *incensu* ABC.

excipiunt et parato scrinio inuoluta reponunt. Onus suaue imponitur feretro, operitur pretioso pallio atque effertur euangelice quaterno humero,<sup>106</sup> scilicet ab ipso abbate preclaro, a domno decano Goduino, a confratribus honorificis Benedicto et Rodulfo, ut erant colonne monasterii insignes, persone honorabiles et sacre religionis proceres. Hoc diuino curru, hac quadriga Dei, cum indefessis ymnis et precibus transportatur arca Domini.

## XV

Vix ad naues peruenerant, uix cum beato triumpho et suis omnibus intrauerant, cum repente hac fama plebs concitata undique accurrit armata. Dat animos et in pastorem suum ac ministros semisopita grassatur temulentia.<sup>107</sup> Iam uolucris cimba in tractum sagitte a terra abrepta, populus irruens ripam occupat acie glomerata. Quorum unus prestantior, Lyofstanus nomine,<sup>108</sup> clamabat in abbatem librata cuspidē: 'Ælfstane, Ælfstane, nisi michi herili reuerentia uidereris prestare, iam scirent latera tua uim huius dextere, quid hoc posset missile, quid reposceretur a te.' Sed ad hec iactata in uentum iurgia taciti preteruolant, quibus tunc fugiendi cura erat, non disputandi. At minis suis frustrata in talem querimoniam plebis uertitur ira: 'Quare, domina, a natua hereditate tua tanto seculo inhabitata recedis et a propriis ad aliena transis? Quo reatu nostro nos relinquis? Quid debitorum tibi uel ecclesie tue non persoluimus?' Ad hos planctus, quasi benigna uirgine respiciente, uidebantur brachia remigum languescere et nauis resistere uelle. Verum attentiori prece monachorum (ut iumentum stimulis) impulsa, euadit iam et minantium uultus et discrimina. Redit plebs confusa ad ecclesiam, gemit desolationem suam sueque negligentie culpam. Nec tamen beatam matrem totam amiserat cuius sacratissime carnis salutaris pulvis remanserat, nec desinit consolari plebem suam crebrisque miraculis ac reuelationibus suam ibidem nichilominus monstrare presentiam, quorum consequenti loco dabimus euentiam.<sup>109</sup>

## xvi

At felicissimus abbas, ubi ad terram deuenit, tante glorie preconem celerrimum populis et monasterio suo dirigit, occurrere fratres cum omni plebe,

<sup>106</sup> Presumably an allusion to the story in Mc 2:3 of the paralytic carried before Jesus by four men.

<sup>107</sup> This sentence is obscure. It may mean: 'Half-senseless drunkenness gives them boldness (*animos*) and rages against their shepherd and ministers.'

<sup>108</sup> *Lyfstanus* AC. A number of persons of this name are listed in W. G. Searle, *Onomasticon anglo-saxonicum* (Cambridge, 1897) but none of them can be plausibly identified with the Leofstan mentioned here.

<sup>109</sup> See below, chapters 19, 21, 24, 25, 32, 33, 34 and 37.

cum omni dignitate precipit. Fama dulciflua uernantibus alis ubique refundit tante fragrantie suauitatem, ac si fumus aromatum totum impleat aerem. Vndique occurritur; rura, domus, urbes uacuantur; postpositis rerum negotiis una processione festiuitas agitur; tota obuiam Cantia effunditur. Vna omnium iubilatio, una uox exultationis et salutis, unica omnes tripudia ingeminant: 'Mildretha nobis uenit beata, beata uenit nobis Mildretha. *Benedicta que uenit nobis*<sup>110</sup> *in nomine Domini*.'<sup>111</sup> Sed frons huius letitie et signifera tota ornamentis suis induitur Augustini ducis ecclesia; et de hac arce et aula Dominica sua progreditur familia, monachorum scilicet et clericorum caterua festiue candidata purpureisque et aurotextis cultibus splendida.<sup>112</sup> Augent sacratum cetum et aliarum ecclesiarum collegia. Quicquid honoris erat et sacrorum in celestis aduene certatim effertur ambitum. Attolluntur gemmis et auro radiantia Christi trophea, cruces auree et fulgida uexilla, aurea sanctorum scrinia, aurei textus et philacteria, candelabra, turibula et thimiamateria solaribus radiis respondentia et cuncta in sponsam Domini proferuntur ecclesie monilia. Iam extra urbem ultra miliarium turbis anhelanter progressis occurrit uirgo Deo amabilis, angelis et hominibus desiderabilis, inuenta gratissime deuotorum fratrum humeris. A cuius aspectu letissimo mox una cum clero tertio in faciem ruit uniuersa multitudo, Sanctam scilicet Trinitatem ad illud templum sanctum suum adorando, in quo sibi Christus perpetuam mansionem fecerat cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto. Ipse in ea adoratur qui et suscipitur.<sup>113</sup> Tunc illud odoriferum corpus, illud celeste thimiamaterium, crematis aromatibus incensatur; tunc laudisonus ymnus resultantis choree in astra tollitur, cimbala et organa concrepantur simulque et dulcimodis canoribus et nardifluis uaporibus ethera permulcentur. Cantus et fletus uariantur uno gaudio, cumulatur populosa oblatio. Addunt choros senes et iuuenes, matres et uirgines ac letanias uel sacras laudes docte coniubilant patria uoce.<sup>114</sup> Congratulantur superna contubernia et summis et imis Deum collaudantibus una consonat ecclesia. Videres fidei oculis et ipsos angelicos patres, Augustinum, Laurentium, Mellitum, Theodorum ceterosque diuine aule consulares<sup>115</sup> sedibus suis assurgere, leto occursu filiam

<sup>110</sup> *nobis* om. B.

<sup>111</sup> Mt 23:39; Mc 11:9; Lc 13:35; Jo 12:13.

<sup>112</sup> 'But the vanguard and standard-bearer of this happiness, the church of the leader Augustine, adorned herself with ornaments; and, from this citadel and hall of the Lord, his family came out, a crowd of monks and clerics dressed in white in festive style and splendidly adorned with purple and cloth-of-gold.'

<sup>113</sup> 'At the sight of her the entire crowd, together with the joyful clergy, fall on their faces three times in adoration of the Holy Trinity in that holy church, in which Christ had made a perpetual dwelling for himself with the Father and the Holy Spirit. He himself is adored in the church into which he is received.'

<sup>114</sup> Goscelin seems to be implying that the laity participated in the vernacular.

<sup>115</sup> The persons named were archbishops of Canterbury respectively from 597-604, 604-619, 619-624 and 668-690. The other 'consuls' whom Goscelin had in mind presumably included

dilectionis sue excipere, regiam sponsam Domini gloriose deducere et celestem reginam nouo thalamo inferre, nouo thoro collocare, quam tali uoto in suum sisterent habitaculum: 'Benedicta filia tu a Domino, mane nobiscum in eternum.' Tali supernorum et infimorum triumpho in principalem celestium ianitorum Petri et Pauli ecclesiam omni nitore suo redimitam uirgo triumphalis Mildretha inuehitur, et ante principale altare, loco adeo parato, cum gloria et indefessis concentibus thesaurizatur, ubi perpetua ueneratione signisque ac uisionibus clarificatur.<sup>116</sup> Nec dubium etiam precellentissimos apostolos, obuia congratulatione, carissimum pignus paterno sinu collegisse et hoc splendidissimum ornamentum de humiliori ad sullimiolem domum suam transpositum triumphasse.

## xvii

In cuius salutifero aduentu ut appareret terrigenis<sup>117</sup> etiam supernas uirtutes congaudere, protinus misericordiam celi distillauere et signa salutis dedere, Domino dante benignitatem et terra nostra fructum suum.<sup>118</sup> Iam enim ultra trium mensium tempora, quibus semina rerum sumerent incrementa, parturientibus terris negabatur nutrix pluuias. Squalebat mundi facies macie et ariditate, et pro uirectis ac uernali flore senescere orbis cepit antequam pubescere. Defluxerant camporum come, caluities erat pro gramine, sterilitas pro germine, uastitas pro ubertate, desperatio uite desperatis prouentibus terre. In beate ergo Mildrethe presentia cuncta sunt restituta. Celum dedit pluuiam et terra dedit fructum suum. Nam in ipso eius translatio aduentu tantus torrens imbrium inundauit, ut Heliam post trium annorum sterilitatem uenisse crederes.<sup>119</sup> Recepit mundus decorem suum et rediuiua tellus reddit uerna gramina, pingit prata floribus et credita semina<sup>120</sup> germinat in fructus. O dilecte Deo uirginis gratia in qua mortalibus tanta proueniunt beneficia! Siccitate omnia moriebantur; in huius declaratione omnia renascuntur. Tali nimirum

Justus, Honorius and Brihtwald, all archbishops buried in the church, together with Queen Bertha's chaplain Liudhard and the early kings. See above, n. 72.

<sup>116</sup> Mildrith's relics occupied this position only until the time of Abbot Wulfric (1047-59), who moved them into the north *porticus* in the course of his attempt to reconstruct the church. When the church was successfully rebuilt by the Norman abbots Scotland (1070-87) and Wido (1087-93), the relics were enshrined in the crypt of the new church. See W. St. J. Hope, 'Recent Discoveries in the Abbey-Church of St. Austin', *Archaeologia* 66 (1915) 390.

<sup>117</sup> *terrigenis* s.s. C.

<sup>118</sup> 'The heavenly powers, so that they might show earth-dwellers that they too rejoiced in Mildrith's salutary coming, at once distilled the mercy of heaven and gave signs of salvation, with the Lord giving his good-will and the earth its fruit.'

<sup>119</sup> On Elijah's role in bringing rain, see 3 Reg 18:41-45.

<sup>120</sup> *credita semina*: 'the seeds entrusted to it'.

signo ostendere uoluit quod ad electum perpetue mansionis locum peruenerit. Hic igitur (sicut pater Ælfstanus pro omnibus et presentibus et posteris pollicitus est et effecit) ad eius uitalem tumulum, parata ara, cotidie matutinalis missa in tante adiutricis patrocinia assiduatur, cotidie ipsa inter sanctorum iubilos recolitur et dies huius acceptissime translationis, huius salutaris uisitationis, huius presentationis et letitie perhennis, dies que nunquam occidat in cordibus nostris, annuatim celebratur uotisque ac meritis mutuo hoc debetur ut indélébiliter celebretur.<sup>121</sup> Que lucifera translatio acta constat anno Incarnationis Christi millesimo tricesimo, die<sup>122</sup> quinto decimo Kalendas Iunii, sub Benedicto apostolico Rome, Henrico imperatore, Cnuto<sup>123</sup> Anglici orbis rege, Ægelnotho Dorobernie archipresule, Ælfstano huius triumphii baiulo, summi Augustini auguste domus rectore.<sup>124</sup>

## xviii

Iam inclita Mildretha promisso thalamo collocata, reuelationes ipsius et miracula, que oculis uidimus uel uidemus, assidue par est etiam lectione uel pauca de multis recolere ut, que cognouimus uisa, nepotes nostri post nos uideant et hereditent scripta. Igitur post regem Cnutum<sup>125</sup> filii eius Haroldus quinquennio, Hardecnutus biennio, nam is subita morte raptus est, regna cum uita terminauerunt.<sup>126</sup> Sic, Dei prouidentia ordinante omnia prout uult, suscepit Anglia indigenam regem Eaduardum, Æthelredo rege et Emma progenitum.<sup>127</sup> Quo Salomonica pace regnante, ipsa eius genitrix accusabatur regem Norðuegorum, Magnum nomine, ad inuadendum Anglicum imperium concitasse suosque thesauros infinitos secum illi dedidisse.<sup>128</sup> Hinc proditrix

<sup>121</sup> For the manner in which Mildrith's feast was observed at St. Augustine's Abbey, see *Customary of the Benedictine Monasteries of Saint Augustine, Canterbury, and Saint Peter, Westminster*, ed. E. M. Thompson, 2 vols. (Henry Bradshaw Society 23, 28; London, 1902-1904), 1.375, 377, 382 and 432, and 2.255, 260, 281 and 310, inter alia.

<sup>122</sup> *die eras*. B, om. A.

<sup>123</sup> *Kenuto* AC.

<sup>124</sup> Goscelin repeats this clause dating Mildrith's translation in his 'Contra usurpatores' (*HP*, p. 84). The persons mentioned are: Pope Benedict ix (1033-48); either Emperor Henry ii (1002-24) or Henry iii (1039-56); King Cnut (1016-35); Æthelnoth, archbishop of Canterbury (1020-38); and Abbot Ælfstan (1023 × 7-1045/6). The date 1030 clearly cannot be right and must be an error for 1035, in which year Whitsunday did indeed fall on 15 Kal. Iunii (18 May). In that case, the emperor's name must also be an error, the emperor in 1035 being Conrad and not Henry. See Barlow, 'Two Notes', 651.

<sup>125</sup> *Kenutum* AC.

<sup>126</sup> *terminarunt* B. Harold Harefoot, king of England (1035/6-40), and Harthacnut, king of England (1040-42). The dates are problematic (*HBC*, p. 30).

<sup>127</sup> Edward the Confessor, king of England (1042-66). B reads 'Eduuardum'.

<sup>128</sup> Emma's disgrace, which occurred in 1043, is also described in *ASC* (D) s.a. and in *Florentii Wigorniensis monachi Chronicon ex chronicis*, ed. B. Thorpe, 2 vols. (London, 1848-

regni, hostis patrie, insidiatrix filii iudicatur, uniuersaque substantia eius regni proscribitur. Wintonie morabatur, ibi tota diripitur. Franguntur conclauia, perrumpuntur penetralia, reserantur clausa, rimantur archana. Euertunt congestos regum thesauros, montes auri et argenti fulgidos. Extrahunt thecas et scrinia diuitiarum, insignia ornamentorum, uasa gemmea, aurea et argentea, et uix in plebeio cultu relinquitur uastata. Clamabat inter impuros dilapidatores anhela: 'Si non parcitis mulieri saltem parceretis duorum regum coniugi et regum genitrici.'<sup>129</sup> O ingens exemplum humane mutationis! Illa modo opulentissima, repente contrita est. Hodie regina, hodie et mendica! Modo in regali solio, modo equata solo! De tam alta facta est tam infima; paulo ante proceres pascens, nunc pane indigens! Cuius opibus uix suffecerat regnum, nunc nimium est solitarium cubiculum. Quam omnes beatificabant, iam omnes reprobant. Augebant delicatam mentem ignota penuria, abiectiois ignominia, parricidalis infamia. Omnium aspectus et colloquia fugiebat, nullum respicere pre merore poterat. Tanto igitur calamitatum baratro absorta, emersit tandem ad salutem benignissime Mildrethe uisitatione et gratia. Quadam namque nocte fessam angustiiis mentem in somnum reclinanti puella refulsit gloriosa, forma siderea rerum pulchritudinem superare uisa, sacro uelamine (quod est insigne castitatis et diuine desponsationis) mire decorata. Hec tenebrosam tristitiarum nubem proscindit luce iocunda et allocutione blanda 'Quare' inquit 'merore consumeris? Pro rebus perituris cur te perdis? Indignissimum est professioni Christiane infima dampna infimo sensu pueriliter lugere, eternum animum pro fugitiua specie affligere, cum cadentibus cadere et ad sempiternas opes nulla spe consurgere. Quam nichil sint terre diuitie pereundo te docuere, que a te cum amatoribus suis defecere; proinde *bonum est sperare in Domino quam in principibus* et thesauris pecunie.'<sup>130</sup> Attamen, ne diutius tribuleris, obaudi meis consiliis et beate Mildrethe apud sanctum Augustinum quiescentis implora solacium, missis muneribus tuis. Eius enim suffragiis priori dignitati tue restitueris et omnes persecutores tuos indulgentiam a te suppliciter flagitare uidebis.' Tum regina uel lumine uirginis uel consolatione releuata 'Quam te esse' ait 'O domina, credam que michi tam dignabilem polliceris clementiam?' Ad hec uirgo quasi subridens celesti letitia 'Vt credas' inquit 'que uides sine ulla

49), 1.197. Neither mention suspected collusion with Magnus, king of Norway, as a reason. Barlow is sceptical of Goscelin's account of Magnus' involvement but accepts the essence of his statement that Emma was reconciled to Edward. See Barlow, 'Two Notes', 651-55 and *Edward the Confessor* (London, 1970), pp. 77-78.

<sup>129</sup> Emma was wife successively of Æthelred II and Cnut, and she was mother of Edward the Confessor.

<sup>130</sup> 'Their disappearance was intended to teach you the nothingness of earthly riches, which have failed you together with those who loved them; hence *it is better to hope in the Lord than in princes* (Ps 117:9) and in treasures of money.'

fantasie suspicione esse uera, ipsa sum cuius opem te exposcere suadeo Mildretha, quam transferri fecisti<sup>131</sup> de Taneto insula, cuius interuentu diuina tibi presto sunt solacia.' Dehinc regina euigilans ita erat ab omni tristitie plaga curata, ita gratulata ac si iam promissis fuisset donata. Nec mora mutuo<sup>132</sup> expetitos uiginti solidos (nichil enim de suo habebat) mittit ipsi sanctissime consolatrici sue Mildrethe ad Augustinianum cenobium per quendam militem suum Ægeluordum Spearka cognominatum,<sup>133</sup> abbati Ælfstano et fratribus mandans humillime ne dedignarentur suscipere et clementer ignoscerent sibi grauiter erubescenti pro tam exiguo munere, quod nec de suo proprio modo potuerit dare, cum ipsi scirent se magnificentius et liberalius assuetam beneficia expendere, si uero fallere nescia Mildretha reuelationem et promissionem suam comprobaret sibi ueram, iam illustrioribus largitionibus se gratias relaturam. Abbas ergo et fratres, ubi tam pium respectum uise<sup>134</sup> uirginis ex nuntio regine atque oblatione ad uirginei monumenti altare facta suscepere, orationem protinus cum gratiarum actione fudere ut Dominus, qui erigit elisos et sanat contritos, quesite Mildrethe interuentu releuaret regine sensus destitutos.<sup>135</sup> Quid multa? Eodem tempore rex erubuit materne iniurie, recognoscit filius genitricem, reuocat eam in pristinam dignitatem, ab ipsa petit ueniam quam clamauerat ream. Omnis honor simul cum tota<sup>136</sup> substantia redditur, uel amplior additur. Omnis accusator et raptor confunditur. Idem filius,<sup>137</sup> qui matris aduersarius iudicatur, eiusque indulgentiam quisquis leserat flagitat, ne puniatur. Reuersus iam celer nuntius, ac si sibi<sup>138</sup> dictum esset illud euangelicum, *Vade, filius tuus uiuit*<sup>139</sup> aut illud Chananee, *Fiat tibi sicut uis*,<sup>140</sup> uidet insperatum gaudium; inuenit dominam suam de paupere ditissimam, de abiecta precelsam, de lacrimante iocundissimam; ita plane per adiuuantissimam Mildretham odium regine in gratiam, ignominia in gloriam, tristitia uertitur in letitiam.

<sup>131</sup> *fecistis* BC.

<sup>132</sup> *mutuo* B, corr. from *mutuos* A: *mutuos* C.

<sup>133</sup> It is not possible to identify this person. The name Æthelweard was a fairly common one (Searle, *Onomasticon* s.n.).

<sup>134</sup> *uise* corr. from *pie* C: *pie* A.

<sup>135</sup> 'When they received such a pious token of respect as the virgin had given in her apparition (and which they had learned of from the queen's messenger and from the oblation made at the altar of the virgin's shrine), therefore the abbot and brethren began at once to pour out prayers and thanksgivings, so that the Lord, who raises the fallen and heals the repentant, might raise up the queen's destitute condition by the intervention of Mildrith to whom she had directed her prayers.'

<sup>136</sup> *tota* om. C.

<sup>137</sup> *filii* ABC.

<sup>138</sup> *ibi* A.

<sup>139</sup> Jo 4:50.

<sup>140</sup> Mt 15:28, being a reference to the story of the Canaanite woman whose daughter was possessed.

## xix

Iuuat hinc uicissim recolere quibus indiciis etherea uirgo, tam in Taneto insula antike habitationis sue quam ubi nunc permanet corpore, beatam presentiam suam dignata sit reuelare. Memorabilis pater Ælfstanus, quadriennio languens ante obitum, probatissimum uirum<sup>141</sup> Wulfricum,<sup>142</sup> prepositum, successorem sibi ordinari in suo monasterio iuxta sui iuris autentici priuilegium fecit cum fauore omnium fratrum. Is et egrotanti ministrum et defuncto emulum se prebebat fidissimum. Deuotione uero erga sanctam dominam Mildretham eundem patrem referebat Ælfstanum.<sup>143</sup> Solebat enim per singulos annos in die sui triumphalis transitus antiquum templum eius et monumentum in predicta insula cum fratribus reuisere laudesque ibidem diuinas summo festiuitatis tripudio celebrare. Inundabat ad hec solennia gaudia non solum tota insula sed et exterius optimatum et populi ampla uicinia, quos liberalissima abbatis caritas gaudebat opulentissimo conuiuio ac plenis domibus excipere, atque omnibus non tantum celestibus ymnis uerum etiam terrestribus epulis affectum uirginis infundere.<sup>144</sup> Quodam igitur tempore huius festiuitatis annue uenit ex consuetudine, assumptis secum fratribus tam proprie quam Christi Ecclesie quos, primi et unici institutoris pietate, unum corpus esse unanimi affectabat caritate.<sup>145</sup> Iam nocturnis concentibus abbate cum monachis ac plebe fidelium solenniter inuigilante, dispensator ipsius seculi dignitate non infimus, uocabulo Brihtricus, in cubiculo abbatis dormiebat totis sensibus.<sup>146</sup> Cumque iam tertium ordinem nocturnorum euangelica pronuntiatio Trinitati dedicaret,

<sup>141</sup> uirum s.s. C.

<sup>142</sup> Wulfricum B, Wluricum C. Wulfric II was abbot of St. Augustine's Abbey from 1045 till 1061. The abbey possessed various documents purporting to be privileges granted by seventh- and tenth-century popes and stressing the abbey's right of free election of the abbot. Some of these documents are contained in ms. Cotton Vespasian B.xx itself. See CS 7, 11, 31, 38 and 915, and Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 174-233, where the privileges are shown to be eleventh-century fabrications and where Goscelin's use of them in his writings about St. Augustine himself is examined (p. 200). The issue of free election was very much alive when Goscelin was writing, since Abbot Wido (1087-93) had been violently resisted by the monks, in part at least because he was the archbishop's nominee. See *ML*, p. 65, and D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 2nd edition (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 115-16.

<sup>143</sup> 'With his devotion to our lady St. Mildrith, he repaid that same father Ælfstan' (i.e., for favouring him with his nomination as abbot).

<sup>144</sup> If the statements contained in this section are correct, it is clear that Mildrith's cult was flourishing at Minster-in-Thanet in the mid-eleventh century.

<sup>145</sup> Good relations with Christ Church were certainly not the theme of the history of St. Augustine's Abbey in the twelfth century. See *The Victoria History of the County of Kent*, ed. W. Page, 2 (London, 1926), pp. 127-29. Goscelin's account suggests that matters were different in Wulfric's time.

<sup>146</sup> This man was presumably the warden or steward of the manor of Minster-in-Thanet. See J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus* (Leiden, 1976), s.v. His social class as a knight (see below) should be noted.

ille potens somnista iuxta uidet puellam, uultu et habitu splendidissimo radiantem seseque pede pulsantem ac talibus uerbis increpantem: 'Quid hic' inquit 'tibi negotii?' <sup>147</sup> Ille tremens ad maiestatem aspectus etherei 'Seruo' ait 'O domina, domum et res domini mei.' Que uultu minaci subintulit: 'Mea custodia, non tua, hactenus et hic locus et tota hec defensata est insula. An tua prouidentior est somnolentia quam mea uigilantia? Quanto salubrius nunc cum ceteris interesses diuinis excubiis, Conditori et Largitori omnium gratias personantibus suamque faciem meo presidio poscentibus, quam hic premereris inertī somno sepultus!' Talibus dictis animosa insistens acrem illi in faciem urenti palma alapam incussit. Ab ictu repente sopore et stratu exturbatur, raptoque birro ut amens et persecutorem fugiens cursim in oratorium fertur; perque chorum medium psallentium raptus ad uirginis tumbam prosternitur, ibique prolixa oratione magna omnium huius nouitatis ammiratione tenetur.<sup>148</sup> Post matutinas laudes abbas aduocatum militem an sane mentis sit percunctatur, qui Dominicum chorum tam stolido incursu theatrum sibi facere non uereretur.<sup>149</sup> Ille ostentans urentem adhuc a superno uerbere maxillam 'Nescio' ait 'utrum adhuc uideatur quod eotenus sentio. Me uero non stolide, nec insana mente, sed magno terroris impulsu ecclesiam irrupisse scio.' Referensque tremende apparitionem uirginis et correptionem, claram dedit omnibus astipulationis sue fidem per conspicuum adhuc districte ferule ruborem. Quod signum protinus fidelis abbas omnibus demonstrauit atque inde omnes in ammirationem et preconium ac uenerationem Dominice sponse amplius exacuit.

## XX

In Augustiniana quoque basilica ubi iam requiescit uirginalis gleba, consimili signo nuper sub abbate Scollando<sup>150</sup> est manifestata, quatinus et priori et presenti habitationi iugiter presidere eadem cognoscatur Mildretha. Res ita est declarata. In annua uirginis festiuitate, que priorum uotis ut premonstrauimus summis equatur celebritatibus, cum iam esset ad sacras uigilias surgendum, totum pariter cimbalarum personabat classicum more precipuorum dierum.<sup>151</sup> Post completum autem tinnitum unus ex sonorum ministris, ubi in porticu

<sup>147</sup> In the absence of a breviary from St. Augustine's Abbey, it is not possible to say what text is being referred to here.

<sup>148</sup> '... and there by his long prayer he was held in great admiration by all because of the novelty of this.'

<sup>149</sup> 'After matins, the abbot summoned this knight and asked him whether or not he was of sane mind, seeing that he did not fear to make the Lord's choir a stage for himself with such a rude incursion.'

<sup>150</sup> Scotland (1070-87).

<sup>151</sup> See above, p. 172.

beati Augustini orauit, ante altare et mausoleum gloriose uirginis assedit.<sup>152</sup> Sedentem quies, quietem segnities, segnitiam sopor, soporem uisio occupat. Vidit enim clausis in dormitationem palpebris sanctimonialem uirginem, inestimabili decore perlucidam, de tumba sua tanquam de thalamo procedentem sibique minaciter imminentem. Que protinus elata palma alapam illi protriuit ingentem, docens eum modo<sup>153</sup> tacito uerbo et loquaci uerbere oratorium hic non dormitorium esse. Sic ille attactus celerrime a somno et sede sua exiliit miroque modo, sicut prius clausis oculis et dormiens uiderat prodeuntem, ita prorsus isdem nunc luminibus apertis et aperte uigilans conspicit redeuntem tumbamque suam subeuntem. Tantus autem terror hunc a sacro loco repulit ut per medium chori precipiti fuga excurreret, nec abbatis nec totius contubernii eum reuerentia cohiberet. Quem cum secretarius de tam irreuerenti exitu redargueret et an sobrii sensus haberetur inquireret, iureiurando satisfecit quanta fuisset tremefactus et dormiens et uigilans uisione, quanta propulsus percussione, nunquam se talem in uita alapam sustinuisse. Quod ubi sagacissimus abbas diligenti inuestigatione et ueritatis assertionem uerum probauit, tantum signum in laudem Dei celebrare non distulit. Notandum autem quomodo in superiori reuelatione apud Tanetum inclita uirgo dormitorem cesum a cubiculo usque ad suum monumentum per medium psallentium fugere compulerit, hic uero hunc alterum a suo tumultu similiter per medium chori profugum expulerit. Is ipse uocatur Hunfredus, tunc sancti Augustini portarius nunc sancti Wandregisili monachus.<sup>154</sup>

## xxi

Redeundum est rursum ad insulam uirginalem ut utriusque loci candidissimam presidem clarioribus indiciis monstremus, nunc hic nunc illic uice Luciferi sese referentem. Quam hic narramus reuelationem, tam habemus claram quam prefato abbati Scollando probabiliter destinatam. Iusserat prior Willelmus rex totam uastari Tanetum ne foret presidio imminenti exercitui Danorum.<sup>155</sup> Hinc illud sacratissimum apostolorum Petri et Pauli ac uirginei monumenti templum uetustate et rarioris<sup>156</sup> plebis negligentia iam erat desolatum atque ad omnem celi iniuriam diruptis tegulis patebat detectum;

<sup>152</sup> According to a fifteenth-century plan of the abbey-church of St. Augustine in Cambridge, Trinity Hall ms. 1, St. Mildrith's tomb-altar was in fact in a chapel adjacent to that occupied by the shrine of St. Augustine. For a facsimile and discussion of the plan, see *Local Maps and Plans from Medieval England*, ed. P. D. A. Harvey and R. A. Skelton (Oxford, 1986), pp. 107-17.

<sup>153</sup> modo om. AC.

<sup>154</sup> St. Wandrille (Normandy). Hunfrith is an English name.

<sup>155</sup> According to ASC s.a., William I laid waste the coastal areas of England in 1085 as a precaution against the threatened invasion of Cnut, king of Denmark.

<sup>156</sup> rarioris A; in C the first vowel of the word has been erased.

sacrumque pauimentum pluuiā, grando, nix ac procellosus impetus palustrem reddebat lacum.<sup>157</sup> Hic nuper degebat insulanus ruricola, nomine Ælfuoldus,<sup>158</sup> uxore quidem et liberis humanus sed simplicitate, humilitate, ac religione diuino respectui accommodus. Ecclesiam et uirginalem tumultum frequentabat ibique uigilias et orationes assiduabat. Tales nimirum dignatur populares *qui in altis habitat et humilia respicit*, qui stulta et ignobilia et contemptibilia mundi eligit ut confundat fortia,<sup>159</sup> nec elatis principibus sed abiectis pauperibus sua communicat consilia. Hic ergo pridem sexta feria ebdomade tertie Aduentus Domini matutinales horas preueniens ex more, ad beatam uirginis memoriam orabat, cum ecce in extasi protenso angelicus senior per australem ualuam ingrediens apparuit. Facies illi serena et niueo candore preclara, barba prodiga, caluities et canities reuerentia digna, tunica fulgida ad pedes deducta. Adducebat dextra uirginem regificam, caput auro et gemmarum splendoribus insigniter coronatam, forma sanctimonialis habitus translata in gloriam; honorabat scilicet tanquam amicus sponsi Dominicam sponsam; adducebat in templum regis reginam uarietate ornatuum circumamictam. Luce noua et inenarrabili ab utrisque effusa mirifice refulgebat domus tota. Progredditur innixa duci per aulam basilice in chorum indeque ad altare Dominicum. Verum proflua uestis regine dum lutosum pauimentum uerrendo sordidatur, ductori suo compellato de iniuria conqueritur: 'Non te mouet, mi domine fratre Paule' aiebat 'quod indumenta mea hec illuuiēs fedat? Id, queso, preceptum tuum corrigit.' Hinc motus uir apostolicus, quem uirginis appellatio presignabat, ad illum accessit qui hec omnia conspiciebat, hisque uerbis excitat: 'Surge, surge celerrime et que uides uel audis incunctanti'<sup>160</sup> fide exequere. Ad monasterium sancti Augustini nichil hesitans contende nostramque abbati eius loci fer legationem quatinus huius ecclesie, eotenus sibi neglecte, eiusque tectis restaurandis curam habeat propensioem, sicut habere desiderat salutem.' Vix contemplator iussa perceperat et exiliens abire et obedire properat. Iam Lucifer diem aduehebat et presbiter matutina sacra plebi acturus in foribus aderat, cui ingredienti egrediens nuntius quasi ad illum missus diuina mandata intimat. At presbiter, ut sunt nonnulli dure ceruicis et auditus inascensibilis, pusillis inmites, in oculis suis sapientes, sibi placentes, qui malunt ante preiudicare quam audire, ante refellere quam intelligere quamque (secundum Iob<sup>161</sup>) quid uerum sit diligenter inuestigare, reppulit note simplicitatis hominem persuadet-

<sup>157</sup> This was the church built by Abbess Eadburg and generally thought to have been on the site of what is now Minster Abbey. See *ML*, p. 16.

<sup>158</sup> *Ælwoldus* B.

<sup>159</sup> Ps 112:5; cf. 1 Cor 1:28.

<sup>160</sup> *cunctanti* AC.

<sup>161</sup> Cf. Job 5:27 and 29:16.

que hanc postponere intentionem uelut fantasticam illusionem aut brute mentis errorem. Dehinc altera sexta feria recurrente, exacte septimane octaua iterum theoricus ille orationator, uti consueuerat, matutinales uigilias anticipans ad angelice uirginis monumentum orabat, cum rursus mente excedens<sup>162</sup> uidet omnia eo ordine et tempore quo prius uiderat, quomodo ille apostolicus ierarcha, eadem forma et splendore glorie, uirginem per ecclesie nauim ad altare usque deducebat. Dumque uirgo de lutoso ornamenti sui squalore querimoniam replicat, dux mysteriarches ad illum spectatorem appropriat ac de neglecto mandato suo districta examinatione increpat penamque interminatur nisi postposita omni dissuasione ac dubietate obediat. Ille continuo pre timore<sup>163</sup> ecclesiam erumpens, presbitero iam matutinis horis interuenienti occurrit, repetite uisionis preceptum rexit. At magister, adhuc in sue prudentie obstinacia perdurans, renuit hominem quasi mente captum et tam ignauum sensum spiritu fantastico sollicitatum. 'Et putas' inquit 'illum abbatem, uirum<sup>164</sup> eruditum ac reuerendum, tua deliramenta auditurum ne dicam crediturum.' Sic ergo rursus reuocato nuntio, tertia sexta feria successit, que iam in Epiphania Domini obuenit. In qua nocte tertiata uisio tertia in cubiculo adhuc quiescenti representatur, ut extra ecclesie asylum multandus caperetur. Astitit illi iam agnoscibilis senior cum priori forma et claritate, sed fulgorem in fulgur indignatio uerterat uirgamque manu gerebat, tanquam ille qui in epistolis transgressores terrificat: an *in uirga ueniam ad uos* qui occupans desidem? <sup>165</sup> 'Iam' inquit 'in prima mea ammonitione uel secunda comminatione, cum apparitione tam euidenti, satis poteras edoceri te nullo fantasmate ludificari. An adhuc etiam somniare te putas hec tam clara spectacula iam tercio tibi manifestata? Sed quoniam credidisti alienis eloquiis magis quam tuis oculis, eius nunc crede uerberibus, cuius credere dissimulasti uerbis.' Cum his et huiusmodi increpationibus siluestres animos et rudem hebetudinem cedibus et tunsionibus discutit ac domat animalemque tarditatem trucibus uirge plagis ad fidem excitat, ut scriptura prophetizat: *Sola uexatio intellectum dabit auditui*,<sup>166</sup> ac secundum cuiusdam sententiam: 'Characteres fiunt sibi res'.<sup>167</sup> Resonabat autem uox hec supplicantis inter supplicia: 'Miserere, domine! Domine, miserere!' Tandem castigator parcens oranti et ultra indubitata obedientiam pollicenti imperat ocus mandata exequi. Ille cernuus et tremens 'Pareo' inquit 'domine mi, sed quid dicam abbati, quisnam me miserit illi, cum quis sis nesciam, nec te

<sup>162</sup> *incedens* C.

<sup>163</sup> *pre terrore* B.

<sup>164</sup> *uerum* B.

<sup>165</sup> Cf. 1 Cor 4:21.

<sup>166</sup> Is 28:19.

<sup>167</sup> I have been unable to trace the source, if any, of this quotation.

percunctari presumpserim?' Tum senior, et nomine et auctoritate quod abbati nuntiaret clare insinuans, subiunxit, "'Paulus" inquires "apostolus Domini nostri Iesu Christi et beata Domini sponsa Mildretha me mittunt ad te, precipientes summopere quatinus uigilantiori respectu satagas circa ecclesiam suam pristinas negligentias corrigere festinesque tecta ipsius redintegrare, sicut amas salutem corporis aut anime. Quamuis enim Dei nutu transmigrauerit et maneat ibi corpore, antiquum tamen habitaculum non desinit recolere.'" Tum uero contemplator respirans gaudio de sanctorum notitia instat fiducialius signum, petens a ueritate apostolica nullum scilicet sue pusillitati crediturum sine signi euentia. 'Et signum' inquit apostolus 'habebit legatio tua.' Atque cum hoc dicto palmam eius capiti super aurem dextram, pansis digitorum radiis, applicuit moxque decliui manu ultro secutam cesariem a cincinni uertice detraxit et ita hominem, quantum sparsa digitorum series occupauerat, decalauit ut noua cutis, pura et nitida tam ibi quam in palma uel planta,<sup>168</sup> natum pilum uideretur abnegare, nec quicquam ulli frontium nuditati debere.<sup>169</sup> 'Qui non crediderit' inquit apostolus 'uerbo tuo, credet huic signo.' Ad hęc uisione disparente, conspекtor ille, uelut a lecto languoris enitens, ad sacerdotem suum contendit anxie ut attritus et afflictus celesti uerbere, capite operto pre confusione, quod pro densa capillatura insueto loco larga polleter caluatura. Fortassis tamen magis gaudebat de testimonio quam doleret de supplicio. Ad aspectum hominis lacrimosi ita diuinitus attriti et notati contremuit ualide cor presbiteri, sentientis se digniorem percussione, dum quod referenti semel et iterum non crediderat res loqueretur et innocentis pena acrius incredule repugnationi sue comminaretur. Nam si iste ita uapulauit, qui obauditionem quam preposito suo debebat incognite iussioni preposuit, quantam ultionem dissuasor magister commeruit? <sup>170</sup> Perterritus itaque unde nuntium prius reuocauerat, nunc ut illo festinet omnimodis instigat. Ille continuo impositus mannis (nam nec ambulare nec equum per se ascendere pre castigationis dolore poterat) ad sancti Augustini monasterium deportatur ubi statim, Deo peregrinum adiuuante, monachus abbatis capellanus astans ei insinuatur.<sup>171</sup> Ad cuius pedes fusus optinet ut abbati presentetur. Abbas ut erat prestabilis et humanus, ultro ad aduenam egreditur, suaque mox uestigia prostrato corpore et lacrimosa prece amplectentem ut sui misereretur surgere et causam exponere clementer adhortatur. Ille egre se subrigens omnem seriem

<sup>168</sup> *planta uel palma C.*

<sup>169</sup> The last clause is obscure. The new skin 'seemed to owe nothing to the nudity of the forehead.'

<sup>170</sup> 'For if the man was thus flogged who merely placed the attention which he owed to his overseer before the order of an unknown woman, how much greater a punishment did the master who had dissuaded him (from obeying the order) deserve?'

<sup>171</sup> '... the monk standing by was made known to him as the abbot's chaplain.'

trine reuelationis pure edisserit, beatum uero Paulum apostolum et beatam uirginem Mildretham nominatim mandare abbati, quatinus tecta ecclesie sue in Taneto restituat et sollicitior circa ipsum locum quam fuerit hactenus existat sicut saluari cupiat. 'Nam primo' inquit 'ab apostolo huc destinatus, secundo negligens redargutus, tertio uero tantis cedibus ab ipso multatus sum ut uix proloqui, uix stare uel progredi ualeam.' Cumque abbas sciscitaretur quonam modo tam nouam et insuetam credere posset legationem, ille relecto capite nouam ostentat caluitiem. 'Hoc' inquit 'signum inflixit michi apostoli dextera, dum signum ab eo efflagitarem fidei gratia.' Quo uiso alii ex frequentibus iocunde ridere, alii pie compati, omnes uero gratulari cepere de miraculo tam spectabili. Tunc abbas credens certissime extimplo sexaginta solidos impendit fratri preposito Tanetensis insule, indicens attentissime conductis artificibus iussum diuinitus opus accelerare.<sup>172</sup> Patris uero congratulatio ad sanctorum gloriam non cessabat obnixius cuncta requirere, in nouam hominis notam aspectibus herere,<sup>173</sup> narrata iterum uelle audire, assistantibus et aduentantibus theoricum nuntium cum diuino indicio ostentare et coram omnibus frequenter inde disputare. Aggaudensque dicebat in fine: 'In omni seculo et turba caluorum, nec uisui nec auditui nostro huius unquam condicionis occurrit caluitium, ut quod anticipiti debebatur ad ueritatis probamentum capillata fronte post tempora requiratur.'<sup>174</sup> Verum hec iniuria sicut negligenti est inflicta, ita obediens est sanata. Nam post legationem factam prior ad plenum recreuit capillatura, ut sibi ad signum non ad dampnum foret correptio diuina. Pensandum uero est in hac tam preclara reuelatione exposita, alma Mildretha quam sit Deo dilecta, quam ille summus dux ecclesiarum et princeps militie Christiane Paulus post Dominicas nuptias uisus est honorifice deducere eiusque postulationi obedire. Mysterium quoque uisionis notabile est quod uestes uirginee, que per lutulentum pauimentum sordescabant, ipsa erat ecclesia sua quam inundationes contaminabant.

## xxii

Sed hinc iterum celestis ierarchie filia, recurrens ad Augustinum suum, ostendat se hic perpetuum elegisse habitaculum et clementie pretendere sinum.

<sup>172</sup> The fact that the Minster estate was supervised by a monk rather than being committed entirely to a lay bailiff or 'farmed out' may be an indication of its importance to St. Augustine's Abbey's revenues. See D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1948), 1.35.

<sup>173</sup> Presumably: 'to fix his gaze on the man's new appearance'.

<sup>174</sup> The word *anticipiti* is obscure. The last clause seems to mean: 'so that what was rendered in order to prove the truth should be sought again after a time in a forehead provided with hair'. Alternatively *anticipiti* could be emended to *ante capiti*: 'so that what was owed formerly to the head ....'

Degebat in urbe Augustiniana Cantie mercator copiosus et honorus, Ordberti cuiusdam mercatoris filius. Hunc post diuitias terra marique elaboratas domique congestas ultima pene obruerat<sup>175</sup> alimonie egestas. Duplex angustia augebat eius erumnam, nam grauior erat inopia post opulentiam et ignominia post gloriam. Inusitate indigentie barbariem expauerat; mendicare uir note prius abundantie erubescerebat. Cum substantia simul hominum defecere solacia et fortunatus cum re perit omnis amicus.<sup>176</sup> Verum erudiebant eum recedentes fautores et pereuntes diuitie melius esse in Domino sperare quam in homine et in thesauris pecunie. Sepe ergo cum uxore prudente et religiosa tante deiectionis agitans querimoniam, tandem remedii inuenit uiam quatinus diuine pietatis requireret abundantiam. Iam natalicia festiuitas sancte Margarete uirginis accedebat, que diem feriatu transitus alme Mildrethe octauam illustrat,<sup>177</sup> et eadem lux ut una uox prime et octaue diapason consonat. Vouit ergo uxore approbante tunc in ipsa uespera precedente quod, crastina solennitate beate Margarete illucescente, nudis pedibus procederet ad ipsius ecclesiam, duodecim miliariis a ciuitate remotam, quatinus sibi succurreret tante martyris famosa gratia, ad quam frequentes populos attraxerant innumera curationum miracula. Verum ipsa nocte, diuina clementia eius intentionem preueniente, que merita precedit et desiderium pauperum exaudit, suum leuamen in beata Mildretha situm dormienti apparuit. Visum est enim sibi iter in matutino propositum iam se agere et ad montem qui Berhamdun dicitur deuenire.<sup>178</sup> In cuius ampla planitie dum nudis (uti decreuerat) pedibus progreditur, tres uirgines in sanctimoniali cultu splendoras eminus aduentantes conspiciuntur, tanti decoris et gratie ut nichil tale in suis Nimphis et Gratiis fingere possent poete. Sed pulcherrimarum pulcherrima<sup>179</sup> erat media et precellentior ornatu et gloria: aurea crux illi in dextra, calix aureus in leua cum aurotexta sindone super niuem candida miraque uarietate florigerata.<sup>180</sup> Que diuina insignia tanti

<sup>175</sup> *obruat C.*

<sup>176</sup> 'As his wealth failed him so also did the comforts of his fellow men, and every wealthy friend perished with his possessions.' The following sentence contains echoes of Ps 117:9, which has been cited more exactly in chapters 7 and 18 above.

<sup>177</sup> *Margarita BC.* The feast of St. Margaret was 20 July, that of St. Mildrith 13 July.

<sup>178</sup> Since Barham appears as *Berham* in Domesday Book, this must be a reference to Barham Downs, an upland area southeast of Canterbury in the direction of Dover. The only church in the area of the Downs recorded as having been dedicated to St. Margaret is that of Womenswold (GR:TR 2250), which lies seven rather than twelve miles from Canterbury. See E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th edition (Oxford, 1960), s.n. *Barham* and F. Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications*, 3 vols. (London, 1899).

<sup>179</sup> *pulcherrima s.s.* (in a different hand) C.

<sup>180</sup> St. Barbara was sometimes represented with comparable attributes. See, for example, H. Roeder, *Saints and Their Attributes* (London, 1955), p. 327. The reference to snow in connection with the colour of the cloth is reminiscent of Dan 7:9, Mc 9:2 and Apoc 1:14.

fulgoris radios effundebant ut solaris diei uirtutem euincere uiderentur aut quasi modo sol uel luna ad mensuram mortalis uisus uirginea manu gestaretur. Ad angelicos ignote claritatis aspectus hic rudis contemplator obstupuit et, dum occurrere properat, uel metuit, forte ligamina uel fasciamenta femoralium circa crura soluuntur, tardantque eum tanquam carnalia opera dum religantur.<sup>181</sup> Iam superueniebant illi in loco herenti, suppliciterque contra reuerentem<sup>182</sup> prior compellat ipsa que preminebat: 'Qua causa' inquit 'aduenisti? Aut quo tendis? Quid uero merore consumeris?' 'Venio' inquit 'O domina, refrigerium paupertatis mee expetere a sancta uirgine Margareta. Iam enim rebus meis inaniter profusis ex opulento et claro cogor ad opprobrium generis mei publice cum uxore uite sustentaculum mendicare.' At uirgo, hilari respectu tristem releuans, laudat quod ad fida sanctorum presidia confugerit sicque propheticæ subiungit: 'Certum quod dico tene, quia Romam ad sanctorum apostolorum suffragia proficisceris faustoque prouentu curarum et tristicarum tuarum gratum remedium consequeris.' At ille ad tam inopinabile proloquium obstupescens 'Quomodo' ait 'tantum iter arripiam, qui nec uictum diei domi habeam?' Talia eo ore uel mente uersante, pannum inestimabilis candoris ex manica uirgo depromit hocque illi uelut benedictionis et abundantie munus concedit, hisque uerbis fiduciam addidit: 'Hoc tibi ad uaticum necessaria ministrabit, hoc beneficio comite nichil tibi deerit, commodare tibi quod postulaueris nullum pigebit. Tu<sup>183</sup> modo fiducialiter age et ad profectus ac solacii tui cumulum iussam peregrinationem incunctanter<sup>184</sup> perface.' His diue medice fomentis eger animus in spem uelut ad uitam regreditur, gaudensque de promissis quasi iam diues effectus consolatricem suam ita sciscitatur, 'Queso' inquit 'domina mi, nomen tuum et quenam sis doce me, ut sciam cui debeam memores grates tante benignitatis tue pro posse rependere, que me tam indignum quam ignotum tanta spe dignaris attollere.' Ad hec ipsa, ut memor memorum, ut presens testis et faulrix in medio ueneratorum suorum, tale reddidit indicium: 'Recole cuius depositio proxime uobis celebrata est festiua, que dies hac septimana exacta hodie recurrit octaua, et scito quia ipsa sum que rememoratur hodie uirgo Mildretha. Hoc etiam notum tene, temporalem affluentiam non defuturam tibi usque ad finem uite, nec uero longo te hic mansurum tempore.' In his contemplatione sullata somniator expergiscitur, quem uxor audiens ad peragendum in dictum iter uirili animo exhortatur, que cum facultas non esset fide roborabatur. Continuo illi equus et sumptus itineris

<sup>181</sup> These cloths around the pilgrim's legs were presumably part of the penitential aspect of the pilgrimage, although Goscelin has not previously mentioned them.

<sup>182</sup> *reuerentem* C.

<sup>183</sup> *Tum* B.

<sup>184</sup> *incunctanter* in marg. (in a different hand) C: om. A.

creditur; uxor et domus dimittitur, unde debitum reposcatur. Romam prosperime adiit, et quicquid in usus uie expendit magis ac magis exuberavit. Tres argenteorum libras secum detulit, sex domum retulit. Coniunx illum cum familia letissima, non solum a debito absoluta uerum et diues effecta, suscepit cum duplici eius presentie et mutue augmentationis palma. Benedicunt affatim nomen Domini in benignissima adiutrice Mildretha. Cotidie ergo festinabat crescere eius abundantia tanquam breui mansura uel cum ipso finienda. Nam post paucos annos sullatus ex hac uita ostendit uerissima fuisse beate Mildrethe uaticinia. Cuius tamen largiflua gratia ad breuem uite uiam superflua quoque dedit uiatica.

## xxiii

Alio quoque benignitatis et uirtutis sue indicio locum habitationis sue glorificauit celeberrima uirgo. Rege priore Willelmo conducticio exercitu castella muniente contra exterorum impetus, castellum Cantuarie septingentis armabatur militibus.<sup>185</sup> Ex quorum armigeris unus noctu, infracto cuiusdam militis contubernalis hospitio, magnam partem substantie eius furto abstulit.<sup>186</sup> Captusque mane artissimo ergastulo et compedibus in ipsa arce constringitur, custodibusque tanquam pro reo<sup>187</sup> puniendis nisi redderent mancipatur.<sup>188</sup> Ea die instabat uigilia solennitatis beate Mildrethe. Cumque iam ad uesperam excellentia signa (ut in precipuis festis usus est) personare captiuus audisset, rogat anxie quid cause id esset.<sup>189</sup> Cognoscensque ab assistentibus desuper beate uirginis Mildrethe solennitatem instare, ubi sanctum nomen eius repetita interrogatione addidicit, clamare cum lacrimis quas timor extorserat cepit: 'Sancta et pia domina uirgo Mildretha, succurre in mortem dampnato per tua sancta merita et libera me in hac beata festiuitate tua.' Res mira, uirtus prodiga! Ad nomen alium uirginis absoluendi prepotentis laxatur hic custodiis. Rumpuntur arta uincula, aperta sunt ergastula et claustra cedunt omnia. Absunt truces insidie cuncteque custodum mine. Cernens itaque exitum patere, ponit animam suam in alea et libra superne misericordie ut qui iam dampnatus uidebatur, alio discrimine a discrimine mortis exueretur. Repente muri propugnacula conscendit, et inde se in ima fosse uelut ab alta rupe in baratrum

<sup>185</sup> The garrisoning of Canterbury Castle with mercenaries was probably associated with William's preparations in 1085 against a possible Danish invasion. See above, text-note 155.

<sup>186</sup> The injured party was presumably one of St. Augustine's Abbey's household knights (*miles contubernalis*) who had a lodging (*hospitium*) in the city.

<sup>187</sup> *reo* corr. from *eo* C: *eo* A.

<sup>188</sup> He was 'held by guards who were to suffer in place of the guilty one if they failed to deliver him (to the authorities).'

<sup>189</sup> Mildrith's feast was 13 July. Goscelin again emphasises the special honours accorded to the saint in accord with Ælfstan's vow. See above, p. 172.

proicit.<sup>190</sup> Cumque a tanto iactu ante posset extingui quam a terra suscipi, quasi diue uirginis subuectus manicis nil pertulit dampni. Mira fugitiui presumptio, mira uero uirginis protectio, ut clara die et in conspectu tam populose urbis uelut inter obuias sagittas et plagas moliretur effugium. Nimirum tante protectricis obumbratione aut sensus et oculi omnium tenebantur ne intelligerent, aut uidentes non uidebant. Emergens autem uolucris celeritate a fossa, altera nichilominus exterioris castelli exsuperat propugnacula atque, in tam alta quam prius desiliens fosse precipitia, saluus fugit prementia periculis pericula. Tum uero re diuulgata tota in illum grassantur turbe uenabula. Insequitur clamorque uirum clangorque tubarum. Quisquis equum ascendere, quisquis pedibus currere poterat, in illum decertat. Ille ut ceruus ab arcu, ut alter Asahel,<sup>191</sup> omnes anteuolat uolucrumque fuga preuertitur Hebrum.<sup>192</sup> Defecit omnis impetus, frustratur omnis cornipes, ductricis exit alipes et siue deuio siue recto curriculo ad Augustiniani templi uenit asyllum sed – ah miser! – ostium inuenit clausum. Tunc capiendus erat, nam hostis a calce urgebat. Ad fenestram cripte se inde proripit, insertisque brachiis ferrum patenti fenestre obiectum inuadit et huic ut inuolutus anguis incumbit.<sup>193</sup> Tunc persecutores irruunt et comprehendunt, gaudentes sicut exultant uictores capta preda. Pulsant, trahunt capillis, collo, humeris, brachiis, pedibus, uestimentis et cingulis – nec sufficit unus homuncio qui tot manibus teneatur. Tunc uero erat uidere uirtutem uirginis quam inuocauerat, et cuius auxilio huc euaserat. Omnes enim tota ui trahendo lassantur, et ille ita inextricabiliter ad ferrum se tenet ac si inde teneatur. Clamor et furor et pudor uictos confundit. Acriter utrinque decertant, hic pro uita seruanda, hi pro fure persoluendo. Interea a tante turbe tumultu ac strepitu accurrit clauiger ecclesie, sua scilicet liberatrice capto auxilium ferente;<sup>194</sup> et qui diceret *zelus domus tue*, Domine, *comedit me*<sup>195</sup> increpat ecclesie expugnatores, Dominice pacis uiolatores, ipsi Christo uim

<sup>190</sup> On Canterbury Castle in the Norman period, see D. F. Renn, *Norman Castles in Britain* (London, 1968), p. 130. This and the succeeding sentences seem to provide additional evidence relating to the complexity of the castle's defences. See also E. Hasted, *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, 12 vols. (Canterbury, 1797-1801), 11.59-66, and P. Bennett, S. S. Frere and S. Stow, *The Archaeology of Canterbury*, vol. 1: *Excavations at Canterbury Castle* (Maidstone, 1982).

<sup>191</sup> Asael AC. Asahel, a nephew of David and one of his thirty heroes, was noted for his fleetness of foot. See 2 Reg 2:18 and 23:24.

<sup>192</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.317, there referring to Harpalyce. The proper noun probably refers to the River Hebrus in Thrace, although some editors have emended *Hebrum* to *Eurum*, one of the winds. See *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*, ed. J. Conington, 3 vols. (London, 1863-83), 1.63 and n.

<sup>193</sup> This was the crypt under the presbytery, which the fugitive, in his flight from the castle, probably approached from the south (i.e., the side opposite the claustral complex). See A. Clapham, *St. Augustine's Abbey* (London, 1955), pp. 18-20 and endpapers.

<sup>194</sup> '... his own liberator bringing help to the captured man'.

<sup>195</sup> Ps 68:10.

inferentes, paganos reuerentiores existere delubris suis quam tales Christianos ecclesiis suis. Illi econtra acclamant regis captiuum et perfugam. Nec tamen ulterius reum tenere presumunt sed, datis uadibus in satisfactionem, territi abscedunt. Secretarius ilico adducit uirginis libertum in ipsius requietionis templum sistitque supplicem ante sui saluifici corporis tumultum, immensas gratias Deo et ipsi liberatrici sue tanquam pro uita reddita persoluentem ac de cetero emendationem prauitatis sue pollicentem. Cuius igitur uirginis materna benignitas sic eripit noxios, qua caritate tuebitur supplices suos. Hinc uero deuotus abbas Scollandus, exultans in Domino, tantam preclare presidis Mildrethe uirtutem detulit ad regem, una cum prudentissimo archipresule Lanfranco, poscendo ueniam reo.<sup>196</sup> Rex uero fauore sanctissime adiutricis clementer omnia donat et ultro sontem liberat, nec puniendum iudicat quem diua uirgo soluerat. 'Absit' inquit 'ut a nobis dampnentur qui Dei et sanctorum suorum clementia liberantur. Immo uero ille dampnetur, quisquis sanctorum dicionem et antiquam eorum libertatem uiolare non ueretur. Ante omnia autem autentica protodocoris huius regni nostri Augustini ecclesia, mea meorumque heredum et optimatum sanctione, sua semper regnet prerogatiua adeo ut quicumque dampnatus huc confugerit, mox ut hoc sanctum asylum uel de longinquo conspexerit, impunitatem et libertatem<sup>197</sup> optineat. Huiusque iuris transgressor rei iudicium subeat.'<sup>198</sup>

## xxiv

Eamus hinc iterum in Tanetum cum uirtutum signifera, ut ibi quoque respiciamus clara sue presentie argumenta. Quanta apostolice filie gratia, ut ethereus clauiger is, cuius umbra suscitatur egrotos, huc suos destinare uideatur infirmos alme Mildrethe antidoto sanandos.<sup>199</sup> Quod factum ita retexitur. De quadam Cantie uilla Scoreham<sup>200</sup> nominata quemdam paralysis et neruorum contractio dupliciter debilitauerat. Medietate corporis premortua, semiuiuumne diceret an semimortuum ambigeret. Manus pugilis digitos contorte palme

<sup>196</sup> *Lanfrancus* B. Scotland, abbot of St. Augustine's (1070-87); Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury (1070-89).

<sup>197</sup> *et libertatem* om. B.

<sup>198</sup> No document recording any such pronouncement has survived. The only known charter of William I in favour of St. Augustine's Abbey simply conferred the abbey on Abbot Wido. See *Calendar of Patent Rolls: Edward IV* (London, 1897), p. 412, and *Regesta regum anglo-normannorum 1066-1154*, vol. 1: *Regesta Willelmi Conquestoris et Willelmi Rufi*, ed. H. W. C. Davis (Oxford, 1913), no. 304.

<sup>199</sup> The meaning seems to be: 'How great was the grace of the daughter of the Apostle that the heavenly keybearer, he whose shadow cured the sick, is seen to send his sick to be cured by the medicine of sweet Mildrith.' The reference is to Ac 5:15.

<sup>200</sup> Shoreham (GR: TQ 5161), four miles north of Sevenoaks.

insertos ac si clauos gemebat infixos; nodosum genu se in terga curuauerat; pes calcaneum ex talibus affixerat;<sup>201</sup> et caro carni concreta uelut brachium humero inoleuerat. Passus resupinus quasi inde natus prominebat de coxa; celum respiciebat planta calcande terre debita; et pars quam ire oportuerat sedendi locum occupabat.<sup>202</sup> Tante miserie ille miserabilis per sanctorum patrocinia querens remedium, ad sanctum Britannie protomartyrem in ipsius festiuitate perrepsit<sup>203</sup> Albanum atque inde uenit Westmonasterium ad sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli natalicium.<sup>204</sup> Ibi itaque in ipsa apostolica et lucifera nocte cum festiuo populo uigilias agenti, iamque fessis luminibus obdormitanti uel adhuc pene uigilanti, senior canicie cignea et angelica auctoritate reuerentissimus in alba candidissima reluxit, cui sic ait: 'Quid hic tibi uis, O aduena, quid quesisti?' 'Vt' inquit 'miserante Deo per beatum dominum meum Petrum debilitatis mee consequar subsidium.' 'Nec me latet' ait sacer heros 'postulatio tua, unde scias sospitatem tuam in beata Mildretha positam et ab ipsa in Taneto sui monumenti insula donandam; tantummodo enitere ut illuc peruenias ad festiuitatem et ecclesiam suam.' Vnde ergo hec data monita possunt decentius arbitrari quam ab ipso beato Petro, cuius eger intererat monasterio et celebritati? Paruit ille celestibus preceptis et, gemellis innitens bacillis, in Tanetum ad sepulchrum uirginis in uigilia natalis ipsius tripes scilicet uenit, qui bipes non poterat. Hec celebratur tertio Idus Iulii, quinto decimo die a natalicio apostolorum.<sup>205</sup> Pernoctabat ibi salutis appetitor inter sacras uigilias, perdurans ad sancte curatricis sacrarium usque ad missas.<sup>206</sup> Confluente autem undique tam nobilium quam uulgi multitudine ad hereditarie domine solennia, debilis formidans pressuram contendit exire ecclesia. Verum populo uelut fluuiio inundante in ianuis, repulsus est (Dei uidelicet nutu) ad tumbam uirginis, ut quesitam misericordiam prestolari, non fugere doceretur, et populus conspicui miraculi fide altius illustraretur. Ad missam decantato officio ange-

<sup>201</sup> *afflixeat* BC.

<sup>202</sup> Goscelin's description of this cripple is difficult to translate and the Latin may be defective. It seems to mean: 'With half his body effectively dead, you might doubt whether you should call him half-alive or half-dead. He bewailed his hand which was like a boxer's fist, the fingers locked into the contorted palm and fixed there like nails; his knotted knee had curved itself up into his back; his foot had fixed his heel in a similar way; and his flesh had grown stiffened against other flesh (as the arm to the shoulder). The movement of his leg was backwards from the hip (as if born from there); the sole which should have trodden on the ground looked up to heaven; and the part meant for walking occupied the place meant for sitting.'

<sup>203</sup> *perrepsit* s.s. C: om. A.

<sup>204</sup> The cripple visited St. Albans (Herts.) on 22 June and Westminster on 29 June.

<sup>205</sup> 13 July.

<sup>206</sup> This appears to be an example of the penitential practice of keeping vigil by the saint's shrine. Physical provision was sometimes made for this in pilgrimage churches, the 'watching chamber' in St. Albans Abbey being an example. See F. H. Crossley, *The English Abbey. Its Life and Work in the Middle Ages* (London, 1935), pl. 82.

licus ymnus *Gloria in Excelsis Deo* intonabatur, et ecce eger ad supernam medelam arripitur.<sup>207</sup> Ad uirginale monumentum uelut in extasi facie tenus proicitur ibique immobilis ac si exanimis detinetur, tanquam qui pro se offerretur. Iam lectio apostolice<sup>208</sup> epistole Pauli recitabatur. Tunc ille inuisibili uirtute mouetur; tunc concreta et solida caro calcanei et lumborum diuellitur; pars utraque recenti hiatu uulneris, uelut ferro excisa, cruentatur, unde uberrimo stillicidio proflui sanguinis pauimentum imbuitur. Nec mora incuruum robur poplitis porrigitur, tibia extenditur. Iamque ad lectionem euangelicam (tanquam ad uocem diuinam dicentem *Surge et sta super pedes tuos, et extende manum tuam*) protinus postpositis cambuttis et humano amminiculo surgit et exiliit, solidatisque ac equatis post diurnam debilitatem gressibus uigoratus astitit, gaudens fortius incedere et currere propriis uestigiis quam portari alienis subsidiis.<sup>209</sup> Simul etiam pugnus globosus digitorum aculeis exsoluitur; palma manus extenditur, qua se diue crucis signaculo cum gratiarum iubilo gratulabatur munire, populo simul inspectore et teste laudes Christo in sancta sua signifera diutius personante.

## XXV

Addidit adhuc gloriosa Mildretha duplici signo, uelut duorum testimonio, solennitatem suam glorificare talique presentie sue indicio astantem turbam letificare. Nam simul ad eandem missam, eodem loco et die eademque pene hora, femina eiusdem insule indigena, notis parentibus, a caduco morbo sanata est hoc ordine. Cum ad euangelicam lectionem eger (ut iam exposuimus) sospitaretur, illa, simul astans dum salutem operitur, imminentis doloris non solum penam sed et confusionem coram tanta multitudine ueretur. Preuenit ergo prouide consciam horam, et ultro uelut in oratione prosternitur ne tam precipitata quam posita humi uideretur. Sed repente omnibus<sup>210</sup> patuit eius calamitas quatinus omnibus claresceret eius incolomitas et miseriam uerteret in gratiam uirginis benignitas. Ecce autem seuissimi<sup>211</sup> morbi tyrannides tanquam leo rugiens captiuam suam inuadit et, quia in iacente non inuenit quam more suo diruat, uelut a letali uulnere morientem pecudem tremulis membrorum pulsibus uexat et exagitat. Spumabat miserabilis inter angustias ore anhelo et

<sup>207</sup> The hymn mentioned was 'angelic' because based on the song of the angels to the shepherds on the night of Christ's birth (Lc 2:14). It is found as a hymn with the wording given here, for example, in the eighth-century manuscript London, British Library Royal 2.A.xx. See *A Dictionary of Hymnology*, ed. J. Julian (London, 1892), p. 425.

<sup>208</sup> *apostolice* om. AC.

<sup>209</sup> Ac 26:16 and Mt 12:13.

<sup>210</sup> *precipitata ... omnibus* add. in bottom margin C.

<sup>211</sup> *seuissima* B, *seuissim* with *a* add. s.s. C.

fluxuoso; uomebat<sup>212</sup> crebro et resorbebat<sup>213</sup> obscenas saliuas – horrendum tam dictu quam uisu. Moxque sensum exhauriente pena iacebat diu immobilis quasi funus extenta, ita ut ab omnibus estimaretur extincta. Videres hic Paulum et Palladium<sup>214</sup> quorum salutem eximius scriptor Augustinus Hipponensis<sup>215</sup> presul protomartyri Stephano consecrat. Nam et hic apparebat quid in altero esset Deo reddendum, quid pro altera supplicandum. Tandem ubi aqua benedicta super eam aspergitur, illa uelut a suaui somno aut (ut putabatur) a mortuis erigitur suamque sortem stupentes ac miserantes anhela letitia affatur: ‘Vestre pie compassioni reddat Dominus, O Domini mei benedictionem! Simulque benedicamus in benedicta Mildretha ipsius sanctum nomen, per quam michi contulit non solum firmam huius infirmitatis salutem sed etiam salutis ipsius tutam certitudinem, ut nec ultra inde patiar formidinem. Nam cum modo iacerem in oculis uestris uelut mortua, uidi ipsam dominam nostram aduentantem, immensi splendoris circumfusam gloria, quam hinc inde manibus deducebant due puellae laterales, ita speciose uelut materni decoris emule. Que me benigno uultu respiciens rogat comites ut me citius sustollant et loco dimoueant. “Gressibus” inquit “nostris cur hec obsistit et sacrarii aditum intercludit?” – ac si sua clementia diceret: “Orate illi sospitatem ut surgat et letificet quos grauat.” Ad hec ille respondent pietati uotissime:<sup>216</sup> “Tibi, O beata domina, derelicta est hec misera.<sup>217</sup> Te requisiiuit, tuam opem efflagitat. Adauge nobis gaudium in hac die communis solennitatis nostre, hanc sanando et omnes letificando diuino medicamine.” Tum splendida uirgo, reuelata pietatis facie uelut sol refulgens e nube, “Et ego” inquit “eius salutem optinui a benignissimo Domino Salvatore ita ut a modo nunquam tangatur hac infestatione.” Sicut ergo promisit: et, nunc uti uidetis, sanam me quasi de morte reduxit et deinceps securam huius curationis reddidit.’ Hec referente femina sana mente et corpore, iterata gloria Christo ac dilecte sue Mildrethe uersatur affatim in frequentissima plebe.

## xxvi

Sic operata uirgo in sua Tanetensi insula, iterum lucifero recurso habitare se comprobatur in sua Augustiniana Cantuaria. Fratrem ecclesie sancti Augustini

<sup>212</sup> *uomebat* corr. from *ueniebat* C: *ueniebat* A.

<sup>213</sup> *sorbebat* with *re* s.s. C.

<sup>214</sup> Paulus and Palladia were a brother and sister affected by a condition of tremor. Their cure at the shrine of St. Stephen is described by Augustine of Hippo, *De civitate Dei* 22.8 (CCL 48.825-27). Paulus was cured before Palladia, whose cure is presented as a separate incident; hence the significance of the second sentence here.

<sup>215</sup> *Ypponiensis* AC.

<sup>216</sup> *notissime* B.

<sup>217</sup> “‘This miserable girl has been left here for you, O blessed lady.’”

clauigerum tertiane febres exederant et ex induciis acriores redibant, magisque ac magis diuturnitate inualescebant nec ulla sibi medicamenta proderant. Pallebat facies macie exhausta uelut quoddam simulachrum, et eneruatis uiribus uix agebat gressum. Interea natalicia prefulgide Mildrethe festiuitas imminabat, cuius sanctum affectum tanta ille animi deuotione conceperat ut tanquam filius matri obsequeretur suaque solennitate nil iocundius habere uideretur. Certabat infirmitatis defectum amore uincere totamque ecclesiam secundum sui officii debitum, omnibus ornamentis extractis, redimire tanto studio ut nil honoris uel decoris pateretur deesse. Sed deficiebat animo quod sua tertiana inter tante solennitatis radios ut atra nubes ingruebat et ut belua elapsam predam repetebat. Et quid faciat ut uel illo uno die penam euadat et amabile festum illesa letitia peragat? Tandem salutis consilium ingressus ad clementissime domine tumbam pernoctare in precibus accessit, credens sub tante protectricis auctoritate malum aut a se arceri, aut ad se interim<sup>218</sup> non posse accedere. Verum somnus fessum inter preces occupans usque ad signa matutinatorum detinuit eiusque intentionem elusit, quod tamen piissima uirgo reparando uigorem in medelam illi conuertit. Eger autem euigilans ingemuit et erubuit quia a proposito suo exinanitus sit. Nam qua fronte nunc petat quod constanter appetens negligenter omisit? Sed melliflua miseratrix quod infirmis meritis defuit sua benignitate suppleuit. Namque ille cum sciret iam sibi tempus incumbere solite uexationis, nichil mali sensit sed et audacter et timide tanquam iudicatus (sed patrono fretus) choro psallentium fratrum se protinus inseruit. Vbi quanto attentius cantabat, tanto amplius poterat nec defectum ei labor sed uires addebat. Et quid multa? Ab illa hora hactenus sanus exultat et sue Mildrethe eotenus expertam uirtutem predicat.

## xxvii

Item post aliquot annorum in uirginis natalicio puellam curatam quis digne retexat? Hec a natiuitate usque ad intelligibiles annos paralytica ubicumque ponebatur, quasi lapis immota iacebat, nunquam uerbum occupante morbo ore protulerat. Ad hoc caducus morbus miseram frequenter detriuerat, ut ampliori miserie amplior misericordia Domini in beata Mildretha respondeat. Itaque in eius solennio, dum post euangelium unus fratrum uitam et salutifera opera clementissime adiutricis populo dissereret, assistens simul uidua mater puelle, ciuis urbis Cantuarie, cepit continuo a tam potente medica remedium sperare filie finitoque sermone, ad ipsius almi fluum monumentum confugiens, se

<sup>218</sup> B originally had 'malum aut a se interim'. This was corrected by the addition of 'arceri' in the margin and 'aut' above the line to give 'malum aut a se arceri aut interim'.

proiecit ibique pro nata supplicans (dum missa compleretur) perdurauit.<sup>219</sup> Sic nimirum exemplo euangelice Chananee perseuerantia uotum extorsit.<sup>220</sup> Sed tandem egrediens, ubi domum suam intrauit, miseram suam in suo caduco morbo uelut exanimem iacentem iuxta ignem inuenit; luctuque et ululatu tecta implens sancte Mildrethe auxilium inclamitat. Sed adhuc differendo uirgo eius fidem exercebat. Quod et ita uidetur factum quasi ipsum proclamasset malum: 'Vlciscemur modo dum licet, quia interuentu sancte Mildrethe ultra non licebit.'<sup>221</sup> At uero anxia mater, ut et opus preces adiuuet, ilico ceram comparat, candelam apparat et ad uesperas cum illata filia altario sancte uirginis oblationem dedicat, humique fusa cum sua seminece tam fletibus quam questibus orat. Res mira! Puella post paululum, eleuata manu (quod nunquam antea poterat) signo sancte crucis, cunctis uidentibus, se consignat erectaque in pedes subito constitit atque hactenus muta aperto ore benedixit Dominum in sanatrice sua Mildretha. Que exinde sanissima de informi glomere uiget formosa puella. Mater tunc se sobolem habere tripudiat que ante monstrum genuisse gemebat, tantaque iam in illa possidet gaudiorum oblectamenta quanta prius passa est dolorum lamenta. Miraculum in astantem uel accurrentem populum diffunditur; laus et gratiarum actio ab omnibus Domino iubilatur. Ad hoc etiam inestimabili suauitatis odore ecclesia repletur, ut gloriosa Mildretha cum superno contubernio solenniter adesse crederetur et, cuius uisitationis experta est egra uirtutem, alii sentirent suauitatem. Nam quidam uenerabilis frater, egressus a uesperis eadem hora, reuertebatur in chorum ad diuinum sancte Dei Genitricis canticum. Qui tante nouitate fragrantie<sup>222</sup> attonitus, leta ammiratione quod sentiebat innuebat fratribus. Qui quamquam sentirent et factum signum ex conflua turba cognoscerent, modeste tamen rem distulerunt in crastinum, ne calumniatores derogandi haberent emolumentum. Mane uenit parrochianus presbiter cum matre et sanata filia, et testes probatissimi cum assertore populo. Facta salus presentialiter monstratur et in publicum declamatur et ab omnibus tam clarum indicium approbatur.<sup>223</sup> Tunc omnis chorus ymnum laudis ad ethera intonat, gratias Deo in dilecta Mildretha omnis lingua personat, omne eramentum in cimbali bene sonantibus concrepat.

<sup>219</sup> In referring here to the homily in the mass, Goscelin provides evidence for the use of saints' lives (presumably in vernacular précis) in the liturgy. See J. A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, 2 vols. (New York, 1950-55), 1.456.

<sup>220</sup> See above, text-note 140.

<sup>221</sup> 'And such is seen to be the case, as if the evil itself had proclaimed: "We will punish only while that is allowed, because by the intervention of St. Mildrith it will not be allowed later on."'

<sup>222</sup> *fragrantie nouitate* BC (*nouitate* s.s. C).

<sup>223</sup> The fear of scepticism and the legalistic method of proof used should be noted. The 'calumniators' may have been specifically the canons of St. Gregory's Priory, Canterbury, who claimed to possess the true relics of St. Mildrith. See *HP*, pp. 60-108, and *ML*, pp. 62-64.

## xxviii

Par huic uel maius subiungitur signum in eodem loco uirginalis habitationis patratum. Cantuarie suburbium hactenus quidam miles boni testimonii inhabitat, opibus domesticis tam sufficiens quam in acquirendo strenuus et prudens, tam dignum se diuine benedictionis copia exhibens quam Dominica beneficia gratissime<sup>224</sup> recognoscens et egregie distribuens. Nam hospitalitatem et opera misericordie adeo sectatur ut antiquorum patriarcharum heres aut emulus esse uideatur. Solito itaque pietatis officio tres nuper peregrinos, id est uirum cum uxore et filia, suscepit hospitio. Post sufficientem mense humanitatem, nocte insecuta, puellam hospitum natam letifer languor corripit et per momenta inualescens tenera membra exedit. Iam post aliquot dies ad mortem coacta iacebat sine uisu, sine loquela, sine intellectu, sine omni prorsus corporis motu. Totam mors occupauerat nisi quod ultimus halitus in exitum agonizabat. Nil ibi quisquam preter funus expectabat. Amor parentalis, luctu et eiulatu miserabili, omnes ad compassionem concitat. Ipse uero miles hospites suos ac si germanos aut liberos, fuis lacrimis, deplorat simulque proclamat: 'Sancta domina Mildretha, succurre et periclitanti et flentibus magna benignitate tua.' Quam uocem diuino instinctu prolatam mox reuelata medela a summo hospitalitatis amatore docuit auditam, uidelicet per nominate uirginis gratiam, cuius uiscera semper redundabant in omnem clementiam.<sup>225</sup> Nam in aurora exacte noctis qua peruigiles genitores iam morituram obseruabant, eiusdem militis seruiens, iam a stratu et somno exurgens, talia uisa domino suo et orbatis peregrinis enuntiat: 'Vere' ait 'modo dormienti michi uisus est quidam niuea et lucida forma assistere sicque dicere: "Quid isti temporalem condicionem tam immoderate lugent? Sed tu modo uelociter surge et his mea mandata expone, quatinus hanc sobolem suam ad sacrosancta pignora beate Mildrethe festinent cum candela deferre. Ita enim illius meritis a morte (cui iam certissime addicta est) reuocabitur, longior etiam uita reddetur. Quod si neglexerint, proscriptam leti sententiam citius patietur.'" Non credebant ergo peregrini hec referenti iuueni. Quid enim sperarent terreni sensus<sup>226</sup> de tam desperata? Sed illo cum iuramento uerum astipulante, uix tandem hortatu militis adquiescunt et puellam instar cadaueris tabule impositam lintheisque obtectam ad apostolicum Augustini templum deuehunt, sicque ad corpus uiuificum prepotentis Mildrethe corpus moribundum<sup>227</sup> deponunt, lumenque cum precibus et fletibus

<sup>224</sup> *gratifice* B.

<sup>225</sup> 'The cure which was soon revealed showed that this cry, enunciated by divine instinct, had been heard by the great lover of hospitality, that is, through the grace of the virgin invoked by name, whose bowels are always overflowing with all mercy.'

<sup>226</sup> *terreni sensus* s.s. C: om. A.

<sup>227</sup> *ad corpus moribun-* add. in bottom margin (by a different hand) C.

offerunt. Mirantur custodes ecclesie, mirantur fratres intuentes tale presentatium. Ecce autem illa, que tam muta quam cunctis sensibus immota accubabat, repente quasi de graui somno aut funere suscitata in hec proclamat uerba: 'Miserere, Deus misericordie, miserere michi misere pro amore sancte uirginis tue Mildrethe.' Addiditque ad uocem illius prosilientibus loqui: 'Cur egrotis artubus tam durum lectulum dedistis?' Ad hec insperata dicta reuiuiscunt parentes cum filia qua ad uitam et salutem regressa; altius refouentur hac relatione sua: 'Scitote, parentes karissimi, quia sanctissime domine Mildrethe debetis quod uiuo. Nequaquam enim modo mortem euasissem sine suo diuinitus dato beneficio, in cuius potenti suffragio iuges gratias mecum communi referte Domino. Me uero iam reddite salutis securi domum reportate et languore ac inedia absumptas uires in me cibo reuocate.' Flent ergo pre letitia qui flebant pre tristitia, nec sufficiunt mirari et collaudare tanta uirginis merita. Post paucos autem dies puella integerrimo uigore resolidatur et, adhuc floride uiuens, sue Mildrethe sacris preconiiis in Domino gloriatur et, quo usque supererit, suam opiferam celebrare gratulatur.

#### xxix

Decebat nichilominus ut et prefatus miles in se uirginis uirtutem experiretur, quam in hospitibus suis factam letabatur. Hic namque eodem tempore acri febre percellitur eaque diutius exagitur quatinus et mundiali fece purgaretur et fide probaretur, eoque gratior quo dilator<sup>228</sup> sospitas redderetur. Tempore ergo placito uolente Deo et dilecte sibi sponse famam adhuc amplificare et castigatum suum alleuare, intrauit cum solita exactrice febre ecclesiam ad sanctum patronum Augustinum orare, sicque concessit ad uitalem glebam salutifere Mildrethe. Vbi dum pro sui liberatione ad preces et suffragia uirginis prosternitur, somno placido quasi sanatricis antidoto perfunditur. Iamque expegefactus, ita morbo cum sopore exuitur, ut cum plena sospitate et letitia crebrisque gratiarum actionibus regrederetur, nec ulterius hac molestia temptaretur uir scilicet hospitalis, qui Christum colligendo in hospitibus suis certat coniungi ouibus dextris.<sup>229</sup>

#### xxx

Adhuc in suburbio Cantuarie degit anus fere octogenaria, iamque anachorita trigenaria, inclusa celle in beati protomartyris Stephani basilica, nomine Ælfuenna, in qua plane, simili in predicta puella mirificentia, apparet magna

<sup>228</sup> *dilator* s.s. C.

<sup>229</sup> Cf. Mt 25:31-47.

Deo dilecte Mildrethe prestantia.<sup>230</sup> Iam olim enim antequam eius uirginalis gleba huc transferretur de Taneto insula, hec cum esset ibidem in puellari flore similiter moritura, ita est apud illam ad uitam reuocata ut sibi etiam promitteretur (quam in hac etate grandeua profitetur) diuturnior uita. Hoc quoque exemplo illi iuniori (quam prescripsimus taliter resuscitatam) speramus accessuram longeuitatem promissam.<sup>231</sup> Pulchre enim alma uirgo in duabus personis et duobus in locis per consonam uirtutem esse se eandem ostendit, que alteram hic ubi nunc requiescit, alteram illic unde translata est, et uita et annositate donauit. Sed quid moramur ordine suo rem explanare propositam, uti scilicet memoratu dignissimam? Immo ipse uenerabilis<sup>232</sup> prior monasterii precellentissimi Augustini (cuius nomen et industriam, quia presens est et famam refugit, supprimimus)<sup>233</sup> hec illius uerbis, que curata est, referat et sicut ab ea accepit, cum testibus qui adhuc eam audire possunt. Taliter edisserat:

Forte, inquit, nuper ueniens ad suburbanum oratorium beati protomartyris Stephani, colloquium edificationis cum inclusa ibidem Dei famula cepi. Occurrit in medium nostra Mildretha. Immo ipsa fuit sermonis materies tota, que tantis tamque beatificis signis omnium corda et ora mouet in laudum preconia. Non tulit fidelis uirago silentium, estuans uirtutes amantissime domine tam predicare quam audire. 'Ego' ait 'O probatissime, uirginis et testis et preco, cum multa didicerim uel memorata uel memoranda suarum uirtutum, hic modo non aliunde quero indicium, que in me ipsa certissimum habeo experimentum. Clara res est et tota Tanetus mea nouit, in qua nata et educata sum, quod recolo quam sit uerum. Cum adhuc, inquam, illa glorie nostre corona Mildretha suam insulam pretiosissimi corporis nobilitaret presentia, ego, paruula in domo paterna, tanto languore per decem et semis menses demolita sum ut ab omnibus desperaretur remedium et solum michi superesset sepulchrum. Venit nox in qua iam uelut exspiratura ab omnibus obseruabar, et iamiamque deficiens aut mori aut mortua uidebar. Sic michi affecte, post triste chaos et tenebras que me occupauerant, ineffabilis serenitas lucis refulsit. Virgo scilicet gloriosa cum celesti claritate se exhibuit, totamque domum reuerberantibus mortales optutus radiis impleuit. Splendorem solis facie, candorem niuis uincebat ueste, quam pulchritudinem et subtilitatem nemo sufficit pensare.

<sup>230</sup> The cell was presumably in St. Stephen's Church, Hackington, one mile north of Canterbury. Lauretta, countess of Leicester, became an anchoress there in the early thirteenth century. See R. M. Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England* (London, 1914), pp. 74, 114 and 153.

<sup>231</sup> See above, chapter 28.

<sup>232</sup> *memorabilis* B.

<sup>233</sup> Little is known of the priors of St. Augustine's in this period. The only person with whom the prior mentioned here might be identified is the Antony who was introduced into the abbey with monks of Christ Church in or after 1089 (ASC 1.292).

Virga illi in manu, reatricis dignitate pretenta, croceo uel cereo colore prelucida, desuper ecclesiastico pignore formose incurua.<sup>234</sup> Adhuc uidere michi uideor illa oblectamenta terrenas uoluptates longe excedentia. Que clementie sue in me figens lumina, hac anxiam releuabat allocutione dulciflua: "Si ab hac" inquit "leti instantia respirare malueris, meis necesse est obtemperes consiliis, quatinus ad salutiferam glebam beate uirginis Mildrethe celerius deporteris. In ipsius enim manu data est reparatio tua. Hanc requirendo recipies non solum uite sospitatem sed etiam diuturnitatem. Alioquin iam nunc morieris, nisi petito ipsius patrocinio libereris." A tam beatifica presentia et promissione uiuifica, ego uelut<sup>235</sup> odore et unguento suauitatis perfusa iam me recepissem uigorem sentiebam et redisse de mortis faucibus ad uitam, de ultimo periculo ad sanitatem, de profundo carcere ad lucem. Vnde, iam quasi semiuigilans, in hunc prosiliui clamorem: "Quenam es, O domina, cuiusue audio tam amabilia mandata?" "Ipsa sum" inquit "quam tibi nominaui, Mildretha, et ipsa tibi mea incunctanter complebo promissa." Obstupuere itaque assidentes parentes mei, audientes me quidem interrogantem, neminem autem audientes uel uidentes respondentem. A quibus percunctata cum quo haberem colloquia, "Cum domina nostra" dicebam "Mildretha." Bis hec uidi et audiui per somnium mee recuperationis solamina.<sup>236</sup> Tertio uero non iam somnianti sed aperte uigilanti et manifeste aspicienti, eadem que prius refulsit gloria, eadem et forme et ornamentorum claritate conspicua, simul et eadem uox et uerba clare auribus meis sunt iterata: "Accelera mea mandata exsoluere, si uis incumbentem mortem promissa uiuacitate mutare." "Ego uero" inquam "O domina, prona deuotione parata sum gratissima tua exequi iussa." Statimque quasi sponsione suscepta ab oculis meis uisa iocunditas est sullata. Mirabantur iterum parentes me (quam funerare putabantur) tam uiuaciter loquentem; mirabantur nil preter me perpendentes quem interrogassem, cui respondissem. Mirabar et ego illos tam manifestam et claram non sentientes lucem ac uocem. "An uobis" inquam "ut michi luciflua uirgo Mildretha modo in tanto nitoris iubare non est uisa, nec tam diuina uoce audita?" Negantibus illis quicquam sibi preter solitum apparuisse, "Michi uero" inquam "iam tertio est manifestata, bis scilicet clausis in soporem palpebris, deinde peruigili acie reseratis. Cuius forma omni humana eligantia speciosior, facies sole splendidior, uestitus niue candidior, a cuius radiis mira claritate tota hec domus refulsit et in manu eius baculus insigne ducis ac matris melliflue emicuit. Vox eius dulcis et suauis in auribus meis

<sup>234</sup> 'A staff was in her hand, held forward with the dignity of a ruler, glowing with a yellow-waxen colour, and beautifully curved at the top in ecclesiastical pledge.' The exact meaning of *pignore* is unclear.

<sup>235</sup> *uelut* s.s. C.

<sup>236</sup> *solamina* corr. from *solennia* C.

sonuit, que me sanandam (ea condicione – si ad sui corporis tumbam deferar) spopondit.” Hinc genitores cognatique gratulati et una mecum in spem rediuiui “Qualis” inquiunt “et quam uera hec promissio sit, consequentia probabit.” Sic diluculo ad ecclesiam, in qua ipsa uirgo Tanetensium gloria adhuc corpore (ut premonstratum est) persistebat, me secum deportari fecerunt, meque deposita ante ipsius salutaria pignora in preces suspiriosas una se prostauerunt. O magnam dilecte Domini sponse gratiam! O potentiam alme Mildrethe copiosam! Ego illa pene per annum languida, que ipsa die credebar certissime humanda, extimplo irruentibus uiribus, quasi somno reffectis artubus surrexi et ingressus firmos erecta constitui. Et quid<sup>237</sup> moror? Mira celeritate plenissima ibi sospitate triumphauit. Quas laudes ego misella, quas grates rediuiua mecum totius parentele letitia, quas benedictiones tunc<sup>238</sup> dabat in celum accurrentis plebis frequentia! Per ecclesie aluearia et atria,<sup>239</sup> per rura et competa, euntium et occurrentium agmina uelut apum examina magnificabant Christi magnalia in ammiratione digna Mildretha; tantique miraculi fama ubique redolebat tanquam aromatum odoramenta. Et quid multa? Ipsa die uel interuallo, quo debebam alienis manibus ad sepulchrum efferri, mea Mildretha fecit me propriis pedibus domum regredi. Cumque me cognati et amici luctuosis exequiis exportare cogitarent ad tumultum, mutatis repente in gaudia fletibus, proprio euntem incessu ad paternum comitantur conuiuuium. Iam uero quam uera sit hec assertio mea, quam certa uirginis uatidica promissa, satis scilicet comprobatur hec etas mea. Nam hodie anni sunt circiter septuaginta, ex quo hec promissio in me est perpetrata.’

## xxx

Hec ubi probatissime de se ipsa disseruit religiosa Christi solitaria, post propheticas uel apostolicas euangelii nuntias, haud abnuenda ad nostram approbationem simulque adhuc impetratam audientiam addidit quoque ista uirginis retexere gesta, tam certa quam in se iterum liquide comperta. Prosequitur secunda signa uelut acceptiora duorum testimonia. ‘Postea’ inquit ‘cum ego per incrementa temporum adolescerem et rerum iocunditas cum incolomitate<sup>240</sup> arrideret, diuina correptio iterum occurrit oculosque michi terrenis illecebris patentes occlusit et quasi obductis fenestris per mundum aberrantes sensus meos reuocauit. Credo etiam quod hec temptatio amplius me docuerit de mea curatrice Mildretha presumere, et rursum post tenebras lucem sperare, ut que dudum michi uitam impetrauerat auferendam, lucem etiam

<sup>237</sup> *quid* s.s. C.

<sup>238</sup> *tunc* s.s. C.

<sup>239</sup> *et atria* om. B.

<sup>240</sup> *incolomitate* corr. from *intellectu* C: *intellectu* A.

reddere posset sullatam. Igitur per continuum aut amplius annum obscurum cecitatis pertuli ergastulum. Solaris globus nil egit suis radiis, uastus orbis carcer erat orbibus meis. Poscebam crebro consolatricem meam ut miseretur in tenebris palpani, sicut quondam miserta est in funere iacenti, et redderet diem, que dederat diuturnitatem. Itaque post continuum unius anni noctem, exacto tempore castigationis et instante tempore<sup>241</sup> miserationis, quadam nocte dormienti michi refulsit ipsa lux, mea nota Mildretha, et cessante mundi aspectu species celestis est uisa. Precepitque ut properarem deduci ad sua lucifera pignora, ibi scilicet me recepturam pristina lucis gaudia. Perducta ergo manu cum comitatu proximorum ad ipsius corporis tumulum, tanquam ad mee salutis refugium, uix finita oratiuncula rarescentibus tenebris sensi michi modice lucis oriri diluculum matricque astanti ilico intimaui id ipsum. Illa interim indixit michi silentium, ne ambigua res audientibus daret magis ridiculum quam miraculum. Cumque hortatu matris obnixius orarem, protinus abstersa omni caligine pleno uigore hausi diem rerumque speciositatem. Tum quidam manu tenens cornu temptabat inaniter in una re an uiderem que omnia iam clare uidissem. Eo tempore, id est inter paschales et rogationum dies,<sup>242</sup> aderat honorificentissimus abbas Ælfstanus, qui postea hanc pretiosissimam margaritam Mildretham ad hec apostolica loca transtulit, que illa nunc perpetuo illustrat. Cumque in ipsa ecclesia assistens perspexisset me uere illuminatam, continuo cum toto collegio fratrum uel clericorum erumpens in laudationem Dominicam optulit auctori Domino sueque<sup>243</sup> dilecte magnificentiam et ubique diffudit hanc mirificentiam.<sup>244</sup> Hinc ego iam non alienis manibus sed propriis luminibus domum reducta, tante sanatricis gratia propinquorum tristitiam conuerti in gaudia. His aliisque innumeris signis siderea Mildretha et antiquam et hodiernam habitationem ita sua presentia perpetuo uendicat et elucidat, ut nec inuidia nec fraudulentia nec audacia detrahendi, immo nec mentiendi, locum inueniat. Nam sicut in sole et oculis omnium furta, ita mendacia in splendore ueritatis sua perdunt argumenta.<sup>245</sup>

Sic itaque uenerabilem priorem, quem superior margo pretitulat, ueridice et adhuc impresentiarum superstitis femine probabilem sententiam retulisse sufficiat.

## xxxii

Lucet semper Tanetus Deo amabilis Mildrethe uirtutibus, omnisque eius memorie et ubicumque poscitur locus. Sicut etiam supplicibus accommoda, ita

<sup>241</sup> *castigationis ... tempore* om. B.

<sup>242</sup> Rogation Days are the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday before Ascension Day.

<sup>243</sup> *-que* s.s. A: om. BC.

<sup>244</sup> *et ubique ... mirificentiam* om. B.

<sup>245</sup> On the context of these possible doubts about Mildrith and her powers, see above, text-note 223.

non nunquam seuis est seuera. Rusticus possederat agrum de Christi Ecclesia, habebat et partem de beate Mildrethe possessione in Taneto sua.<sup>246</sup> Ab hoc dum a prepositis eiusdem uirginis debitus census exigitur, ille omne prorsus debitum inficiatur. Percunctantibus exactoribus qua fronte legitime dicioni obsisteret, iam spiritu nequitiæ inflammatus, eo effrenate uecordie processit, ut hanc possessionem de qua agebatur nequaquam ad beatam pertinere Mildretham, sed tantum ad Christi assereret Ecclesiam seseque id sacramento, quocumque postularetur, probare paratum. Statuto ergo die probationis, conuenitur populose ab utrisque partibus. Ille autem rurali dolositate tale artificium commentatus est, quasi iudicii ueritatem arte fallere posset, nec periuraret dum falleret. Impleuerat quippe sibi calceos de puluere terre que erat Christi Ecclesie, accedensque infelix ad propositum iusiurandum iurauit sic: 'Per Deum, cui hec sancta sacrata sunt que manibus teneo, terra supra quam asto est uere Christi Ecclesie et non sancte Mildrethe.' <sup>247</sup> Dixerat; et cum dicto fallentis ueri utrosque orbes oculorum, excussos in terram in quam mentitus est, amisit simulque eiulans cum horrore et amentia concidit. Tum uero populo inclamante et improbante periurum, confessus peruersitatem cum uociferatione et gemitu, soluit calciamenta a pedibus ostenditque omnibus quomodo iniquitas sua in uerticem ipsius descenderit et mentita sit iniquitas sibi. Monstrauit omnibus puluerem effusum a calceis quem ipse ultra uidere nequiuuit; et qui in terra sanctorum iniqua gessit, iam nec celum nec terram nec quicquid in eis est amplius cernere meruit. Ve captiosis sicophantarum strophis, ue *qui fodiunt foueam et incidunt in eam* ! <sup>248</sup> Stulte autem dum omnes uel ipsam ueritatem se fallere posse putauit, se ipsum perditus fefellit. Non enim tantum stabat super terram quam in soleis habebat, que eum continere non poterat, sed potius in illa uel super illam stabat que eum, ne hiando in baratrum dimitteret, continebat. Nam quamuis stabat super puluerem alterius agri, uel super alienum lutum suis pedibus adherens, uel super soleas aut calceos aut super ipsos pedes suos, prorsus stabat super terram iustissime ultricis Mildrethe, in quam, debita pena iudice, probatus est periurasse. Vnde eum merito interna cecitas dolose mentis in exteriores tenebras dimersit – perpetua cecitas corporis!<sup>249</sup> Vt ergo ipse in

<sup>246</sup> Thanet was divided between the lands of Christ Church in the west and those of St. Augustine's Abbey (identified with St. Mildrith's former lands) in the east. The manors in question were respectively those of Monkton and Minster-in-Thanet. See *Domesday Book*, fols. 4a and 12b, and D. W. Rollason, 'The Date of the Parish-Boundary of Minster-in-Thanet (Kent)', *Archaeologia cantiana* 95 (1979) 7-17.

<sup>247</sup> The oath described here was taken on relics held in the hand. On such oaths in Anglo-Saxon legal and other sources see M. Förster, *Zur Geschichte des Reliquienkultus in Altengland* (Munich, 1943), pp. 15-19.

<sup>248</sup> Eccl 10:8.

<sup>249</sup> Possibly this sentence could be understood and punctuated in several ways.

exemplum terribile sit periuris fraudulentis, uersutis et callidis, maxime autem ecclesiasticarum facultatum peruasoribus perditis, tumefacto et putrescente corpore infra duas ebdomadas interiit. Clementior tamen ultio uirginis extitit, ne sceleratus repentino raptu totus periret, sed penitendi induciis forte resipisceret.<sup>250</sup>

## xxxiii

Iam olim uero assumpta uirgo Mildretha ad regnum et delicias sponsi non cessat etiam loco terrene peregrinationis celitus prospicere, unde colligat animas eterne dilectionis sue. Nam cum nuper templum pristine requietionis sue euersum esset ad in melius reparandum, et de sumptu sollicitarentur auctores operis propositi, uir memorabilis Blakemannus, cuius iam opibus opus profecit, tali per somnum confortatus est uisione.<sup>251</sup> Collectus uidebatur totus Taneti populus in loco edifici, qui inter se sollicite conferebant de structure effectione. Verum modice fidei et sterilis beniuolentie homines desperabant se ad hoc posse conualere. Dubitantibus fere omnibus et multa reuoluentibus, astitit in medio puella regia, regali aspectu conspicua, dicens omnibus uoce publica: 'Audite, amatores seculi et corruptibilium facultatum seruatores ac serui. Vos graue fertis succurrere edificio domus Dei, quia ueremini uestris opibus minui, de cuius profectu multo copiosius ditaremini. Confiditis in perituris, nec speratis in bonis permansuris. Sed que retinetis peribunt, que expenditis multiplicata eternaliter manebunt. Ecce ego sola femina, uestris opibus exilior, plus omnibus uobis huic structure proficiam donec perficiam. Plus, inquam, mea hic ualebit inopia quam uestra copia.' Nulli dubium etheream Mildretham in hac specie reuelationis sue plebis increpasse duritiam atque tenaciam, omnesque claro mysterio docuisse non in falsis sed in ueris diuitiis habere fiduciam et largifluam in ecclesia et egenis exercere beneficentiam. Quod autem uisa est suam proponere inopiam, que ditior est in ethere, intelligitur in sui persona significasse penuriam ecclesie sue, uel etiam supradicti suffragatoris maiorem efficaciam quam facultatem, per quem ipsa deserentibus locupletioribus cepti operis efficeret consummationem. Quam uero uera sit ista in uisu promissio, iam ipsa indicat usque ad sarta tecta ascendens perfectio.

<sup>250</sup> A very similar story is to be found in M. Lapidge, 'Dominic of Evesham "Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris"', *Analecta bollandiana* 96 (1978) 96-97.

<sup>251</sup> The church of Saints Peter and Paul, usually identified with the chapel recovered by archaeological excavation at Minster Court, is probably meant. There is some Norman work in the complex of buildings there. See *HSAC*, p. 218; J. Lewis, *The History and Antiquities as well Ecclesiastical as Civil of the Isle of Tenet in Kent*, 2nd edition (London, 1736), pp. 92 and 102-103; and C. Platt, *The Monastic Grange in Medieval England* (London, 1969), pp. 18-20.

## xxxiv

Sed hic uirgo iam non in somnis, uerum nouo miraculo omnium coruscat oculis. Lignum trabale, in quo laquearia tecti templi seriatim figerentur, tribus pedibus inuentum est breuius pariete cui superponeretur. Sepius temptantes eadem inequalitas cassabat. Tristabantur egre opus differri, dum competentis longitudinis lignum non facile esset reperiri, totaque nocte sollicitabantur expertes consilii. Artifex almam presidem Mildretham inclamat quatinus sui destitutis consulat. Mane ergo iterum ad metiendum acceditur, ut solet humana auditas iam exquisita curiosius repetere, et (O Dei mirificentiam! O uirginis gratiam!) lignum, quod ad opportunam mensuram tribus pedibus diximus breuius, ultra necessarium modum aliis tribus pedibus factum est productius. Sex enim pedum spatio prolongatum est. Laudent alii ac debito stupore grande hoc attollant miraculum. Michi uero gratius est quod hinc amputatum quam quod est additum. Iocundior mouet stupor et tripudium, quod hoc augmentum quasi superuacuum superna prouidentia fecit gloriosum, ut quod inde abscederetur tanquam superfluum ad sublime ecclesie proficeret signaculum, atque ad celsiorem conuenientie ammirationem in Dominice crucis transiret honorem. Denique ex hac tripodali particula detruncata a sufficienti metreta, crux Domini conuenientissime est in fronte nauis ecclesiastice sublimata tam delectabili scilicet superne gratie ordine, ut sub ipsa cruce intus resideat benedicta tumba dudum acquiescentis crucifere Christi Mildrethe.

xxxv<sup>252</sup>

Est in centenario preminentis Ecclesie Christi choro senior, euo honorabilis, uerbo et actu fidelis, conuersatione, orationibus et psalmodia preclarus, nomine Liuinus.<sup>253</sup> Hunc de beata Mildretha errantem quod in Gregoriana parrochia teneretur, hunc, inquam, post actas uigilias uirginalis natalicii stratu obdormientem, uisio presignata tali modo concitauit.<sup>254</sup> Astitit angelus Domini et aspectu et habitu lucidissimo, uocansque placide 'Surge' inquit 'et uade ad nuptias.' Sensit dormiens iussum sed somnus inhiuit responsum. Venit secundo excitator dicens: 'Surge, iam surge et ad nuptias procede.' Ad hec contemplator: 'Ad quas' inquit 'nuptias?' 'Ad nuptias' refert nuntius 'sancte Mildrethe

<sup>252</sup> This chapter is also found in Goscelin's 'Contra usurpatores' and printed in *HP*, pp. 92-94. A omits it and C gives it after the chapter here numbered 'xxxvii'. Where C diverges from B it agrees with the 'Contra usurpatores', so it seems possible that the scribe of C copied the chapter from the latter text as an afterthought.

<sup>253</sup> *nomine Liuinus om. B: Liuinus om. HP.*

<sup>254</sup> On the claim of St. Gregory's Priory, Canterbury, to possess Mildreth's relics, see *ML*, pp. 62-64, and *HP*.

uirginis.’<sup>255</sup> Sed auditorem rursus sopor oppressit. Tertio tandem celicola regrediens ‘Cur’ inquit ‘tardas ad festas<sup>256</sup> beate Mildrethe surgere nuptias?’ Tum uero contemplator intellectualiter respondens celestibus monitis ‘Vbi queso’ ait ‘domine, eam esse credemus?’ ‘Apud sanctum Augustinum’ respondet testis ethereus. At ille ‘An non potius est’ inquit ‘apud sancti Gregorii parrochiam, ut nos arbitramur?’ ‘Nequaquam id credas’ ait ueri symmista. ‘Ibi scilicet nunquam fuit, nec est, nec erit. Verum hoc indubitanter scito quia apud sanctum Augustinum est. Iam enim uidebis ueri indicium.’ Ad hoc angelicum dictum uisa est inspectori tota aula qua quiescebat splendore flammeo ultra quam dici possit coruscare. Tum uero, mirabile dictu, aperta desuper celi monstrantur fastigia et inestimabili luce effusa; Angeli, Archangeli, Throni, Dominationes atque innumera supernorum agmina cum immensa claritate descendere sibi sunt uisa, inter que omnia gloriosa Mildretha resplenduit etherea pompa, tanquam de thalamo procedens regia<sup>257</sup> Domini sponsa. Cernitur forma siderea, regio diademate prefulgida, purpura aurotexta, gemmis, margaritis, ac monilibus incomparabilibus omnique ornatu glorie decorata, tanquam regina que uenit a sponsi dextris, cui dicat pulcherrimus amator intemerate pulchritudinis: *Tota pulchra es, amica mea.*<sup>258</sup> Sic igitur inserta ac circumfusa celestium choris ab ipsa occidentali regia, qua contemplator excubans hec speculabatur, summo omnium triumpho et concentu usque in Augustinianam aulam deducitur, simulque nouus suus assertor mentis acie comitabatur. Hic demum, hoc est in Augustinianam suam,<sup>259</sup> usque in porticum monumenti et altaris sui cum angelicis laudibus uirgo perducitur et, circumstante supernorum exercitu, finito ymno tumbam uelut requietionis sue thalamum ingreditur. Nam ut miram huius mysterii atque ineffabilis gratie Dei consonantiam amplectamur, eadem hora noctis qua prefatus senior uitalem uirginem apud sanctum Augustinum subeuntem tumbam suam per uisum<sup>260</sup> uidit, Augustinensis chorus, exactis nocturnalibus sacris eiusdem uirginalis solennii, duodecimum responsorium finiuit et prior ymnum laudis intonuit simulque maximorum cimbalarum clangor insonuit et contemplator in se reuersus protinus e lectulo<sup>261</sup> cum magna animaduersione exiliit, tremensque ad sacra altaria confugit et in honore beate uirginis missam celebrat.<sup>262</sup> Cum ergo credamus (psalmista docente) in conspectu angelorum nos Domino psallere,<sup>263</sup>

<sup>255</sup> *uirginales C, HP.*

<sup>256</sup> *festiuas C.*

<sup>257</sup> *regis A.*

<sup>258</sup> *Cant 4:7.*

<sup>259</sup> *Augustiniana sua C: Augustinia sua B.*

<sup>260</sup> *somnum B.*

<sup>261</sup> *somniator somno et lectulo excitus for contemplator ... lectulo B.*

<sup>262</sup> *et in honore ... celebrat om. B; missas for missam C, HP.*

<sup>263</sup> *Cf. Ps 137:1.*

nec dedignare conciuēs angelos cum deuotis famulis Deum laudare. Pulchre sane uidetur hec uisio illi duodeno responsorio consonare, in quo uirginis aduentui superna cum infimis congratulari canitur, quod et<sup>264</sup> pro intellectu hic inseritur.<sup>265</sup> 'O diem illum festiuum, quo patrie salus Mildretha aduehitur! Tota adeo prouincia obuīam fertur, ymnus laudis in celum tollitur, superna congratulantur. Et Helie inundatione terra exusta renouatur.<sup>266</sup> Rerum siccitate omnia moriebantur, sed aduentu salutifere uirginis omnia renascuntur.'<sup>267</sup> Perpendat itaque omnis beniuola anima quam iocunda sit ista conuenientia, ut in isto sui aduentus carmine uideretur cum superno contubernio aduenire et, hoc finito, sue requietionis apothecam subire.

xxxvi<sup>268</sup>

Ipsius etiam persone in hac Augustinensi uirgine experimentum adiungimus, qui inter honorabiles exstitit uenerabilis. In eiusdem gloriose uirginis signis sepe memorabilis abbas Scollandus,<sup>269</sup> ex quo eius sacrum corpus (reserata urna) incorrupto annoso uelamine inspexit, multa reuerentia ei iugiter extitit deuotus. Contigit autem illum per septem septimanas tanto languore artari ut, addictus lectulo quasi sepulchrali, nequaquam sine officialium subsidio, sine acerbo detrimento a latere in latus posset conuerti. Siquando illum ecclesiam uisitare promptus animus impulsisset sed inbecillitas corporis inhiuisset, uix quattuor uirorum lacertis agebatur ut magis supportari quam sustentari uideretur. Sic longa nocte angustiato et oppresso tandem salutifera beate Mildrethe festiuitas alluxit. Triste erat gaudium egro et egra afflicto (uelut nubili solis) consolatio. Mulcebat desolatum dulcis concentus chorizantium fratrum et tetrum chaos, quod obuoluerat morbidum, rupit uirgineis radiis solare uirginis festum. Grauiabat nox dolentem ut suos solet detritos; sed ipsam nostra luna longe clarior gentilium Diana splendidissime illustrabat uirginea lampade, et oppressum refouebat dulcimodo uigilium se Domino offerentium canore.<sup>270</sup>

<sup>264</sup> *responsorium* for et C.

<sup>265</sup> R add. HP.

<sup>266</sup> V add. HP.

<sup>267</sup> This responsory and versicle are part of the text entitled 'Historia de s. Mildretha' which is set to music and occupies fols. 43r-50v of Harley 3908. The words quoted here occur on fol. 48r.

<sup>268</sup> xxxvi om. A. The hand which added Arabic chapter numbers to C here wrote 'c. 35' but then drew a line through it, adding a now partially illegible marginal note which seems to say that chapter 35 is to be found after chapter 37.

<sup>269</sup> Abbot Scotland (1070-87) was a Norman. On the attitudes of Norman churchmen to English saints, see *ML*, pp. 59-60, and R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and His Biographer* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 249.

<sup>270</sup> The meaning of this difficult sentence seems to be: 'The night oppressed the man, grieving as was his wont over his sad condition; but our moon, brighter by far than the Diana of the heathens, illuminated the night most splendidly through the virgin's lamp, and comforted the oppressed with the sweet singing of the watchers offering themselves to the Lord.'

Ipsam tunc noctem solennem abbas insomnem agebat, cui simul et morbi acerbitas et modulata suauitas soporem auerterat. Gemebat angustate absentie penam, sed respirabat et clamabat ad blandientis armonie cantilenam. 'O' inquit 'Iesu Domine, utinam me indignum dignareris huius letitie collegio representare. Splendida uirgo Domini Mildretha, solue, queso, horum dolorum uincula tua intercessione quibus prohibeor ad te accedere.' Iam irradiante festo die iubet se apportari ad eiusdem uirginis tumulum et altare. Huc laboriose adductus, ministris hinc inde suffulcientibus aut euehentibus simulque fratribus uallantibus, ad orationem deponitur supplicissimus. Post anhelas et longas preces, dum pararet se erigere, irruentes adiutores repulit manus significatione. Ipse, mirabile uisu, per se uigore surrexit, diu in pedibus astitit, poplitum flexionem frequentauit. Iam gratiarum sacrificio exacto, ad beati Augustini preminentem tumbam absque ullo amminiculo inoffense processit, quasi beata Mildretha hunc ad amicum sui sponsi deducente atque dicente: 'Recipe ualidum quem misisti michi morbidum.'<sup>271</sup> Ibi quoque oratione protelata et genuflexione repetita uotorum Deo reddebat libamina. Ad singula nichilominus adiacentium sanctorum patrum se prosternendo corpora, ad sanatricis sue Mildrethe gratifica compensatione rediit oracula. Sic denique totum se hinc referens sospitem et letum, abdicat lectulum, fraternum sibi applicat contubernium et cum ipsis de sua incolomitate, de beate Mildrethe mirificatione, de eius instante solennitate triplicat tripudium. Notabiliter itaque compleuit septies septem dies (tanquam suam quinquagesimam aut Pentecosten) infirmitate, qua purgatus succedente domestice uirginis solennitate potiretur salute. Vixit autem diu in hac sospitate, usque ad terminum scilicet mortalis uite.

xxxvii<sup>272</sup>

Sue quoque requietionis et hereditarie possessionis insula Tanetus sibi dicata, ex quo etiam inde ad sanctum Augustinum transmigrauit, multis signis et reuelationibus quam sibi sit grata ostendit. Ex quibus pleraque noster codicellus notissima exposuit, sed et his hoc unum in presenti declaratum miraculum nunc subiungit. In Orientalium Saxonum prouincia quedam puella, in domo parentum adhuc paruula, fidei pignus dederat cuidam iuueni, se nulli unquam nupturam nisi ipsi. Iam etate et sensu maturior, ubi didicit mundi contemptoribus premia et luxurie tormenta reposita, altis suspiriis ingemuit et, conubialia uincula quasi perpetuam captiuitatem abhorrens, a diuina clementia doceri anxie deprecatur quomodo ab his laqueis et naufragio eruatur. Cui per beatam Mildretham (ut ex consequentibus colligitur) hac uoce supernum

<sup>271</sup> On the layout of the crypt, see above, text-note 193.

<sup>272</sup> A omits the number and has a blank space between this and the preceding chapter.

mandatum in sopore defertur: 'Exi de terra tua et de cognatione tua et, abiecta terrene cure sarcina, libera mente aggredere Dei seruitia.' Tum uero exultans, propalata sibi euadendi uia, clam patrem et matrem cunctosque notos tanquam captiuitatis uenabula ac retia aufugit et in quandam insulam uelut in asylum salutis Dei perfuga recepta se abdidit. Ibique sub quodam presbitero Christi tyrocinia in sancta continentia per aliquot annos exercuit. Tandem conspecta ibi et recognita ab his quibus ante erat tam nota quam clara, uehementi pauore concussa (quasi iam esset in patrios neruos retracta) alto gemitu Saluatorem inclamitat, ut eam a laqueo uenantium eripiat et ad certum locum sibi complacitum perducatur, quo ei in pace deseruiat. Sic oranti uirgo pulcherrima, facie et ueste splendida, alluxit trepidantique dixit: 'Desere huius loci habitationem et uade ubi Deo sub beate Mildrethe patrocinio debitam reddas seruitutem.' Ad hec puelle querenti ad quem locum se iuberet transire, 'Ad Tanetum' inquit 'insulam perge et ibi ad perennem requiem persiste.' Sic per reuelationem certificata iterumque a mundiali rictu excussa, ut *ceruus sitiens ad fontes aquarum*<sup>273</sup> ad celitus iussum peruenit habitaculum, gratias agens pietati diuine, quo se per beatam Mildretham a parentibus et a suspecto eripuisset proditore. Ibi itaque attentius abstinendo, uigilando, psallendo et orando mente et corpore sacrificabat se Domino. Hostem antiquum impugnantem repugnando expugnat et (O superbie dedecus!) ille cui olim astrorum et etiam angelorum regia non suffecerat, nunc cum puella fragili certat. Illa superatum calcatur; ille tumore suo disruptus crepat. Fit ursus qui erat angelus, rugit leo, ululat lupus, sibilat chelydrus; Dei tyruncula cuncta fantasmata propellit orationibus. Tali lucta per septem annos ibidem exercitata, usu proficiebat ad meliora. Hinc clausulam suspirans solitariam, obtinuit sub ala ecclesie edificari sibi cellulam. Quam ibi includere conati dum licentiam uillicis petunt clerici, ab ipsis uillicis prorsus sunt prohibiti.<sup>274</sup> Quo interdictu mente consternata ac desperata, transire hinc deliberat, et in proxima uilla (que Wicham<sup>275</sup> appellatur) cuiusdam incluse tunc recenter defuncte mansionem aspirat. Iam uestes et reculas suas in fascem colligauerat et in crastinum discessum anhelabat, cum repente beate Mildrethe indignatione percussa corrui. Nec solum gressibus quibus discederet compeditur, uerum etiam toto corpore uelut irruente morte coartatur. Oculos patentes lux fugit, lingua obmutuit, os saliuam defluente spumat, manus et brachia gelidus rigor obligat, extremus flatus in arto tantum

<sup>273</sup> Cf. Is 35:6-7 and Ps 41:2-3.

<sup>274</sup> Later sources stress the need for the permission of the bishop or the patron when a person embarked on the life of a hermit or anchorite. Goscelin's account suggests that the situation was less well defined in his time. See Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, pp. 85-96.

<sup>275</sup> This place is probably Wickhambreux, five miles northeast of Canterbury. An earlier form of the name appears to have been *Wicham*. See Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* s.n.

pectusculo uaporat. Obseruabant circumsedentes non tam morituram quam morientem. In tanta tribulatione absorte languide succurrit ocius salutifera castigatrix et Deifera consolatrix Mildretha, increpando et refouendo per huiusmodi dicta: 'Vbi nunc est' inquit 'exitus tuus de isto loco, ad quem te iussi uenire atque hic manere? Recede modo hinc si potes et, postposita ope nostra ac consilio, tuo utere proposito. Immo uero non sic abibis. Aut uiua aut mortua hic remanebis, hic itaque fine tenus persiste in famulatu Domini, nec alias intendas frustra progredi. Nam hic citius desiderii tui effectum potieris et a commodioribus obsecutoribus, ubi ante optaueras, includeris.' Sic confortate ipsi premortue benignissima uirgo dextram porrigit, arreptaque manu erectam assidere fecit. Illa protinus omni egritudine propulsa resedit sueque correptionis ac salutis causam, qualiter beata Mildretha in se operata sit, cum magno stupore auditorum congaudentium exposuit. Dehinc eiusdem ecclesie parrochiani suggerunt de ea senioribus monasterii sancti Augustini, cuius adiacent ditioni. Mittuntur hinc patres religiosi ad ipsam insulam quo, celebrata missa cum oratione uotiuā, captiuam Christi uoluntariam in eius saluificam retrudunt custodiam, ipsi Domino dilectaeque sue Mildrethe deuotam commendantes famulam. Hic demum fessa anima requiem se credebat inuenisse, ubi certo loco addicta Deo soli adherere posset in pace. Sed hostis qui concussit regna, qui subuertit orbem terre, semper impatiens pacis, non erubuit dolis et insidiis cum tenera puella certare, dum timet aperto dolo se uinci magis posse quam uincere. Inter plurima denique infestationis sue maleficia quadam nocte oranti uirgini cum accensa lucerna immittit horrenda uenenosorum reptilium monstra. Inhorrent nigerrime rubete enormitatis insuete, crescentes mole et multitudine. Repebant sursum in oratione accubanti, pendebant uestibus ad alta grassantes in oratione astanti. Exterrita solitaria enititur tam hostiles hospites per fenestram nequiquam eicere. Nam pro paucis extrusis turba inundauit, iamque totam domunculam inimica caterua augescendo impleuit. Sensit tandem uirgo diabolica hec esse artificia tali impetu se prodentia. Moxque, Deo aspirante et beata Mildretha suggerente, in omnem illum pestiferum cetum Dominici uerbi, euangelica uoce, ardentia intorsit tela: *In principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat uerbum*, usque ad hoc *plenum gratie et ueritatis*.<sup>276</sup> Ad primum fulmen uerbi, hoc ipsa canente uerbum usque ad finem *plenum gratie et ueritatis*, omnem fantasiam illam demoniacam ab ipso *uerbi principio* ceu noctem a sole percussam absterruit et profligauit, totamque cellulam suam purgatissimam ilico uidit, et nichilominus euanescentia agmina diuino carmine persecuta deleuit. Ve illi regi impiissimo cum uniuersis filiis superbie sue! Qui dum circuit terram, dum peruadit mundum, dum absorbet fluuium, dum rapaci tyrannide ascendere super altitudinem nubium et super astra celi exaltare

<sup>276</sup> Jo 1:1-14.

solium suum ac similis esse Altissimo grassatur, in execrabilissima reptilia, bufones et rubetas uel ranas deuolutus conuertitur; et tali satellite, tali milite, tali exercitu pugnans uictus et confusus a mediocri certatrice conculcatur et exterminatur. Illa fortior in fide Dei effecta absterritum hostem tam in leone quam in uermiculo contemnit. Exercuit uitam uigiliis, orationibus aut parsimonia. Tribus aut quattuor oblati altaris aut exiguo legumine aut pomo plerumque contenta erat. In Quadragesima tribus diebus in ebdomada tantum cibum capiebat. Cui cum quidam suggereret ut modestius abstineret ne deficeret, hec tanquam de alio referebat: 'Noui, domine mi, aliquem amicum a quarta feria usque in diem Resurrectionis Dominice nil gustasse et sine ulla molestia leto et incolomi uigore perstitisse.' Hoc illam constat patrasse sub alterius pretentione. Iam ipsa in Domini misericordia propositum suum compleuit, et in eodem loco sub beate Mildrethe patrocinio ubi certauit requieuit.<sup>277</sup>

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<sup>277</sup> C now gives the chapter numbered 'xxxv' above.

GERARD OF CREMONA'S TRANSLATION  
OF  
AL-KHWĀRIZMĪ'S *AL-JABR*:  
A CRITICAL EDITION

*Barnabas Hughes, O.F.M.*

THE most significant mathematical innovations of the high Middle Ages were the introduction of algebra into Western Europe through the translations of al-Khwārizmī's *al-Kitāb al-mukhtaṣar fī ḥisāb al-jabr wa'l-muqābala* (*Liber algebre et almuchabala*) and the foundation of abacist arithmetic in the *Liber abaci* by Leonardo da Pisa.<sup>1</sup> The latter work has been subjected to considerable study;<sup>2</sup> more is certainly warranted. The translations of *Ḥisāb al-jabr*, however, have long been in a process of sorting and study. In 1838 Guillaume Libri published a faulty edition of Gerard's translation.<sup>3</sup> Twelve years later Prince Baldassarre Boncompagni presented a transcription of William of Lunis' translation which the Prince incorrectly accepted as that of Gerard of Cremona.<sup>4</sup> Louis Karpinski in 1915 offered a critical edition of a late copy of Robert of Chester's translation.<sup>5</sup> Several years ago I reported on sixteen copies of the three translations;<sup>6</sup> and in the near future my new critical edition

<sup>1</sup> B. Boncompagni, *Scritti di Leonardo Pisano...* 1 (Rome, 1857), pp. 1-459.

<sup>2</sup> Apart from studies in standard histories of mathematics, e.g., M. Cantor, *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Mathematik* 1 (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 676-89, useful information may be found in K. Vogel, 'Fibonacci, Leonardo', *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* 4 (New York, 1971), pp. 604-13 (hereafter cited as *DSB*), particularly for the bibliography, and B. Boncompagni, 'Della vita e delle opere di Leonardo Pisano matematico del secolo decimoterzo', *Atti dell' Accademia pontificia de' nuovi lincei* 5.1-3 (1851-52) (hereafter cited as *Atti*), which describes the codices containing *Liber abaci*.

<sup>3</sup> G. Libri, *Histoire des sciences mathématiques en Italie depuis la renaissance des lettres jusqu'à la fin du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* 1 (Paris, 1838), pp. 253-97.

<sup>4</sup> B. Boncompagni, 'Della vita e delle opere di Gherardo Cremonese, traduttore del secolo duodecimo...', *Atti* 4 (1850-51) 412-35.

<sup>5</sup> L. Karpinski, *Robert of Chester's Latin Translation of the Algebra of Al-Khowarizmi* (New York, 1915). Note here a second spelling for 'al-Khwārizmī' and there are more; see for instance n. 8 below. My preference is based on the spelling used in *DSB* 7.358.

<sup>6</sup> B. Hughes, 'The Medieval Latin Translations of al-Khwārizmī's *al-jabr*', *Manuscripta* 26 (1982) 31-37. This article corrects and adds to F. J. Carmody's *Arabic Astronomical and Astrological Sciences in Latin Translation. A Critical Bibliography* (Berkeley, 1956), pp. 47-48.

of Robert of Chester's translation will be published.<sup>7</sup> The core of the present article is a critical edition of the oldest extant copy of the translation made by Gerard, together with variants found in the three older manuscripts which reproduce it most faithfully. Remarks about the other manuscript copies and an analysis of the tract complete the article.

#### ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT

According to the translation the treatise is divided into eight chapters and an appendix. These discuss in turn decimal and algebraic numbers, six canonical first and second degree equations, geometric demonstrations for three quadratic solutions, methods for multiplying with binomials, computing with roots, further examples for each type of equation, a variety of algebraic problems, business problems involving proportion, and (as an appendix) additional problems illustrating some of the standard equations. In the following analysis of each section the discussion will employ modern terminology, such as constant and coefficient, rather than the labored phraseology of the translator. The text of the latter can always be consulted to appreciate the efforts made and success realized by al-Khwārizmī as he sought to put new concepts and techniques in old words.

One may well wonder if al-Khwārizmī had forgotten that he had written a tract on the decimal system entitled *On Hindu Numerals*.<sup>8</sup> There he acknowledged that the decimal system originated with the Hindus; but here in the *Liber algebre* he credits himself with the discovery. As for algebraic numbers al-Khwārizmī set the terminology: square (*census*), root (*radix*) and constant (two names: *numerus simplex* and *dragma*). While he may have developed these ideas from a study of Diophantos' *Arithmetic* or Euclid's *Elements*,<sup>9</sup> no one may

<sup>7</sup> Robert of Chester's Latin Translation of al-Khwārizmī's *AL-JABR*. A New Critical Edition (forthcoming). Unlike Karpinski's edition, mine is based on the oldest Latin manuscripts.

<sup>8</sup> Edited by B. Boncompagni, *Trattati d'arimetica*, vol. 1: *Algoritmi de numero Indorum* (Rome, 1857), and by K. Vogel, *Mohammed ibn Musa Alchwarizmi's Algorismus. Das früheste Lehrbuch zum Rechnen mit indischen Ziffern* (Aalen, 1963).

<sup>9</sup> T. L. Heath, *Diophantos of Alexandria. A Study in the History of Greek Algebra*, 2nd edition (Cambridge, 1910) and (trans.) *The Thirteen Books of Euclid's Elements*, 2nd rev. edition, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1926; rpt. New York, 1956); and J. L. Heiberg and E. S. Stamatis, eds., *Euclidis Elementa*, 2nd rev. edition, 5 vols. (Leipzig, 1969-73). The question of al-Khwārizmī's sources was addressed by Gandz who describes three schools of thought: Hindu influence, Greek (or Greek-Hindu) resources, and Syriac-Persian fonts. He explicitly rules out the Greek background because he claims that Diophantos' *Arithmetica*, the most likely source of theory and problems for al-Khwārizmī, was translated only after the latter's death. Gandz prefers the Syriac-Persian fonts. Hartner, on the other hand, who presents an informative description of the development of algebra in Islamic lands, opts for the Greek resource, particularly that of Diophantos. His

deny him the creation of an entirely new approach to problem solving, the standardization of types of equations.

Combining variously three algebraic numbers, al-Khwārizmī constructs six types of equations, three which we will call *simple*, since he himself labeled the last three *composite*. They are:

$$\begin{array}{ll} \text{simple:} & ax^2 = bx \\ & ax^2 = c \\ & bx = c \\ \text{composite:} & ax^2 + bx = c \\ & ax^2 + c = bx \\ & bx + c = ax^2. \end{array}$$

The three simple equations are exemplified and solved with dispatch:

$$\begin{array}{ll} x^2 = 5x & x = 5 \\ 5x^2 = 80 & x^2 = 16 \\ \frac{1}{2}x = 10 & x = 20. \end{array}$$

Apparently the student was expected to memorize the paradigms, for no explicit rules are offered for solving simple equations, save one: if the coefficient of the unknown is greater or less than unity, divide or multiply all terms by the inverse of the coefficient to reach unity.<sup>10</sup> A geometric structure supports all these equations, both simple and composite, as the proofs of the methods show. The strategy of setting one side of an equation equal to zero did not occur until the seventeenth century;<sup>11</sup> the thinking of al-Khwārizmī and his successors aligned number with geometric magnitude, a concept difficult to dispose of.<sup>12</sup>

The first example for composite equations is the oft-quoted  $x^2 + 10x = 39$  and it is solved by completing the square. The root 3 is found, of course, but it is not the unknown; the unknown is the square, 9. In other problems the unknown is the root. Al-Khwārizmī seems to want his readers to be flexible in

opinion is in line with that of Rodet who claims that al-Khwārizmī was 'purely and simply a disciple of the Greek school'. See S. Gandz, 'The Sources of al-Khowarizmi's Algebra', *Osiris* 1 (1936) 263-77; W. Hartner, 'DJBAR', *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, 5 (Leiden, 1965), pp. 360-62; L. Rodet, 'L'Algèbre d'Al-Khārizmī et les méthodes indienne et grecque', *Journal asiatique* 11 (1878) 5-98.

<sup>10</sup> See below, II.A.11-12: 'Similiter quoque quod fuerit maius censu aut minus, ad unum reducetur cenum.' (References are to chapter and line numbers of the text edited on pp. 233-61) below).

<sup>11</sup> Credit for first setting an equation equal to zero probably belongs to Thomas Harriot (1560-1621), author of *Artis analyticae praxis...* (London, 1631); see G. Loria, *Storia delle matematiche dall'alba della civiltà al tramonto del secolo XIX*, 2nd edition (Milan, 1950), p. 445, and J. Wallis, *A Treatise of Algebra, Both Historical and Practical...* (London, 1685), p. 198.

<sup>12</sup> A. G. Molland, 'An Examination of Bradwardine's Geometry', *Archive for the History of the Exact Sciences* 19 (1978) 113-75.

what is to be sought. Following the example he reiterates the need to reduce, where necessary, the coefficient of the squared term to unity. Three additional problems exemplify the first of the composite types, all solved by completing the square. It should be noted that al-Khwārizmī had no word for *coefficient* and that he expects his readers to understand that 'Media igitur radices' means 'Halve the coefficient of the second degree term'. Moreover, he uses the word *questio* to signify our term *equation*.

Within the explanation accompanying the solution of the second type of composite equation, al-Khwārizmī discusses whether or not an equation in the form  $ax^2 + c = bx$  can be solved. He says that if the square of half the coefficient of the first degree term is less than the constant, the solution is impossible. Furthermore, he remarks, if the same square equals the constant, then the root is immediately equal to half the coefficient.<sup>13</sup> All of this, obviously, is a beginning of an analysis of the discriminant,  $\sqrt{b^2 - 4ac}$ . Additionally, and for the first time, he observes that there may be a second root to an equation, which the student may find if he wishes: 'Quod si volueris....'

Mindful of the foregoing remarks, al-Khwārizmī shows that he is a careful teacher as he explains how to solve each of the three types of equations. The rules are easily followed and well exemplified; in fact, a certain commonality among the steps becomes obvious. Regardless of the type, the first two steps are the same: halve the number of roots and square the half. Then, for the first and third types exemplified by  $x^2 + 10x = 39$  and  $x^2 = 3x + 4$  respectively, the constant term is added to the square; for the second type such as  $x^2 + 21 = 10x$ , the constant term is subtracted from the square. Hence, as noted above, if the subtraction cannot be done, the equation cannot be solved. (Only much later, in the sixteenth century, would Cardano begin to tinker with what Descartes would call imaginary numbers whereby the second type can always have a solution.) The fourth step is the same for all types: take the square root of the sum or difference. Only the fifth and last step which directly produces the value of  $x$  is unique for each type. For the first type, subtract the half of the number of roots from the fourth step; for the second, subtract the square root from the half; and for the third, add the half to the root. Clear, complete and concise: the rules need only be memorized. In the next section the student comes to realize why the process always produces a solution. The didactic technique employed by al-Khwārizmī, therefore, is first to familiarize students with the canonical types of equations and methods for solving them and then, after some expertise had been realized, to demonstrate the reliability of the methods.

<sup>13</sup> See below, II.B.53-56.

The meaning he intends for the word *demonstrate*, which appears as 'quod demonstrare volumus' at the end of the last two proofs, is made explicit by the word which introduces the unit, *causa*. Rather than offer Euclidean proofs for the methods, al-Khwārizmī constructs a framework that shows visibly why the methods produce the results. His approach is in fact pedagogical (to bring understanding) rather than logical (to order understanding). All of this becomes obvious in an analysis of one demonstration.

Underlying the demonstration for the method of solving equations of the second composite type is book 2, proposition 5 of Euclid's *Elements*: 'If a straight line be cut into equal and unequal segments, the rectangle contained by the unequal segments of the whole together with the square on the straight line between the parts of the section is equal to the square on the half.'<sup>14</sup> Euclid of course proves the theorem synthetically; al-Khwārizmī on the contrary reaches it analytically. The proposition is illustrated in the text edited below (III, p. 239); but it must be observed that the diagram is a composite picture showing all the steps together. The reader is expected to draw the figure step by step in order to appreciate the force of the demonstration. Here is how one should proceed to solve  $x^2 + 21 = 10x$ :

(1) Construct a square to represent the area of  $x^2$ ; (2) attach a rectangle to a side of the square to represent the area 21; (3) thus added together by juxtaposition, the two areas equal the area of a rectangle of dimensions 10 by  $x$ , as shown in fig. 1.

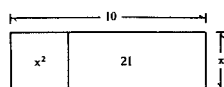


Fig. 1

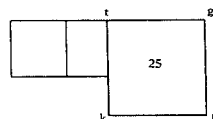


Fig. 2

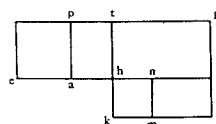


Fig. 3

(4) Bisect the side of length 10 at  $t$  and on the half construct square  $tklg$  (fig. 2) whose area is 25. (5) On  $hk$  (fig. 3) construct the square  $hkmn$ .

With the constructions complete, al-Khwārizmī leads the reader through a chain of reasoning which I will abbreviate.<sup>15</sup> The area of rectangle  $ahtp$  equals the area of rectangle  $mldn$ , and therefore the area of composite figure  $thnmlg$  equals 21. Hence the area of square  $kmnh$  is 4, and segment  $hk = ah = 2$ . But since  $eh = ea + ah = x + ah = 5$ , then  $x = 3$ . If the length of segment  $x$  is known, the area of the previously unknown square  $x$  is 9. And that was what was sought; the demonstration is complete. Through a series of visible constructions and a sequence of logical steps, therefore, the student has been led

<sup>14</sup> Heath, *Elements* 1.383.

<sup>15</sup> See below, III.48-80.

to realize that the verbal technique, tantamount to completing the square, always produces a correct solution.

The scope of the chapter on multiplication is limited to the multiplication of binomials by monomials and by binomials, the second term of a binomial being either positive or negative, the first term always positive. Al-Khwārizmī makes it clear that the first term of a binomial is in tens (*articuli*) and the second in units (*unitates*), and that if a binomial is multiplied by a binomial, four multiplications are required (each term of one by each term of the other) to reach the final product. He notes that if the second terms are both positive or negative, their product is added to the sum of the other partial products; if one is positive and the other negative, their product is taken from the sum. He begins with three specific examples  $-(10 + 1)(10 + 2)$ ,  $(10 - 1)(10 - 1)$ , and  $(10 + 2)(10 - 1)$  – which are worked out in detail. Since the student is presumed to know that each of these problems is only a reformation of familiar factors ( $11 \times 12$ ,  $9 \times 9$ , and  $12 \times 9$ ), he is forced to accept the reasonableness of the rules for multiplying and adding negative numbers. Then he gives examples of binomials multiplied by a monomial  $-(10 - x)10$  and  $(10 + x)10$  – and works these out in detail. Thereafter follow nine examples, eight of which have an unknown in the binomial:

- |                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1. $(10 + x)(10 + x)$ | 6. $(10 + x)(x - 10)$                     |
| 2. $(10 - x)(10 - x)$ | 7. $(10 + \frac{x}{2})(\frac{1}{2} - 5x)$ |
| 4. $(10 - x)(10 + x)$ | 8. $(10 + x)(x - 10)$                     |
| 5. $(10 - x)x$        | 9. $(x + 10)(x - 10)$                     |

Repeating the sixth example in what I call the eighth, he varies the first factor to make the ninth example which he solves. The third example is interesting for its answer:  $(1 - \frac{1}{6})(1 - \frac{1}{6}) = \frac{2}{3} + (\frac{1}{6} \cdot \frac{1}{6})$ . He closes this section by repeating the rule that, if the second terms of the binomials are opposite in sign, their product is subtracted from the sum of the other partial products.

Three completed problems introduce the fifth chapter on computing with roots. Instead of explaining how these are solved as he did with solving equation, al-Khwārizmī proceeds immediately to methods for multiplying and dividing radical numbers. While he explains the techniques by examples, the steps in performing various operations are perhaps best displayed in modern generalizations:

- (a)  $a\sqrt{x^2} = \sqrt{a^2x^2} = ax$   
 (b)  $a\sqrt{b^2} = \sqrt{a^2b^2} = \sqrt{c} = d$   
 (c)  $\frac{\sqrt{a^2}}{\sqrt{b^2}} = \sqrt{\frac{a^2}{b^2}} = \frac{a}{b}$

- (d)  $\frac{a\sqrt{c^2}}{\sqrt{b^2}} = \sqrt{\frac{a^2c^2}{b^2}} = \frac{ac}{b}$   
 (e)  $(\sqrt{a^2})(\sqrt{b^2}) = \sqrt{a^2b^2} = \sqrt{c} = d$   
 (f)  $(a\sqrt{b^2})(c\sqrt{d^2}) = (\sqrt{a^2b^2})(\sqrt{c^2d^2}) = \sqrt{e} = f.$

For several of these he expects the student to recall how to find the square roots of numbers, whether they are perfect squares or not.

The last section on proofs (*cause*) offers intuitive explanations for the first two problems which introduce the fifth chapter. This is done by clever addition and subtraction of line segments set equal to the components of the left side of each problem:

$$\begin{aligned}(\sqrt{200} - 10) + (20 - \sqrt{200}) &= 10 \\(20 - \sqrt{200}) - (\sqrt{200} - 10) &= 30 - 2\sqrt{200}.\end{aligned}$$

But the solution of the third problem,

$$[100 + (x^2 - 20x)] + [50 + (10x - 2x^2)] = 150 - (x^2 + 10x),$$

is offered verbally, much as it would be done today: similar terms on the left side of the equation are collected to yield the answer on the right. The verbal explanation was required because al-Khwārizmī knew of no way to combine line segments and geometric squares to produce the answer. In view of the verbal explanation, however, one may wonder why he did not sum up by remarking that the two previous problems solved by construction could be resolved easily, in so many words, by collecting like terms.

The discussion on radical numbers completes what may be called al-Khwārizmī's elementary theory of equations. The sixth chapter, on equations (*questiones*), poses six problems each illustrating a different type of equation, the techniques necessary to reduce each to its canonical form, and their respective solutions. The equations are:

- (1)  $x^2 = x(10 - x)4$
- (2)  $10^2 = 2\frac{7}{9}x^2$
- (3)  $\frac{10 - x}{x} = 4$
- (4)  $(\frac{x}{3} + 1)(\frac{x}{4} + 1) = 20$
- (5)  $(10 - x)^2 + x^2 = 58$
- (6)  $(\frac{x}{3})(\frac{x}{4}) = x + 24.$

Four technical words which describe operations necessary to put the problems into canonical forms appear in the solutions. They are:

- (1) *reducere*: to reduce the coefficient of the squared term to unity by multiplying all terms of the equation by the reciprocal of the coefficient;
- (2) *reintegrare*: the same as *reducere* except that the coefficient is less than unity;
- (3) *opponere*: to subtract a positive term on one side of an equation from itself and from its like term on the other side;
- (4) *restaurare*: to add the absolute value of a negative term from one side of an equation to itself and to the other side.

Twelve additional problems < VII. *Questiones varie* > reinforce much of what has preceded. They are a mixed bag containing a surprise. First, only four of the model equations receive further exemplification:

$$ax^2 = c: \text{ (example 9)}$$

$$bx = c: \text{ (examples 2 and 7)}$$

$$ax^2 + bx = c: \text{ (example 12)}$$

$$ax^2 + c = bx: \text{ (examples 1, 2-6, 8, 10-11).}$$

Secondly, the surprise is new material: fractional equations in examples (4), (5), (7), (8), (11), and (12). Two methods for solving these fractional equations are presented: first, the equivalent of cross-multiplication in (5), (7), (8), and (11); second, the equivalent of multiplying each term of the equation by the lowest common denominator in (4) and (12). Furthermore, example (7) requires the reader to readjust his thinking; the object of the problem or unknown is a square. Since the initial equation will eventually become a quadratic, al-Khwārizmī tells the student to treat it as *res*, the usual word for the first degree variable,  $x$ ; otherwise, the problem produces a fourth degree equation which is outside the scope of the text.<sup>16</sup> Finally, the statements of the problems become these equations:

$$(1) \quad x(10 - x) = 21$$

$$(2) \quad (10 - x)^2 - x^2 = 40$$

$$(3) \quad (10 - x)^2 + x^2 + (10 - x) - x = 54$$

$$(4) \quad \frac{10 - x}{x} + \frac{x}{10 - x} = 2\frac{1}{6}$$

$$(5) \quad \frac{1}{2} \left( \frac{5x}{10 - x} \right) = 5(10 - x)$$

$$(6) \quad (10 - x)^2 = 81x$$

<sup>16</sup> The technique of substituting  $y$  for  $x^2$  is used extensively in *Liber augmenti et diminutionis*; see Libri, *Histoire des sciences mathématiques en Italie* 1.308 and *passim*.

$$(7) \quad x^2 = y, \frac{y}{y+2} = \frac{1}{2}$$

$$(8) \quad \frac{x(10-x)}{(10-x)-x} = 5\frac{1}{4}$$

$$(9) \quad (4x)(5x) = 2x^2 + 36$$

$$(10) \quad \left(\frac{2}{3}x - 3\right)^2 = x$$

$$(11) \quad \frac{3/2}{x+1} = 2x$$

$$(12) \quad \frac{1}{x+1} = \frac{1}{x} - \frac{1}{6}.$$

The last chapter in *Liber algebre* is a short section on proportion applied to business problems, the well-known 'Rule of Three'. Following clear statements about possible variations attendant upon three given numbers with the fourth to be found, i.e.,

$$\frac{a}{b} = \frac{c}{x} \quad \text{and} \quad \frac{a}{b} = \frac{x}{c},$$

two examples are worked through in detail. Interesting is the translator's use of the expression *numerus ignotus* for 'the number to be found', a phrase that does not appear in the theory of equations, as well as it might; there the unknown is always referred to as *res* or *census*. A third example closes the chapter; it was probably included for its practical value since it focuses upon payment for six days' work where the salary is set for one month's work. With this last problem the older manuscript copies of Gerard's translation conclude *Liber algebre*.

Found only in Gerard's translation are the contents of the Appendix on pp. 257-61 below. Robert of Chester's version shows an appendix that summarizes the rules for solving the six types of equations; William of Lunis offers, as though his own, nearly all of the algebraic section of chapter 15, part 3, of Fibonacci's *Liber abaci*; Rosen's Arabic source (ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library Hunt 214, fols. 1-34) includes three additional chapters, on mensuration, legacies, and computation of returns.<sup>17</sup> Gerard made it clear that he incorporated the material from another font, for he wrote: 'Liber hic finitur. In alio tamen libro repperi hec interposita suprascriptis' (below, Appendix 2). His statement certainly suggests that he recognized that the material was not written by al-Khwārizmī, yet he saw another copy of *al-Jabr* which contained the set of

<sup>17</sup> *The Algebra of Mohammed ben Musa* (London, 1831; rpt. New York, 1969), a frequent reference for Karpinski; see above, n. 5. Yet Rosen's translation has been severely criticized by J. Ruska, *Zur ältesten arabischen Algebra und Rechenkunst* (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse 8; Heidelberg, 1917). Toomer gives the locations for three of the Arabic manuscripts; see his 'al-Khwārizmī', *DSB* 7.364.

problems. Since one aspect of the value of the present critical edition is to appreciate a translation which from the sheer force of the number of extant copies is assumed to have provided a major thrust toward the development of algebra in medieval Europe, I judged it important to include the Appendix as a cognate part of al-Khwārizmī's tract, although I have no evidence that he was its author.

The Appendix is a selection of twenty-one problems making a very uneven group. About half the solutions are straightforward; the remainder do not come so easily. Early on, the student is confronted with three quartic equations in a row, (4)-(6), followed by a cubic. Although their solutions are shown to be similar to simple types studied before, the student does have to refine his tools for solving problems. Enough practice is offered, however, particularly for thinking of *census* in terms of *res* or *radix*.

Problems (15) and (19) are the most interesting, if not the most difficult. The former begins with the squares of two unknowns, instead of the customary 'Divide ten into two parts'. Two relationships are established between them, which permit a substitution from one equation into the other thereby reducing the problem to one equation in one unknown. In problem (19), for the first time, the student is confronted by a radical binomial in an equation. The wording of problem and solution, however, is obscure (the scribe's fault?); and the medieval Latin reader may have ignored this part as unintelligible. This is a pity, since a new technique lies here: squaring both sides of an equation to remove a radical term. Both problems are finally solved quite conventionally.

The problems in the Appendix may be expressed as follows:

- (1)  $(10 - x)^2 = 81$
- (2)  $10x = (10 - x)^2$
- (3)  $\frac{2}{3}(\frac{1}{5}x^2) = \frac{1}{7}x$
- (4)  $x^2(4x^2) = 20$
- (5)  $(x^2)(\frac{x^2}{3}) = 10$
- (6)  $(x^2)(4x^2) = \frac{x^2}{3}$
- (7)  $(x^2)x = 3x^2$
- (8)  $(3x)(4x) = x^2 + 44$
- (9)  $x(4x) = 3x^2 + 50$
- (10)  $x^2 + 20 = 12x$
- (11)  $(\frac{x^2}{3})(\frac{x^2}{4}) = x^2$
- (12)  $(\frac{x^2}{3} + 1)(\frac{x^2}{4} + 2) = x^2 + 13$

$$(13) \left(x^2 - \frac{x^2}{3} - \frac{x^2}{4} - 4\right) = x^2 + 12$$

$$(14) x^2 \left(\frac{2}{3}\right) = 5$$

$$(15) x^2 - y^2 = 2 \text{ and } \frac{y^2}{x^2} = \frac{1}{2}$$

$$(16) x^2 (3x) = 5x^2$$

$$(17) \left(x^2 - \frac{x^2}{3}\right) 3x = x^2$$

$$(18) \frac{1}{3} (x^2 - 4x) = 4x \text{ and } x^2 = 256$$

$$(19) \sqrt{x^2 - x} + x = 2$$

$$(20) (x^2 - 3x)^2 = x^2$$

$$(21) (x^2) \left(\frac{2}{3} x^2\right) = 5.$$

### THE LATIN MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscript copies of Gerard's translation begin 'Hic (*or Sic*) post laudem dei et ipsius exaltationem inquit (*or inquit*)' and generally conclude '... cuius radix est quinque'. They are easily separated into two groups. Most of the seven manuscripts in the first set are from the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries and exhibit few significant variations among themselves. The second set of eight manuscripts are later in composition, show many variations from the first set and among themselves, offer fewer or more problems, and suggest that the terminology has been edited. The critical edition is based on the first group whose members are described below in detail; the various titles of the tract are given immediately after identification of the codices. The members of the second group are recognized as witnesses to the importance (*or perhaps the availability*) of Gerard's translation and are described in less detail. All and only scientific works in the codices of the first group are itemized; some works are marked with an asterisk to signal a translation to Gerard of Cremona. The diad TK following a title refers to Thorndike and Kibre's *Catalogue of Incipits*.<sup>18</sup>

### *Fonds of the Critical Edition*

C = Cambridge, Cambridge University Library Mm.2.18, fols. 65rb-69vb ('Liber maumeti filii moysi alchoarismi de algebra et almuchabala incipit'). France, c. 1360.

<sup>18</sup> L. Thorndike and P. Kibre, *A Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin*, 2nd edition (Cambridge, Mass., 1963).

*Contents:*

- (1) fols. 2r-49r: Jabir ibn Aflaḥ al-Ishbīlī, *Flores de almagesto*\* [TK 1403]. (2) fols. 49r-65r: Anon., *Liber de numeris et lineis rationalibus*\* [TK 33]. (3) fols. 65rb-69vb: al-Khwārizmī, *Liber de algebra et almuchabala*\* [TK 624]. (4) fols. 69vb-76v: Abū Bakr al-Ḥasan ibn al-Khaṣīb, *De mensuratione terrarum*\* [TK 281]. (5) fols. 76v-77r: Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd ibn Yaʿqūb al-Dimashqī, *De mensuratione figurarum superficialium et corporearum*\* [TK 1390]. (6) fol. 77r: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *De mensuratione*\* [TK 1387]. (7) fols. 77v-82r: Abraham ibn Ezra (?), *Liber augmenti et diminutionis* [TK 238].

The codex was commissioned by Geoffrey de Wighton, O.F.M., and paid for 'by alms given by his friends'.<sup>19</sup> Thomas Knyvett (d. 1622), Baron Escrick who discovered the gunpowder plot, obtained the book as his name and motto within testify. Thereafter it passed into the library of Thomas Moore (1646-1714). Upon his death the collection was purchased by King George I and presented to Cambridge University in 1715.<sup>20</sup> Items 2 through 7 may have been copied directly from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 9335 or from its exemplar, since they are in exactly the same order as they appear in the Paris codex. The algebra, item 3, is the manuscript mentioned by Montfaucon. By and large, it is a very good copy with few variations from Paris lat. 9335, notably *kaficii* for *cafficii* (fol. 115rb) and only three omissions of significant length (fols. 113ra, 113va, 116rb), the first and third due to homoeoteleuton.

*Bibliography: A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge* 4 (Cambridge, 1861), pp. 132-38.

F = Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Conv. soppr. J.V.18 (Codex S. Marci Florentini 216), fols. 80r-86v (no title). France/Italy, saec. XIII ex.

*Contents:*

- (1) fols. 1r-2r: Anon., *Liber de umbris*. (3) fols. 4r-9v: Anon., *Liber ysoperimetricorum* [TK 1083 (3)]. (6) fols. 11r-12v: Anon., (*inc.*) 'Perisimetra sunt quorum latera coniunctim sunt...' [TK 1035]. (7) fols. 12v-16r: Anon., *Practica geometrie* [TK 870]. (8) fols. 17r-29v: Jordanus de Nemore, *De triangulis* [TK 760]. (9) fols. 30r-32r: Anon., *Liber de sinu demonstrato* [TK 477]. (10) fols. 33ra: Anon., *Quadratura per lunulas* [TK 1058]. (11) fols. 33rb: Thābit ibn Qurra, *De proportionibus* [TK 1139]. (12) fols. 33v-34r: Campanus de Novara, *De figura sectoris* [TK 280]. (13) fols. 37ra-39rb: Jordanus de Nemore, *Demonstratio in algorismum* (*inc.*: 'Numerorum alius simplex...') [TK 958]. (14) fols. 39rb-42va: Jordanus de Nemore, *Tractatus minutiarum* [TK 875]. (15) fols.

<sup>19</sup> 'Iste liber est Fratris Galfridi de Wyghtone quem fecit scribi de elemosinis amicorum suorum' (fol. 1r). See A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500* 3 (Oxford, 1959), p. 2045. The codex is not mentioned by N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd edition (London, 1964), even though Friar Geoffrey lived and died in England.

<sup>20</sup> Many of the details here were graciously supplied by Jayne Cook, Assistant Under-Librarian of Cambridge University Library, to whom my thanks.

42v-53v: Jordanus de Nemore, *De numeris datis* [TK 959]. (16) fols. 53v-70r: John of Seville, *Algorismus* [TK 1250]. (17) fol. 70r-v: Anon., *Compotus*. (18) fols. 71r-72v: Robert Grosseteste, *De lineis angulis et figuris* [TK 1627]. (19) fols. 72v-80r: Anon., *De numeris fractis* [TK 1475]. (20) fols. 80r-86r: al-Khwārizmī, *Liber de algebra et almuchabala*\* [TK 624]. (21) fols. 87r-91v: Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-Kammād, *De proportionione et proportionalitate* [TK 1006].

The algebra was obviously copied piecemeal by two scribes: the first was responsible for fols. 80r-81v and the second for fols. 82r-86v. The manuscript is significant for three reasons. First, although it contains more variants than the other three manuscripts used for the critical edition, its early date suggests a strong interest in al-Khwārizmī's algebra. Second, it is the only manuscript with the unusual spelling of *census*, namely, *sensus*, which occurs in the section copied by the first scribe. Third, a (near?) contemporary gloss attributes the translation incorrectly to William of Lunis: 'Incipit liber gebre de numero translatus a magistro Guillelmo de lunis in quadriviali sciencia peritissimo' (fol. 80ra). While the note is excellent testimony to the fact that William of Lunis did translate al-Khwārizmī's *al-Jabr*, it miscredits William with this translation. He is responsible for an entirely different translation which spawned its own family of copies.<sup>21</sup>

**Bibliography:** A. A. Björnbo, *Die mathematischen S. Marcohandschriften in Florenz*, 2nd edition, ed. G. C. Garfagnini (Quaderni di storia e critica della scienza, N.S.; Pisa, 1976), pp. 88-92; B. B. Hughes, ed. and trans., *Jordanus de Nemore. De numeris datis* (Publications of the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies 13; Berkeley, 1981), pp. 27-28; R. B. Thomson, 'Jordanus de Nemore: Opera', *Mediaeval Studies* 38 (1976) 97-144 passim.

M = Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana A 183 inf., fols. 115r-120r ('Incipit liber Mulumecti de algebra et almuchabila'). Northern Italy, saec. xiv in.

#### Contents:

(1) fol. 1r: Anon., *De compoto* (fragmentum finis). (2) fols. 1v-7r: John of Sacrobosco, *De spera* [TK 1577]. (3) fols. 7v-13v: Jordanus de Nemore, *De triangulis* [TK 260]. (4) fols. 14r-19v: Ptolemy, *Planispherium* [TK 1190]. (5) fols. 20v-21r: al-Bāttanī, (*excerptum inc.*) 'integrorum multiplicantis'. (6) fols. 22r-23r: Campanus de Novara, *Almanach coniunctionum mediarum solis et lune*. (7) fols. 24r-28v: al-Qabīsī (trans. John of Seville), *Ad iudicia astrorum* (fragmentum). (8) fols. 29r-56r: Sahl ibn Bishr, *De significatione temporis ad iudicia* [TK 1411]. (9) fols. 56v-64v: Māshā'allāh (trans. John of Seville), *De receptionibus* [TK 774]. (10) fols. 64v-68v: Māshā'allāh (trans. John of Seville), *De revolutione annorum mundi* [TK 362]. (11) fols. 68v-71r: Māshā'allāh, *De coniunctionibus planetarum* [TK 729]. (12) fols. 71r-73r: Pseudo-Hippocrates, *Liber astronomiae*. (13) fols. 74r-76r: Thābit ibn Qurra, *Imagines* [TK 285]. (14) fols. 76r-77v: Thābit ibn Qurra, *Super almagestum* [TK 1570]. (15) fols. 77v-78v: Thābit ibn Qurra, *De motu octave sperae* [TK 661]. (16) fol. 79r: Anon., *Brevis tractatus de sperico*

<sup>21</sup> See n. 6 above.

*corpore et solido*. (17) fols. 80-114 desunt. (18) fols. 115r-120r: al-Khwārizmī, *Liber de algebra et almuchabala*\* [TK 624]. (19) fols. 120v-122v: Anon., *Algorismus* [TK 990].

A noteworthy gathering of treatises copied by several Italian (and French?) scribes from the mid-thirteenth to the mid-fourteenth century, the codex is witness to a strong interest in scientific topics. The copy of *Liber algebre* displays differences in notation as well as improvements upon explanations. For instance, to represent  $3\frac{1}{3}$  the scribe wrote  $\frac{1}{3} 3$ . For textual emendation, in place of 'Dic: "Hic ... equales rei"' (below, VII.102-104), there appears this clearer statement: 'Pro minori censu pone rem. Pro maiori vero censu pone rem et duas dragmas. Quibus multiplicatis per mediam dragmam que provenit ex divisione minoris censi (*sic*) per maiorem et eveniunt media res et dragmam (*sic*), id est, que equantur uni rei' (fol. 118va27-34). Seemingly, early fourteenth-century scholars were seeking clarifications and improvements upon texts handed them. Yet the copy has numerous defects; a representative selection are shown in the apparatus.

*Bibliography*: P. Revelli, *I codici ambrosiani di contenuto geografico* (Milan, 1929), pp. 24-25; A. L. Gabriel, *A Summary Catalogue of Microfilms of One Thousand Scientific Manuscripts in the Ambrosiana Library, Milan* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1968), p. 44.

N = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 16965, fols. 2r-19v ('Liber mahumeti filii moysi alchorismi de algebra et almuchabla incipit'). France, saec. xvi in.

*Contents*:

(1) fols. 2r-19v: al-Khwārizmī, *Liber de algebra et almuchabala*\* [TK 624]. (2) fols. 20r-26v: Anon., *Excerptio uel Expositio compoti Herici*. (10) fols. 379r-407r: Rudolph of Spoleto, *De proportionem proportionum disputatio*. (11) fols. 408r-448r: Anon., *Arithmetica logarithmica*.

Sometime in the Saint-Germain collection, the codex is an anthology of scientific works copied in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, both in Latin and in French (twelve titles not identified above). The algebra was written in a very clear humanistic hand, most probably copied from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 9335, and at one time the manuscript was part of the Lustierine Library. There are no significant variants to recommend its use for the critical edition.

*Bibliography*: L. Delisle, *Inventaire général et méthodique des manuscrits français de la Bibliothèque Nationale 2* (Paris, 1876; rpt. 1975), p. 235.

P = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 9335, fols. 110vb-116va ('Liber maumeti filii moysi alchoarismi de algebra et almuchabala incipit'). Southern France/Italy, saec. xiii in.

*Contents*:

(1) fols. 1r-19r: Theodosius of Bithynia, *De speris*\* [TK 1523]. (2) fols. 19r-21v: Autolycus of Pitane, *De motu spere*\* [TK 1151]. (3) fols. 22r-23r: Ascleueus, *De ascensione signorum*\* [TK 1449]. (4) fol. 23v: Anon., (*inc.*) 'Cordam per archum et

archum per cordam invenire'. (5) fols. 23v-25r: Thābit ibn Qurra, *Introductio in almagestum* [TK 502]. (6) fols. 25r-28v: Theodosius of Bithynia, *De locis habitabilibus* [TK 684]. (7) fol. 28v: Anon., *Ordo qui est post librum euclidis secundum quod invenitur in scriptis Iohanicij*. (8) fols. 28v-30r: *Liber Arsamitis de mensura circuli*. (9) fols. 30r-31v: Ahmad ibn Yūsuf, *De arcubus similibus* [TK 624]. (10) fols. 31v-32v: al-Kindī, *De quinque essentiis*\* [TK 1376]. (11) fols. 32v-54v: Menelaos, *De figuris spericis*\* [TK 397]. (12) fols. 55v-63r: Banū Mūsa, *Liber trium fratrum* [TK 832]. (13) fols. 63v-64v: Anon., (*inc.*) 'Iste modus est sufficiens in arte eptagoni cadentis in circulo'. (14) fols. 64v-75r: Ahmad ibn Yūsuf, *De proportionione et proportionalitate* [TK 1139]. (15) fols. 75r-82r: al-Kindī, *De aspectibus* [TK 1013]. (16) fols. 82r-83v: Pseudo-Euclid, *De speculis* [TK 1084]. (17) fols. 84r-88v: al-Kindī, *De speculis* [TK 1388]. (18) fols. 88v-92r: Anon., *De aspectibus euclidis*. (19) fols. 92v-110r: Muḥammad ibn °Abd al-Bāqī al-Baghdādī, *Commentaria in euclidis elementis lib. X*\* [TK 333]. (20) fols. 110vb-116va: al-Khwārizmī, *Liber de algebra et almuchabala*\* [TK 624]. (21) fols. 116v-125v: Abū Bakr al-Ḥasan ibn al-Khaṣīb, *De mensuratione terrarum*\* [TK 281]. (22) fols. 125v-126r: Abū °Uthmān Sa°rd ibn Ya°qūb al-Dimashqī, *De mensuratione figurarum* [TK 1390]. (23) fol. 126r-v: Aderametus (°Abd al-Raḥmān?), *De mensuratione* [TK 1387]. (24) fols. 126v-133v: Abraham ibn Ezra (?), *Liber augmenti et diminutionis* [TK 238]. (25) fols. 135r-139v: al-Kindī, *De gradibus medicine* [TK 1228]. (26) fols. 140r-141r: Anon., *Capitulum cognitionis mansionis lune*. (27) fols. 141r-143r: Thābit ibn Qurra, *In motus accessionis et recessionis*. (28) fols. 143v-151v: al-Farābī, *De scienciis*\* [TK 925]. (29) fols. 151v-160v: Harib ibn Zeid, *De hortis et plantationibus*.

Recognized as 'perhaps the most important manuscript of Gerard of Cremona's works',<sup>22</sup> the codex is a veritable mine of medieval resources, twenty-nine tracts in pure and applied mathematics. The 161 leaves are of parchment, the two columns of text were written by a single hand, initials are red and blue, and an early table of contents appears on fol. 1. The algebra, item 20, is obviously the best text of all the manuscripts reviewed: the wording is unambiguous, the diagrams are helpfully complete, and the marginalia evince careful corrections by the same scribe who penned the text. (I incorporated these corrections as well as others made by him, interlinear or overpenned, into the text of the critical edition and noted them in italics). These features, reinforced by the manuscript's having been copied within perhaps fifty years of the translation and, conjecturally, from the final draft of Gerard, make P the exemplar for all copies in its genre.

**Bibliography:** L. Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale sous les n. 8823-11503 du fonds latin* (Paris, 1863), no. 9335; A. A. Björnbo, 'Über zwei mathematischen Handschriften aus dem vierzehnten Jahrhundert', *Bibliotheca mathematica*, 3rd Ser., 3 (1902) 63-75 and corrections to this by Björnbo in 'Handschriftenbeschreibung', *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der mathematischen Wissenschaften mit Einschluss ihrer Anwendungen* 26.1 (1910) 138.

<sup>22</sup> R. H. Rouse, 'Manuscripts Belonging to Richard de Fournival', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 3 (1973) 256-57.

Q = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 7377A, fols. 34r-43v ('Liber maumeti filii moysi alchoariximi de algebra et almuchabala incipit'). France, saec. XIII.

*Contents:*

(1) fols. 1r-33v: Anon., *Commentarius in decimum euclidis librum*. (2) fols. 34r-43v: al-Khwārizmī, *Liber de algebra et almuchabala*\* [TK 624]. (3) fols. 43v-58v: Abū Bakr al-Ḥasan ibn al-Khaṣīb, *De mensuratione terrarum*\* [TK 281]. (4) fols. 58v-70v (?): Abraham ibn Ezra (?), *Liber augmenti et diminutionis* [TK 238]. (5) fols. 71v-97v: Anon., *Scholium de mensuratione pentagoni et decagoni*. (6) fols. 99r-208r: Anon., *Tractatus de arithmetica*.

The *Liber de algebra* was copied directly from Paris lat. 9335 (P) during the third quarter of the thirteenth century, possibly by a Parisian university scribe, and the codex was sometime in the Colbertine Library. Not only are there comparatively few variations between the two manuscripts, but the corrections found in the margins of Paris lat. 9335 were often copied onto the same relative places in Paris lat. 7377A. Two noteworthy variations in spelling occur: *kaficii* for *cafficii* and *centexime* for *centessime*. This copy has nothing to offer the critical edition.

*Bibliography:* *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae* 4 (Paris, 1744), p. 349.

V = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 5733, fols. 275r-287r ('Incipit liber Mahumed filii Moysi Algorismi de algebra et almutabala transcriptus a magistro Simone Cremonensi in Toletto de arabico in latinum'). Italy, saec. XVI in.

*Contents:*

(4) fols. 189r-195r: Hermes, *Liber de quindecim stellis* [TK 768]. (7) fols. 211r-229v: Averroes (trans. Cal. Calonymus), *Destructio destructionis*. (12) fols. 275r-287r: al-Khwārizmī, *Liber de algebra et almuchabala*\* [TK 624].

This collection of scientific tracts centers on the work of Petrus Pomponatius of Mantua (1462-1524) and was sometime part of the library of the gymnasium at Bologna. In general, the algebra text is reliable as far as it goes; but it ends with the last of the *Questiones varie*, without the section on proportion nor with the set of extra problems. On a separate folio (274r) is a unique title for the tract, *Ars algebrae*, which begins on fol. 275r along with the completely erroneous ascription of the translation to 'magistro Simone Cremonensi'. The body of the text is well-written in a simple cursive hand and is divided into clearly stated sections, much as I have done, with subtitles. The only addition of any significance to the text is an insertion carefully placed within parentheses (fol. 282r) which I have included in the critical apparatus at VI.18 below. While a good witness to the continuing interest in the work of al-Khwārizmī, this manuscript has nothing further to add to the critical edition.

*Bibliography:* R. Lemay, ed., *Petri Pomponatii Mantuani Libri quinque de fato, de libero arbitrio et de praedestinatione* (Lucca, [1957]), pp. xxxi-xxxiii.

A comparison of variants between the texts of the first group of manuscripts produces ten readings whereby the manuscripts can be separated into two families,  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ , namely:

- V-1: comprehendi potest de numeris ultime (I.13-14)
- V-2: ad infinitam numerorum comprehensionem (I.13-14)
- V-3: questio est impossibilis (II.B.55)
- V-4: questio est destructa (*or* destructa) (II.B.55)
- V-5: dupla ergo radicem novem (V.37-38)
- V-6: multiplica ergo radicem novem (V.37-38)
- V-7: capitula numerationis et eorum modos (VI.2)
- V-8: capitula et eorum modos (VI.2)
- V-9: reintegres censum tuum (VII.142-143)
- V-10: reintegres novem radices (VII.142-143).

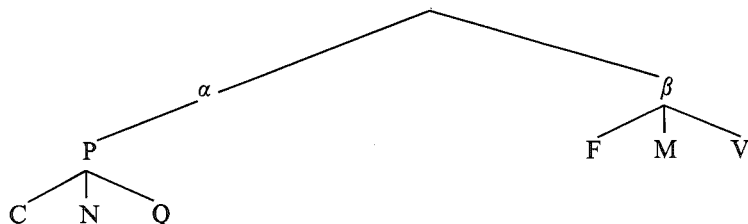
V-1 and V-2 are different conclusions for the first paragraph of the tract; each of the seven manuscripts shows either one or the other expression. V-3 and V-4 are different though meaningfully the same description of the possibility of solving a particular type of an equation. Six of the manuscripts have one or the other reading; the Vatican manuscript lacks the clause in a long passage omitted possibly because of homoeoteleuton. Again, with respect to V-5 and V-6, all manuscripts have either one or the other variant reading. The same holds for V-7 and V-8, and for V-9 and V-10. The manuscripts with their respective variants can be displayed in a matrix:

Manuscripts		V-1	V-2	V-3	V-4	V-5	V-6	V-7	V-8	V-9	V-10
Cambridge	(C)	x		x		x		x		x	
Paris fr. 16965	(N)	x		x		x		x		x	
Paris lat. 9335	(P)	x		x		x		x		x	
Paris lat. 7377A	(Q)	x		x		x		x		x	
Florence	(F)		x		x		x		x		x
Milan	(M)		x		x				x		x
Vatican	(V)		x				x		x		x

The pattern recommends a clear division of the manuscripts into two families. Hence, the members of the  $\alpha$  family are C, N, P, and Q. Members of the  $\beta$  family are F, M, and V.

Regarding intrafamilial relationships: in the  $\alpha$  family P is clearly the oldest in the group and the best extant copy. Q is a nearly perfect reproduction of P, with only one omission of any length (below, Appendix 115-116). N seems to be a better copy of P, for it has the passage missing in Q. C has its own set of omissions which are not found in N, P, or Q, and it does contain the sentence missing in Q. These factors make a case for the genealogy shown below for the

members of the  $\alpha$  family. The  $\beta$  family consists of three strikingly different manuscripts. They may be briefly described as exhibitors of at least one major characteristic unique to each. F explains the word 'algebra' by *oppositio* and 'almuchabala' by *responsio*. M has a unique substitution at VII.102-104. V would have us believe from the title that the tract was translated by Simon of Cremona. Hence, none is a direct descendant of either of the other two members of the  $\beta$  family. A stemma sets forth the relationships:



### *Manuscript Witnesses*

The eight manuscripts briefly described below witness to efforts of scholars to improve upon Gerard's translation. Each offers modifications in terminology, addition or omission of problems, or additional textual material. Hence, none of these manuscripts was used to construct the critical edition. They merit attention, however, as witnesses to the importance of Gerard's translation which served as their foundation, not to overlook the burgeoning interest in algebra.

(1) Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Hamilton 692, fols. 279r-291v ('In nomine dei eterni. Incipit liber Mauchumeti in Algebra et Almuchabula qui est origo et fundamentum totius scientie arismetice'). Italy, saec. xvi in.

*inc.*: Hic post laudem dei et ipsius exaltationem inquit...

*expl.*: ... et proueniunt 25, cuius radix est 5.

In general this copy has the characteristic variants of the  $\beta$  family. It is classified as a witness because of the numerous subtitles which were added to the text. Furthermore it adds six problems to the *Questiones varie* and omits problems 1, 14, and 15 from the Appendix.

*Bibliography*: H. Boese, *Die lateinischen Handschriften der Sammlung Hamilton zu Berlin* (Wiesbaden, 1966), pp. 334-35.

(2) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Lat. qu. 529, fols. 2r-16v ('... Macumetii ... Algebra...'). Italy, saec. xv med.

*inc.*: <H> ic post laudem dei et ipsius exaltationem inquit...

*expl.*: ... et proueniunt 25 cuius radix est quinque.

Despite considerable water damage (humidity?) to the outer edges of the leaves, much of the text can be read. It is clearly a member of the  $\beta$  family, but several times removed. There are a number of editorial changes in the text and problems 1, 14, and 15 are missing from the Appendix.

*Bibliography:* E. Narducci, *Catalogo di manoscritti ora posseduti da D. Baldassarre Boncompagni*, 2nd edition (Rome, 1892), p. 106 n. 179 (no. 265).<sup>23</sup>

(3) Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 9119 (olim Aa 30), fols. 352v-360v ('Incipit liber Mavmet filii Moysi Algorismi de Algebra et Almuchabala: Translatus a Magistro Gerardo Cremonensi in Toletum: de arabico in latinum'). Italy, saec. xv ex.

*inc.:* Hic post laudem dei et ipsius exaltationem inquit...

*expl.:* ... provenit .25. dragme cuius radix est .5.

While the text has many characteristics typical of the  $\beta$  family, it also evinces numerous editorial changes, some of which are simply erroneous. Furthermore, the text does not end with the twenty-first supplementary problem but continues on (fols. 360v-363v) with sixteen additional algebraic problems, twenty-eight definitions for arithmetic and geometry, a tract on extraction of roots, and eighteen problems and rules for geometry and astronomy. Only a large *Q* in the margin introducing the word *Quod* signals the beginning of this second appendix.

*Bibliography:* J. L. Heiberg, 'Neue Studien zu Archimedes', *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik* (Supplement 1890) 5; M. Clagett, *Archimedes in the Middle Ages*, vol. 2.1-2: *The Translations from the Greek by William of Moerbeke* (Philadelphia, 1976), pp. 69-71.

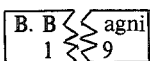
(4) Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana P 81 sup. (olim YS), fols. 1r-22r ('Machumeti de Algebra et Almuchabala, id est recuperationis et oppositionis. Liber incipit'). Italy, saec. xv in.

*inc.:* <H> ic post laudem dei et ipsius exaltationem inquit...

*expl.:* ... provenit radix de xxv et illa est v. Et cetera.

This copy is a member of a family of four displaying the same unique characteristics, notably, the frequent use of *cosa* for *res* and the addition of two lengthy paragraphs which begin 'Modus dividendi'. As a matter of convenience, I identify the set as 'the Modus family'. Also characteristic of the family is the sentence 'Sed ut res gravis levis tibi fiat, sequatur id quod ex questionibus in textu propinquis cum ille erat per quorum significationem in aliis consimiliter operaberis, si deus voluerit' (fol. 11r). The codex was one time the property of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535-1601).

<sup>23</sup> The manuscript is not recorded by V. Rose and F. Schillmann, *Verzeichnis der lateinischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1893-1919). However, the microfilm shows two parts (what appears to be the first and last third) of a label:



The obvious deduction led me to Narducci's catalogue whose description fits exactly the contents of the manuscript shown on the microfilm.

*Bibliography:* A. Rivolta, *Catalogo dei codici pinelliani dell' Ambrosiana* (Milan, 1933), p. 40; A. L. Gabriel, *A Summary Catalogue of Microfilms of One Thousand Scientific Manuscripts in the Ambrosiana Library*, Milan (Notre Dame, Ind., 1968), p. 307.

(5) New York, Columbia University, Butler Library Plimpton 188, fols. 73r-82v ('Liber Mahucmeti de Algebra et Almuchabala id est recuperationis et oppositionis'). German hand, 1456.

*inc.:* Hic post laudem dei et ipsius exaltationem inquit...

*expl.:* ... provenit radix de 25 et illa est 5. Et cetera.

The text clearly belongs to the Modus family. Apart from a single space of one line, there is nothing to signal the end of al-Khwārizmī's tract and the beginning of what I would call *collectanea mathematica*: a miscellany of problems solved verbally and symbolically (fols. 82v-84v), a precis of al-Khwārizmī's algebra (fols. 85r-88r), two more problems solved symbolically (fols. 88v-89r), and a set of notes on arithmetic, algebra, and geometry (fols. 90r-94r).

*Bibliography:* S. De Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada 2* (New York, 1937; rpt. 1961), pp. 1787-88; D. E. Smith, *Rara arithmetica. A Catalogue of the Arithmetics Written before the Year MDCI, with a Description of Those in the Library of George Arthur Plimpton of New York* (Boston-London, 1908), pp. 454-56, 468, 480, 486-87 (Smith's description of the contents of the codex differs considerably from the undated, typed analysis which accompanied the microfilm).

(6) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ital. 949, fols. 226r-247v ('Incipit liber muchumeti de algebra et almuchabala recuperationis et operationis'). Italy, 11 December 1450.

*inc.:* Hic post laudem dei et ipsius exaltationem...

*expl.:* ... et prouenient 25 dragme cuius radix est 5.

A remote member of the  $\beta$  family, the manuscript shows interesting marginalia in the hand of the scribe; for instance, next to the term 'medietas census et 5 radices equantur 28', the reader sees '. c . ra . dg .' under which lies '. 1 . 10 . 56 .'. These suggest an attempt at abbreviation as well as the procedure for changing the coefficient of the second degree term to unity (fol. 227v). Nonetheless the copy has a number of flaws, particularly the omission of problems 1, 14, and 15 from the Appendix.

*Bibliography:* G. Mazzatinti, *Inventario dei manoscritti italiani delle biblioteche di Francia 1* (Rome, 1886), p. 169.

(7) Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria H V 45, fols. 1r-36r ('Machvmeti de Algebra et Elmvchabala id est de recuperatione et oppositione'). Saec. xvi ex.

*inc.:* Sic post laudem dei et ipsius exaltationem, quam ad computationem consideravi necessarium...

*expl.:* ... provenit radix de 25. et illa est quinque.

The copy is a member of the Modus family and is the only item in the codex. Its interest lies in the beautiful cursive hand of the scribe and the large number of errors which must have proved frustrating to any average student; the errors begin with the initial capital of the *incipit*.

*Bibliography:* B. de Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova* 2 (Paris, 1739), p. 1399e. See also *Index alphabétique des livres qui se trouvent en la Bibliothèque Royale de Turin en cette année 1713* (now ms. R I 5 in the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Turin), p. 619.

(8) Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Urb. lat. 1329, fols. 43r-63r ('*Ma-chumeti de algebra et almuchabala, id est recuperationis et opposicionis*'). Rome, 23 October 1458.

*inc.:* Sic post laudem dei et ipsius exaltationem inquit...

*expl.:* ... pervenit radix de xxv et illa est v. Et cetera.

While this copy is a member of the Modus family, two items make it special apart from the initial error in the *incipit*. First, and for the earliest time I have found the expression to be used, the text contains the words 'Probacio huius satis pulchra' (fol. 57v). The beautiful proof, however, turns out to be nothing more than a clever manipulation of numbers to produce a desired root. The second is the use of Roman numerals to write fractions; for instance,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  is written II- $\frac{1}{III}$ . There are changes in wording of some problems and the entire section, *Capitulum conventionum negotiatorum*, is omitted.

*Bibliography:* C. Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinales latini* 3 (Rome, 1921), pp. 268-69; W. Van Egmond, *The Commercial Revolution and the Beginnings of Western Mathematics in Renaissance Florence, 1300-1500* (Diss. Michigan, 1977), pp. 510-11.

### THE CRITICAL EDITION

Gerard of Cremona's translation of al-Khwārizmī's *al-Jabr*, as transmitted in P, fols. 110v-116v, follows. Corrections by the scribe are included in the text of the critical edition and are printed in italics. Significant variations from P are noted, as they appear in C, F, and M. The apparatus also contains more than eighty variant readings, additions, or omissions found in Libri's edition (L).<sup>24</sup> Contractions and abbreviations have been expanded according to conventional usage. The orthography of P is preserved except that *u* is used for *v*. Numbers in P are written as words, and this feature has been retained. I have supplied many paragraph divisions and subtitles as would benefit the sense of the text.

<sup>24</sup> See n. 3 above; Libri's edition was made from the manuscripts I have here designated NPQ.

## SIGLA

- C Cambridge, Cambridge University Library Mm.2.18  
F Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Conv. soppr. J.V.18  
M Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana A 183 inf.  
P Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 9335

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- L G. Libri, *Histoire des sciences mathématiques en Italie depuis la renaissance des lettres jusqu'à la fin du xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle* 1 (Paris, 1838), pp. 253-97 (edition of Gerard of Cremona's translation).

(P 110vb) LIBER MAUMETI FILII MOYSI ALCHOARISMI  
DE ALGEBRA ET ALMUCHABALA INCIPIT

## &lt; I. DE NUMERIS DECIMALIBUS ET ALGEBRAICIS &gt;

- Hic post laudem dei et ipsius exaltationem inquit: Postquam illud quod ad  
 5 computationem est necessarium consideravi, repperi totum illud numerum  
 fore, omnemque numerum ab uno compositum esse inveni. Unus itaque inter  
 omnem consistit numerum. Et inveni omne quod ex numeris verbis exprimitur  
 esse quod unus usque ad decem pertransit. Decem quoque ab uno progreditur,  
 qui postea duplicatus et triplicatus et cetera quemadmodum fit de uno. Fiunt ex  
 10 eo viginti et triginta et ceteri usque quo compleatur centum. Deinde duplicatur  
 centum et triplicatur quemadmodum ex decem, et fiunt ex eo ducenta et  
 trecenta, et sic usque ad mille. Post hoc similiter reiteratur mille apud  
 unumquemque articulum usque ad id quod comprehendere potest de numeris  
 ultime.
- 15 Deinde repperi numeros qui sunt necessarii in computatione algebre et  
 almuchabale secundum tres modos fore, qui sunt: radicum et census et numeri  
 simplicis non relati ad radicem neque ad censum. Radix vero que est unum  
 eorum est quicquid in se multiplicatur ab uno, et quod est super ipsum ex  
 numeris, et quod est preter eum ex fractionibus. Census autem est quicquid  
 20 aggregatur ex radice in se multiplicata. Sed numerus simplex est quicquid ex  
 numeris verbis exprimitur absque proportionem eius ad radicem et ad censum.

## &lt; II. DE MODIS EQUATIONUM &gt;

## &lt; A. TRES MODI SIMPLICES &gt;

- Ex his igitur tribus modis sunt qui se ad invicem equant. Quod est sicut si  
 dicas: 'Census equatur radicibus, et census equatur numero, et radices equantur  
 5 numero.' Census autem qui radicibus equatur est ac si dicas: 'Census equatur  
 quinque radicibus.' Radix ergo census est quinque. Et census est viginti

1-2 *om. F, sed manus coeva add. in calce*: Incipit liber gebre de numero translatus a magistro Guillelmo de lunis in quadriviali sciencia peritissimo

I 5 *est] esse F* 7 *inveni om. F* 11 *ex<sup>1</sup> om. F* 12 *sic] cetera F*  
 similiter] simile *M* 13-14 *ad ... ultime] ad infinitam numerorum comprehensionem FM*  
 15-16 *in ... almuchabale] in computatione oppositionis algebre et responsionis almuchabale F*  
 16 *radicum] radices F: radices M* 17 *neque] usque CF* unum] unus *L* 20 *simplex]*  
*sensus F*

II.A 3 *equant] equantur L* quod] qui *M* 5 *census<sup>1</sup>] sensus F (et saepe infra)*

quinque. Ipse namque quinque suis radicibus equalis existit. Et sicut si dicas: 'Tertia census equatur quattuor radicibus.' Totus igitur census est duodecim radices qui est centum quadraginta quattuor. Et sicut si dicas: 'Quinque census  
 10 equantur decem radicibus.' Unus igitur census duabus equatur radicibus. Ergo radix census est *duo*, et census est quattuor. Similiter quoque quod fuerit maius censu aut minus, ad unum reducetur censum. Et eodem modo fit ex eo quod ipsi equatur ex radicibus. Census autem qui numero equatur est sicut cum dicitur: 'Census equatur novem.' Ipse igitur est census et radix eius est tres. Et  
 15 sicut si dicas: 'Quinque census equantur octoginta.' Unus igitur census est quinta octoginta qui est sedecim. Et sicut si dicas: 'Medietas census equatur decem et octo.' Ergo census equatur triginta sex. Et similiter omnis census augmentatus et diminutus ad unum reducitur censum. Et eodem modo fit de eo quod ei equatur ex numeris. Radices vero que numeris equantur sunt sicut si  
 20 dicas: 'Radix equatur tribus.' Radix est tres. Et census qui est ex ea est novem. Et sicut si dicas: 'Quattuor radices equantur viginti.' Una igitur ra(P 111ra)dix equatur quinque. Et similiter sic dicas: 'Medietas radicis equatur decem.' Ergo radix est viginti. Et census qui est ex ea est quadringenta.

< B. TRES MODI COMPOSITI >

Hos preterea tres modos qui sunt radices et census et numerus inveni componi. Et sunt ex eis tria genera composita, que sunt hec: census namque et radices equantur numero; et census et numerus equantur radicibus; et radices et  
 5 numerus equantur censui. Census autem et radices que numero equantur sunt sicut si dicas: 'Census et decem radices equantur triginta novem dragmis.' Cuius hec est significatio: ex quo censu cui additur equale decem radicum eius aggregatur totum quod est triginta novem. Cuius regula est ut medies radices que in hac questione sunt quinque. Multiplica igitur eas in se et fiunt ex eis  
 10 viginti quinque. Quos triginta novem adde, et erunt sexaginta quattuor. Cuius radicem accipias que est octo. Deinde minue ex ea medietatem radicum que est quinque. Remanet igitur tres qui est radix census. Et census est novem. Et si duo census aut tres aut plures aut pauciores nominentur, similiter reduc eos ad censum unum. Et quod ex radicibus aut numeris est cum eis, reduc ad  
 15 similitudinem ejus ad quod reduxisti censum. Quod est ut dicas: 'Duo census et

10 unus] unde *M* 13 ipsi ... radicibus] equantur censui ipsi radicibus *F* ex *om.* *F*  
 16 post quinta *add.* de *F* 16-17 medietas ... octo] quinque census equantur 180 *M* 17 et<sup>1</sup>  
*om.* *L* 20 radix<sup>1</sup> ... novem *om.* *M*

II.B 2 post modos *add.* simplices *F* 3 et sunt *om.* *F* sunt<sup>1</sup>] sicut *L* 6 triginta]  
 decem et *C* 7 quo] quolibet *F* censu] censuum *M* 10 quos] quibus *F* 12 et census  
*om.* *C* 13 similiter] semper *F* 14 aut *om.* *F* est] et *L* ad *om.* *F*

decem radices equantur quadraginta octo.' Cuius est significatio quod cum quibuslibet duobus censibus additur equale decem radicum unius eorum, aggregantur inde quadraginta octo. Oportet itaque ut duo census ad unum reducantur censum. Novimus autem iam quod unus census duorum censuum  
 20 est medietas. Reduc itaque quicquid est in questione ad medietatem sui. Et est sicut si dicatur: 'Census et quinque radices equales sunt viginti quattuor.' Cuius est intentio quod cum cuilibet censui quinque ipsius radices adduntur, aggregantur inde viginti quattuor. Media igitur radices et sunt duo et semis. Multiplica ergo eas in se et fient sex et quarta. Adde hoc viginti quattuor et  
 25 erunt triginta et quarta. Cuius accipias radicem que est quinque et semis. Ex qua minue radicem medietatem que est duo et semis. Remanet ergo tres qui est radix census, et census est novem.

Et si dicatur: 'Medietas census et quinque radices equantur viginti octo.' Cuius quidem intentio est quod cum cuiuslibet census medietati additur equale  
 30 quinque radicibus ipsius, proveniunt inde viginti octo. Tu autem vis ut rem tuam reintegres donec ex ea unus proveniat census. Quod est ut ipsam duplices. Duplica ergo ipsam et duplica quod est cum ea ex eo quod equatur ei. Erit itaque quod census et decem radices equantur quinquaginta sex. Media ergo radices, et erunt quinque. Et multiplica eas in se et provenient viginti quinque.  
 35 Adde autem eas quinquaginta sex et fient octoginta unum. Cuius accipias radicem que est novem. Et minuas ex ea medietatem radicum que est quinque. Et remanent quattuor qui est radix census quem voluisti. Et census est sedecim cuius medi(P 111rb)etas est octo. Et similiter facias de unoquoque censuum, et de eo quod equat ipsum ex radicibus et numeris.

40 Census vero et numerus qui radicibus equantur sunt sicut si dicas: 'Census et viginti una dragma equantur decem radicibus.' Cuius significatio est quod cum cuilibet censui addideris viginti unum, erit quod aggregabitur equale decem radicibus illius census. Cuius regula est ut medies radices et erunt quinque. Quas in se multiplica et proveniet viginti quinque. Ex eo itaque minue viginti  
 45 unum quem cum censu nominasti et remanebit quattuor. Cuius accipies radicem que est duo. Quam ex radicum medietate, que est quinque, minue. Remanebit ergo tres qui est radix census quem voluisti; et census est novem. Quod si volueris, addes ipsam medietati radicum et erit septem. Qui est radix census; et census est quadraginta novem. Cum ergo questio evenerit tibi  
 50 deducens te ad hoc capitulum, ipsius veritatem cum additione experire. Quod si non fuerit, tunc procul dubio erit cum diminutione. Et hoc quidem unum trium

21 *post radices add. sunt F* 30 *proveniunt] perveniunt L (et saepe infra), 30-31 rem tuam] cum F* 32 *quod equatur] quo equatur F* 45 *quem] quam L* accipies] accipiam *F*  
 48 *post ipsam add. radicem que est 2 F* 51 *tunc om. F*

capitulum in quibus radicum mediatio est necessaria progreditur cum additione et diminutione. Scias autem quod cum medias radices in hoc capitulo et multiplicas eas in se, et fit illud quod aggregatur minus dragmis que sunt cum  
 55 censu, tunc questio est impossibilis. Quod si fuerit eisdem dragmis equalis, tunc radix census est equalis medietati radicum absque augmento et diminutione. Et omne quod tibi evenierit ex duobus censibus aut pluribus aut paucioribus uno censu, reduc ipsum ad censum unum sicut est illud quod in primo ostendimus capitulo.

60 Radices vero et numerus que censui equantur sunt sicut si dicas: 'Tres radices et quattuor ex numeris equantur censui uni.' Cuius regula est *ut* medies radices que erant unus et semis. Multiplica ergo ipsas in se, et provenient ex eis duo et quarta. Ipsum itaque quattuor dragmis adde et fiunt sex et quarta. Cuius radicem que est duo et semis assume; quam medietati radicum que est unus et  
 65 semis adde; et erit quattuor qui est radix census. Et census est sedecim. Omne autem quod fuerit maius censu uno aut minus, reduc ad censum unum.

Hii ergo sunt sex modi, quos in huius nostri libri principio nominavimus. Et nos quidem iam explanavimus eos et diximus quod eorum tres modi sunt in quibus radices non mediantur. Quorum regulas et necessitates in precedentibus  
 70 ostendimus. Illud vero quod ex mediatione radicum in tribus aliis capitulis est necessarium cum capitulis verificatis posuimus. Deinceps vero unicuique capitulo formam faciemus, per quam pervenitur ad causam mediationis.

### < III. DE DEMONSTRATIONE REGULARUM >

Causa autem est ut hic. Census et decem radices equantur triginta novem dragmis. Fit ergo illi superficies quadrata ignotorum laterum, que est census quem et eius radices scire volumus. Que sit superficies *ab*. Unumquodque  
 5 autem laterum ipsius est radix eius. Et unumquodque latus eius cum in aliquem numerum multiplicatur, tunc numerus qui inde aggregatur est numerus radicum quarum queque (P 111va) est sicut radix illius superficies. Postquam igitur dictum est quod cum censu sunt decem radices, accipiam quartam decem que est duo et semis. Et faciam unicuique quarte cum uno laterum superficiei  
 10 superficiem. Fiunt ergo cum superficie prima que est superficies *ab* quattuor superficies equales cuiusque quarum longitudo est equalis radicis *ab* et latitudo est duo et semis. Que sunt superficies *g*, *h*, *t*, *k*. Radici igitur superficiei equalium laterum et etiam ignotorum deest quod ex angulis quattuor est

52 progreditur cum] probatur quod ex *F* 53-56 scias ... diminutione *om. ms. Vat. lat. 5733*  
 55 impossibilis] destructa falsa vel libera opinabilis *F*: destructa id est falsa vel inopinabilis *M*  
 56 radicem] radicis *F* 72 formam] figuras *F*

III 5 aliquem] aliquo *L* 10 post prima add. postea *F* 11 quarum *om. F* post longitudo add. 4 superficiem *F* 12 *k*] v *F* post superficiei add. ab *F* 13 et etiam] est *L*  
 13-14 quod ... deest *om. F*

d	h	
t	a census b	g
	k	e

diminutum, scilicet unicuique angulorum deest multiplicatio duorum et semis  
 15 in duo et semis. Quod igitur ex numeris necessarium est ad hoc ut superficiei  
 quadratura compleatur, est multiplicatio duorum et semis in se quater. Et  
 aggregatur ex summa illius totius viginti quinque. Iam autem scivimus quod  
 prima superficies que est superficies census et quattuor superficies que ipsam  
 circumdant, que sunt decem radices, sunt ex numeris triginta novem. Cum ergo  
 20 addiderimus ei viginti quinque, qui sunt ex quattuor quadratis que sunt super  
 angulos superficiei *ab*, complebitur quadratura maioris superficiei que est  
 superficies *de*. Nos autem iam novimus quod totum illud est sexaginta quattuor.  
 Unum igitur laterum eius est ipsius radix que est octo. Minuam itaque quod est  
 equale quarte decem bis ab extremitatibus duabus lateris superficiei maioris que  
 25 est superficies *de*. Et remanebit latus eius tres. Qui est equalis lateri superficiei  
 prime, que est *ab*, et est radix illius census. Non autem mediamus radices  
 decem et multiplicamus eas in se et addimus eas numero qui est triginta novem,  
 nisi ut compleatur nobis figure maioris quadratura cum eo quod deest quattuor  
 angulis. Cum enim cuiusque numeri quarta in se multiplicatur et deinde quod  
 30 inde provenit in quattuor, erit quod proveniet multiplicationi medietati eius in  
 se equale. Sufficit igitur nobis multiplicatio *medietatis* radicum in se, loco  
 multiplicandi quartam in se quater.

Est eius preterea forma altera ad hoc idem perducens: que est superficies *ab*  
 que est census. Volumus autem ut addamus ei equale decem radicibus eius.  
 35 Mediabimus igitur decem et erunt quinque. Et faciemus eas duas superficies

15 ad hoc] adhuc *L* 18 que<sup>2</sup>] in *C* 20 ei] eis *CF* 23 minuam] minuas *L* 26 non]  
 nos *L* 28 nobis *om. F* post figure add. quadrature *C* 29 deinde] deinceps *L* 29-  
 30 quod inde *om. F* 30 multiplicationi] multitudo *F* 31-32 sufficit ... quater] non igitur  
 curamus de multiplicatione medietatis radicum in se postquam eorum quartam in se quater  
 multiplicavimus *F* 34 ut] quod *F*

34 *census*: see Euclid, *Elements*, book 2, prop. 4.

super duas partes *ab*, que sint due superficies *g* et *d* quarum cuiusque longitudo sit equalis lateri superficiei *ab*, et latitudo eius sit quinque que est medietas decem. Remanebit ergo nobis super superficiem *ab* quadratum quod fit ex quinque in quinque, qui est medietas decem radicem. Quas addidimus super

g	a census b
quinque	quinque d

- 40 duas partes superficiei prime. Scimus autem quod superficies prima est census, et quod due superficies que sunt super duas ipsius partes sunt decem radices eius. Et hoc totum est triginta novem. Ad hoc igitur (P 111vb) ut maioris superficiei quadratum compleatur erit totum illud quod aggregatur sexaginta quattuor. Accipe ergo radicem eius que est unum laterum superficiei maioris:
- 45 quod est octo. Cum ergo minuerimus ex ea equale ei quod super ipsam addidimus quod est quinque, remanebit tres. Qui est latus superficiei *ab* que est census. Ipse namque est radix eius, et census est novem.

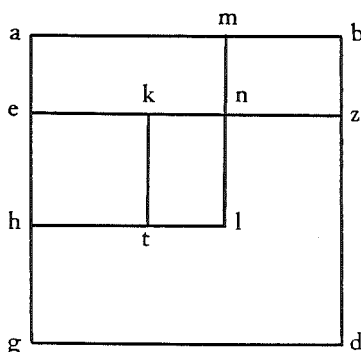
- Census autem et viginti unum equantur decem radicibus. Ponam itaque censum superficiem quadratam ignotorum laterum que sit superficies *ab*.
- 50 Deinde adiungam ei superficiem equidistantium laterum cuius latitudo sit equalis uni lateri superficiei *ab*, quod sit latus *gd*. Et superficies sit *ga*. Et ponam ipsam esse viginti unum. Fit ergo longitudo duarum superficierum simul latus *ed*. Nos autem iam novimus quod longitudo eius est decem ex numeris. Omnis namque superficiei quadrate equalium laterum et angulorum, si unum latus
- 55 multiplicatur in unum, est radix illius superficiei. Et si in duo, est due radices eius. Postquam igitur iam dictum est quod census et viginti una dragma equantur decem radicibus. Et scimus quod longitudo lateris *ed* est decem, quoniam latus *be* est radix census. Ergo dividam latus *ed* in duo media super

40 post prima add. scilicet ab *F*    variationes figurarum in codd. omisi    42 ad hoc] adhuc  
L    43 quadratum] quadratura L    44 post unum add. (et del. P) quattuor LP    52 fit om. L  
simul om. F    55 post superficiei add. una F    58 post super add. ipsum F

49 *ab*: see Euclid, *Elements*, book 2, prop. 5 and p. 215 above.



equalium angulorum, que sit superficies *ad*. Tota igitur hec superficies congregat tres radices et quattuor quos tibi nominavi. Omnis autem quadrate  
 85 superficiei unum latus in unum multiplicatum est radix eius. Ex superficie igitur *ad* secabo superficiem *ed*, et ponam unum latus eius quod est *eg* tres qui est numerus radicum. Ipsum vero est equale *zd*. Nobis itaque patet quod superficies *eb* est quattuor qui radicibus est additus. Dividam ergo latus *eg* quod



est tres radices in duo media super punctum *h*. Deinde faciam ex eo superficiem  
 90 quadratam que sit superficies *et*. Et ipsa est quod fit ex multiplicatione medietatis radicum, que est unum et semis in se, et est duo et quarta. Post hoc addam lineae *ht* quod fit equale *ae* que sit linea *tl*. Fit ergo linea *hl* equalis *ah*, et provenit superficies quadrata que est superficies *hm*. Iam autem manifestum fuit nobis quod linea *ag* est equalis *ez*, et *ah* est equalis *en*. Remanet ergo *gh*  
 95 equalis *nz*. Sed *gh* est equalis *kt*. Ergo *kt* est equalis *nz*. Sed *mn* est equalis *tl*. Superficies igitur *mz* fit equalis superficiei *kl*. Iam autem scivimus quod superficies *az* est quattuor qui est additus tribus radicibus. Fiunt ergo superficies *an* et superficies *kl* simul equales (P 112rb) superficiei *az* que est quattuor. Manifestum est igitur quod superficies *hm* est medietas radicum que est unum  
 100 et semis in se, quod est duo et quarta, et quattuor additi qui sunt superficies *an* et superficies *kl*. Quod vero ex eo aggregatur est sex et quarta, cuius radix est duo et semis. Que est latus *ha*. Iam autem remansit nobis ex latere quadrati primi, quod est superficies *ad* que est totus census, medietas radicum que est unum et semis. Et est linea *gh*. Cum addiderimus super lineam *ah*, que est radix  
 105 superficiei *hm* quod est duo et semis, lineam *hg* que est medietas radicum trium

84 congregat] aggregat *F* post nominavi add. in questione *F* 85 superficiei] superficie  
 L 91 et quarta om. *F* 93 manifestum] illud *F* 98 equales] equal *L* 100-101 an et]  
 autem *F* 105 est<sup>1</sup> om. *F* radicum om. *F* trium om. *C*

83 *ad*: see Euclid, *Elements*, book 2, prop. 6.

que est unum et semis, provenit illud totum quattuor. Quod est linea *ag*. Et ipsa est radix census qui est superficies *ad*. Et ipse est sedecim. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

Inveni autem omne quod fit ex computatione in algebra et almuchabala  
110 impossibile esse quin proveniat ad unum sex capitulorum que retuli tibi in principio huius libri.

#### < IV. > CAPITULUM MULTIPLICATIONIS

Nunc quidem refferam tibi qualiter res multiplicentur que sunt radices alie scilicet in alias cum fuerint singulares et cum numerus fuerit cum eis, aut fuerit exceptus ex eis numerus, aut ipse fuerint excepte ex numero, et qualiter alie aliis  
5 aggregentur, et qualiter alie ex aliis minuantur. Scias itaque impossibile esse quin unus omnium duorum numerorum, quorum unus in alterum multiplicatur, duplicetur secundum quantitatem unitatum que est in altero. Si ergo fuerit articulus et cum eo fuerint unitates aut fuerint unitates excepte ex eo, impossibile erit quin eius multiplicatio quater fiat; videlicet, articuli in  
10 articulum et unitatum in unitates, et unitatum in articulum et articuli in unitates. Quod si omnes unitates que sunt cum articulo fuerint addite aut diminute omnes, tunc quarta multiplicatio erit addita. Sin autem une earum fuerint addite et alie diminute, tunc quarta multiplicatio minuetur. Quod est sicut decem et unum in decem et duo. Ex multiplicatione igitur decem in decem  
15 fiunt centum. Et ex multiplicatione unius in decem fiunt decem addita. Et ex multiplicatione duorum in decem fiunt viginti addita. Et ex multiplicatione duorum in unum fiunt duo addita. Totum ergo illud est centum et triginta duo.

Et cum fuerint decem uno diminuto in decem uno diminuto, multiplicabis decem in decem et fient centum. Et unum diminutum in decem *et fient* decem  
20 diminuta. Et unum diminutum iterum in decem et fient decem diminuta. Unum quoque diminutum multiplicabis in unum diminutum, et fiet unum additum. Erit ergo totum illud octoginta unum.

Quod si fuerint decem et duo in decem uno diminuto, multiplicabis decem in decem et fient centum. Et unum diminutum in decem et erunt decem diminuta.

IV      1 *om. M*      multiplicationis] de multiplicatione *F*      2 refferam] referatur *F*  
3 scilicet] sunt *L*      4 *ex*<sup>2</sup>] in *C*      6 omnium] et medium *M*      7 *post* duplicetur *add.* vel  
multiplicetur *F*      9-11 videlicet ... unitates<sup>1</sup>] videlicet articuli in articulum et unitatum in  
unitates *F*      19 *et*<sup>3</sup> *fient*<sup>2</sup> *corr. ex* et fuit *P*      et fient decem *om. F*      22 octoginta unum *om. F*  
24 et fient centum *om. C*

IV      11 *unitates*<sup>1</sup>: the explanation follows from Euclid, *Elements*, book 2, prop. 1.

- 25 Et duo addita in decem et erunt viginti addita. Quod erit centum et de(P 112va)cem. Et duo addita in unum diminutum et erunt duo diminuta. Totum ergo illud erit centum et octo. Hoc autem non ostendi tibi nisi ut per ipsum perducaris ad multiplicationem rerum aliarum scilicet in alias, quin cum eis fuerit numerus aut cum ipse excipiuntur ex numero aut cum numerus  
30 excipitur ex eis.

Cumque tibi dictum fuerit: 'Decem dragme re diminuta – est enim rei significatio radix – multiplicata in decem', multiplicabis decem in decem et fient centum, et rem diminutam in decem et erunt decem res diminute. Dico igitur quod sunt centum, decem rebus diminutis. Si autem dixerit aliquis: 'Decem et  
35 res in decem', multiplica decem in decem et erunt centum, et rem additam in decem et erunt decem res addite. Erit ergo totum centum et decem res.

Quod si dixerit: 'Decem et res in decem et rem', dic: 'Decem in decem faciunt centum. Et res addita in decem facit decem res additas. Et res addita in decem facit etiam decem res additas. Et res addita in rem additam facit censum  
40 additum. Erit ergo totum centum et viginti res et census additus.' Quod si quis dixerit: 'Decem re diminuta in decem re diminuta', dices: 'Decem in decem fiunt centum. Et res diminuta in decem fit decem res diminute. Et res diminuta in decem fit decem res diminute. Et res diminuta in rem diminutam fit census additus. Est ergo illud centum et census additus diminutis viginti rebus.'

45 Et similiter si dixerit: 'Dragma minus sexta in dragma minus sexta', erit illud quinque sexte multiplicata in se, quod est viginti quinque partes triginta sex partium unius dragme. Regula vero eius est ut multiplices dragmam in dragmam et erit dragma, et sextam dragme diminutam in dragmam et erit sexta dragme diminuta. Et sextam diminutam in dragmam, et erit sexta diminuta. Fit  
50 ergo illud tertia dragme diminuta. Et sextam diminutam in sextam diminutam et erit sexta sexte addita. Totum igitur illud erit due tertie et sexta sexte.

Si vero aliquis dixerit: 'Decem re diminuta in decem et rem', dices: 'Decem in decem centum fiunt. Et res diminuta in decem fit decem res diminute. Et res in decem fit decem res addite. Et res diminuta in rem fit census diminutus. Est  
55 ergo illud centum dragme censu diminuto.' Si autem dixerit: 'Decem re diminuta in rem', dices: 'Decem in rem fiunt decem res. Et res diminuta in rem

25 quod] abstrahas ergo 10 diminutas a 20 additis et *F* 26 duo<sup>2</sup> *om. F* 31 post diminuta add. multiplica per 10 *FM* 32 in'] per *FM* multiplicata in decem *om. M* 36 erit ... res *om. M* decem<sup>3</sup>] 100 *F* 37 dic] duc *FM* 38-39 et<sup>2</sup> ... additas *om. L* 40 post res add. radice *F* 42-43 et<sup>1</sup> ... diminute *om. L* 45 post sexta<sup>2</sup> add. et del. ei (?) *P* 46 quinque sexte] 2/6 *M* sexte] sex *C* 48 dragme diminutam] dragme minutam diminutam *C* 49 et<sup>2</sup>] res *L* 50 in sextam diminutam *om. C* 55-57 si ... diminuto *om. M*

40 additus: see Euclid, *Elements*, book 2, prop. 4.

fit census diminutus. Sunt ergo decem res censu diminuto.' Et si dixerit: 'Decem et res in rem decem diminutis', dices: 'Res in decem fit decem res, et res in rem fit census. Et decem diminuta in decem fiunt centum dragme diminute. Et  
 60 decem diminuta in re fiunt decem res diminute.' Dico igitur quod est census centum diminutis, postquam cum eo oppositum fuerit. Quod ideo est quoniam prohibemus (P 112vb) decem res diminutas cum decem rebus additis, et remanebit census centum dragmis diminutis. Si autem dixerit quis: 'Decem dragme et medietas rei in medietatem dragme quinque rebus diminutis', dices:  
 65 'Medietas dragme in decem dragmas facit dragmas quinque. Et medietas dragme in medietatem rei facit quartam rei addite. Et quinque res diminute in decem dragmas fiunt quinquaginta res diminute. Et quinque res diminute in medietatem rei fiunt duo census et semis diminuti. Est ergo illud quinque dragme diminutis duobus censibus et semis, et diminutis quadraginta novem  
 70 radicibus et tribus quartis radicis.'

Quod si aliquis dixerit tibi: 'Decem et res in rem diminutis decem', et est quasi dicat: 'Res et decem in rem decem diminutis', dic ergo: 'Res in rem facit censum. Et decem in rem fiunt decem res addite. Et decem diminuta in rem fiunt decem res diminute. Pretermittantur itaque addita cum diminutis, et  
 75 remanebit census. Et decem diminuta in decem fiunt centum diminutum ex censu. Totum ergo illud est census diminutis centum dragmis.' Et omne quod est ex multiplicatione additi et diminuti, sicut res diminute in additam rem, in postrema multiplicatione semper minuitur.

#### < V. > CAPITULUM AGGREGATIONIS ET DIMINUTIONIS

Radix ducentorum diminutis decem adiuncta ad viginti diminuta radice ducentorum est decem equaliter. Et radix ducentorum exceptis decem diminuta ex viginti excepta radice ducentorum est triginta diminutis duobus radicibus  
 5 ducentorum. Et due radices ducentorum sunt radix octingentorum. Sed centum et census diminutis viginti radicibus, ad quem adiuncta sunt quinquaginta et decem radices diminutis duobus censibus, sunt centum et quinquaginta diminutis censu et decem radicibus. Ego vero illius causam in forma ostendam, si deus voluerit.  
 10 Scias itaque quod cum quamlibet census radicem notam sive surdam duplicare volueris, cuius duplicationis significatio est ut multiplices eam in duo, oportet ut multiplices duo in duo et deinde quod inde pervenerit in censum. Radix igitur eius quod aggregatur est duplum radicis illius census. Et cum

59-60 et<sup>2</sup> ... diminute om. L

62 diminutas cum] de M

74 post res add. addite C

77 sicut] sunt L

V 1 om. FM

volueris triplum eius, multiplicabis tres in tres et postea quod inde provenerit in  
 15 censum. Erit ergo radix eius quod aggregatur triplum radices census primi. Et  
 similiter quod additur ex duplicationibus aut minuitur erit secundum hoc  
 exemplum.

Scias ergo ipsum quod si radices census medietatem accipere volueris, oportet  
 ut multiplices medietatem in medietatem, deinde quod provenerit in censum.  
 20 Erit ergo radix eius quod aggregatur medietas radices census. Et similiter si  
 volueris tertiam aut quartam eius aut minus aut plus, usquequo possibile est  
 consequi, secundum diminutionem et duplicationem. Verbi gratia: si enim  
 volueris ut duplices radicem novem, multiplica duo in duo, postea (P 113ra) in  
 novem et aggregatur triginta sex, cuius radix est sex. Qui est duplum radices  
 25 novem. Quod si ipsam volueris triplicare, multiplica tres in tres, postea in  
 novem, et erunt octoginta unum, cuius radix est novem. Qui est radix novem  
 triplicata. Sin autem radices novem medietatem accipere volueris, multiplicabis  
 medietatem in medietatem et proveniet quarta. Quam postea multiplicabis in  
 novem. Et erunt duo et quarta cuius radix est unus et semis. Qui est medietas  
 30 radices novem.

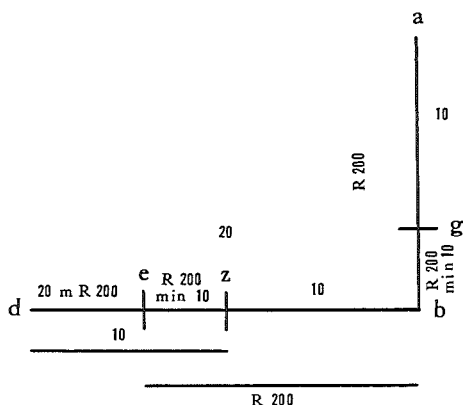
Et similiter quod additur aut minuitur ex noto et surdo erit. Et hic est eius  
 modus. Quod si volueris dividere radicem novem per radicem quattuor, divides  
 novem per quattuor et erunt duo et quarta. Cuius radix est id quod provenit uni  
 quod est unus et semis. Quod si radicem quattuor per radicem novem volueris  
 35 dividere, divide quattuor per novem et erunt quattuor none. Cuius radix est id  
 quod provenit uni que est due tertie unius. Sin vero duas radices novem per  
 radicem quattuor dividere volueris et absque hoc aliorum censuum, dupla ergo  
 radicem novem secundum quod te feci noscere in opere multiplicium. Et quod  
 aggregatur, divide per quattuor aut per quod volueris. Et quod ex censibus  
 40 fuerit minus aut maius, secundum hoc exemplum operaberis per ipsum, si deus  
 voluerit.

Quod si radicem novem in radicem quattuor multiplicare volueris, multiplica  
 novem in quattuor et erunt triginta sex. Accipe igitur radicem eius que est sex.  
 Ipse namque est radix novem in radicem quattuor. Et similiter si velles  
 45 multiplicare radicem quinque in radicem decem, multiplicares quinque in  
 decem et acciperes radicem eius. Et quod inde aggregaretur esset radix quinque  
 in radicem decem. Quod si volueris multiplicare radicem tertie in radicem  
 medietatis, multiplica tertiam in medietatem, et erit sexta. Radix ergo sexte est  
 radix tertie in medietatem.

24 et aggregatur] est aggrega *L* 31 et<sup>2</sup>] ex *F* 33 erunt *om. L* post uni *add. et*  
 medietati radices 4 *F* 37 dupla] multiplica *FM* 39 divide] deinde *L* 43 sex<sup>1</sup>] 9 *M* 43-  
 44 erunt ... quattuor *om. F* 45 post multiplicare *add. et del. volueris P*

50 Sin autem duas radices novem in tres radices quattuor multiplicare volueris,  
 producas duas radices novem secundum quod tibi retuli donec scias cuius  
 census sit. Et similiter facias de tribus radicibus quattuor, donec scias cuius  
 census sit. Deinde multiplica unum duorum censuum in alterum et accipe  
 radicem eius quod aggregatur. Ipsa namque est due radices novem in tres  
 55 radices quattuor. Et similiter de eo quod ex radicibus additur aut minuitur  
 secundum hoc exemplum facias.

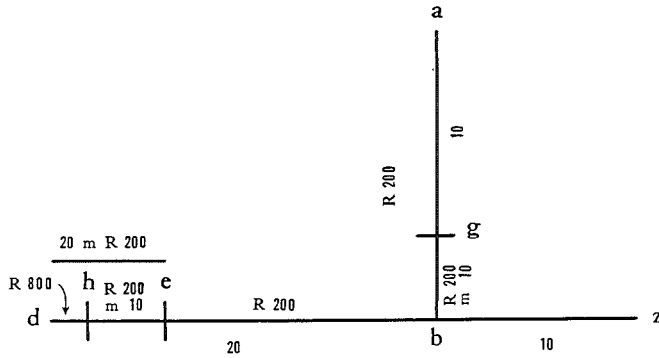
Cause autem radices ducentorum diminutis decem, adiuncte ad viginti diminuta radice ducentorum, forma est linea  $ab$ . Ipsa namque est radix ducentorum. Ab  $a$  ergo ad punctum  $g$  est decem. Et residuum radices 60 ducentorum est residuum lineae  $ab$  quod est linea  $gb$ . Deinde protraham a puncto  $b$  ad punctum  $d$  lineam que sit linea viginti. Ipsa namque est dupla lineae  $ag$  que est decem. A puncto igitur  $b$  usque ad punctum  $e$  quod  $e$  sit equale lineae  $ab$  que est radix ducentorum. Et residuum de viginti sit a puncto  $e$  usque ad punctum  $d$ . Et quia volumus aggregare quod remanet ex radice ducentorum



65 post projectionem decem quod est linea  $gb$ , ad lineam  $ed$  que est viginti  
diminuta radice ducentorum. Et iam fuit nobis manifestum quod line(P 113rb)  
 $ab$  que est radix ducentorum est equalis linee  $be$ , et quod linea  $ag$  que est decem  
est equalis linee  $bz$ , et residuum linee  $ab$  que est linea  $gb$  est equale residuo linee  
 $be$  quod est  $ze$ . Et addidimus super lineam  $ed$  lineam  $ze$ . Ergo manifestum est  
70 nobis quod iam minuitur ex linea  $bd$ , que est viginti, equale linee  $ga$  que est  
decem que est linea  $bz$ , et remanet nobis linea  $zd$  que est decem. Et illud est  
quod demonstrare voluimus.

51 duas radices *om. F* 58-59 forma ... ducentorum *om. C* 60 ducentorum] in centum  
*L* 63 est *om. L* *post* ducentorum *add.* et a puncto b usque ad punctum z sit 10 *F* 64 *post*  
*d add. F*: scilicet subjecta radice ducentorum que est linea bc, que postea equatur linea ab  
70 nobis ... est! *om. F*

- Causa vero radices ducentorum exceptis decem diminute ex viginti excepta radice ducentorum est alia cuius forma est linea  $ab$  que est radix ducentorum.
- 75 Sed ab  $a$  usque ad punctum  $g$  sit decem, qui est notus. Protraham autem a puncto  $b$  lineam usque ad punctum  $d$ , quam ponam viginti. Et ponam ut quod est  $a$  usque ad punctum  $e$  sit equale radici ducentorum, que est equalis lineae  $ab$ . Nobis vero iam fuit manifestum quod linea  $gb$  est id quod remanet ex radice



- ducentorum post projectionem decem, et linea  $ed$  est id quod remanet ex viginti
- 80 post reiectionem radices ducentorum. Volumus itaque ut linea  $gb$  minuatur ex linea  $ed$ . Protraham ergo a puncto  $b$  lineam ad punctum  $z$  que sit equalis lineae  $ag$  que est decem. Fit ergo linea  $zd$  equalis lineae  $zb$  et lineae  $bd$ . Sed iam fuit nobis manifestum totum illud fore triginta. Secabo itaque ex linea  $ed$  quod sit equale lineae  $gb$  quod est linea  $he$ . Patet igitur nobis quod linea  $hd$  est id quod
- 85 remanet ex tota linea  $zd$  que est triginta. Ostensum vero est quod linea  $be$  est radix ducentorum, et linea  $zb$  et  $bg$  est etiam radix ducentorum. Et quia linea  $eh$  est equalis lineae  $gb$ , ergo manifestum est quod illud quod minuitur ex linea  $zd$ , que est triginta, est due radices ducentorum. Et due radices ducentorum sunt radix octingentorum. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.
- 90 Centum vero atque censui exceptis viginti radicibus, quibus coniunguntur quinquaginta et decem radices exceptis duobus censibus, non convenienter

75 ad punctum om. F 76-77 lineam ... b om. F 78 in figuris codicum omnes descriptiones praeter litteras ad puncta omissae sunt 81 b] db L 86 et bg om. F 88 que] quod L est<sup>2</sup>] et L 90 vero] ergo L censui] census L 91 convenienter] convenienti L

74 *ducentorum*<sup>2</sup>: although the explanation in the text is correct, the figure is faulty in one particular:  $dh$  does not equal R800 but rather  $30 - R800$ . It is  $hz$  which equals R800. (Note: the figure here was drawn to scale, and the arrow was added to indicate where R800 is found in the figure in P).

subicitur forma ex tribus generibus divis, scilicet censibus et radicibus et numero, neque cum eis quod eis equetur ut formentur. Nos tamen fecimus eis formam sed non sensibilem. Eorum vero necessitas verbis manifesta est. Quod  
 95 est quare iam scivimus quod apud te sunt centum et census exceptis viginti radicibus. Postquam ergo addidisti eis quinquaginta et decem radices, facta sunt centum et quinquaginta et census exceptis decem radicibus. Hec namque decem radices addite restaurant viginti radicum diminutarum decem radices. Remanent ergo centum et quinquaginta et census, exceptis decem radicibus. Sed cum  
 100 centum fuit iam census. Postquam ergo minueris duos census exceptos de quinquaginta, preteribit census cum censu, et remanebit tibi census. Fiet ergo centum et quinquaginta excepto censu, et exceptis decem radicibus. Et illud est quod demonstrare volumus.

### < VI. > CAPITULUM QUESTIONUM

Iam processerunt ante capitula numerationis et eorum modos sex (P 113va) questiones quas posui exempla sex capitulis precedentibus in principio huius libri de quibus tibi dixi, quoniam impossibile est quin computatio algebre et  
 5 almuchaba eveniat tibi ad aliquod capitulum eorum. Postea secutus sum illud ex questionibus cum eo quod intellectui propinquius fuit, per quod difficultas alleviabitur. Et significatio facilius fiet, si deus voluerit.

Questio earum prima est sicut si diceret: 'Divide decem in duas partes, et multiplica unam duarum partium in alteram; deinde multiplica unam earum in  
 10 se. Et sit multiplicatio eius in se equalis multiplicationi uni duarum sectionum in alteram quater.' Eius vero regula est ut ponas unam duarum sectionum rem, et alteram sectionem ponas decem excepta re. Multiplica igitur rem in decem excepta re, et erunt decem res excepto censu. Deinde multiplica hoc totum in quattuor, que dixisti. Erit ergo quod proveniet quadruplum multiplicationis  
 15 unius duarum sectionum in alteram. Erunt itaque quadraginta res exceptis quattuor censibus. Postea multiplica rem in rem que est una duarum sectionum in se; et erit census qui est equalis quadraginta rebus exceptis quattuor censibus. Deinde restaurabis quadraginta per quattuor census. Post hoc addes census

92 ex om. L 93 equetur] equantur M equetur ut formentur] sequitur ut formentur alie  
 F 94 sed] suam L 95 quare] quod L 97 hec] hac L 101 census<sup>1</sup> om. F 102-  
 103 et<sup>3</sup> ... volumus om. FM

VI 1 om. FM 2 numerationis om. FM 11 post duarum add. et del. regularum P  
 13 re om. C multiplica] multiplicabis L 16 post rem<sup>1</sup> add. F: vocat hic aliam partem  
 sectionis, scilicet maiorem quem ponit radicem multiplicando in se, et est ergo rem. 18 per  
 om. C post census<sup>1</sup> add. ms. Vat. lat. 5733: Restaurare quadraginta radices per quattuor census  
 est quattuor census diminutos a radicibus delere et illos quattuor numeros uno censu addere, nam  
 si equalibus equalia addantur tota quoque fient equalia. Numerum enim dico quadraginta res  
 exceptis quattuor censibus equantur uni censui. Dico quadraginta rebus deficere quattuor census

censui. Et erit quod quadraginta res erunt equales quinque censibus. Ergo unus  
 20 census erit octo radices qui est sexaginta quattuor. Radix ergo sexaginta  
 quattuor est una duarum sectionum multiplicata in se. Et residuum ex decem  
 est duo, qui est sectio altera. Iam ergo perduxī hanc questionem ad unum sex  
 capitulorum, quod est quod census equatur radicibus.

Questio secunda: 'Divide decem in duas partes et multiplica decem in se. Et  
 25 sit quod aggregatur ex multiplicatione decem in se equale uni duarum  
 sectionum multiplicata in se bis et septem nonis vicis unius.' Computationis  
 vero huius regula est ut ponas unam duarum sectionum rem. Multiplica igitur  
 eam in se, et fiet census, deinde in duo et septem nonas. Erunt ergo duo census  
 et septem none census unius. Deinde multiplica decem in se, et erunt centum.  
 30 Est ergo ut centum sit equale duobus censibus et septem nonis census unius.  
 Reduc ergo totum illud ad censum unicum, qui est novem partes viginti  
 quinque, quod est quinta et quattuor quinte quinte unius. Accipe igitur quintam  
 centum et quattuor quintas quinte ipsius, que sunt triginta sex. Et ipse equantur  
 censui cuius radix est sex, qui est una duarum sectionum. Iam ergo produximus  
 35 hanc questionem ad unum sex capitulorum, quod est quod census equatur  
 numero.

Questio tertia: 'Divide decem in duas sectiones et divide unam duarum  
 partium per alteram, et provenient quattuor.' Cuius regula est ut ponas unam  
 duarum sectionum rem et alteram decem excepta re. Deinde dividas decem  
 40 excepta re per rem, ut proveniat quattuor. Iam autem scivisti quod cum  
 multiplicaveris quod provenit ex divisione in idem per quod divisum (P 113vb)  
 fuit, redibit census tuus quem divisisti. Sed proveniens ex divisione in hac  
 questione fuit quattuor et id, per quod divisum fuit, fuit res. Multiplica igitur  
 quattuor in rem, et erunt quattuor res. Ergo quattuor res equantur censui quem  
 45 divisisti, qui est decem excepta re. Restaura itaque decem per rem, et adde  
 ipsam quattuor. Erit ergo quod decem equatur quinque rebus. Ergo res est duo.  
 Iam ergo perduxī hanc questionem ad unum sex capitulorum, quod est quod  
 radices equantur numero.

Questio quarta: 'Multiplica tertiam census et dragmam in quartam eius et  
 50 dragmam, et sit quod provenit viginti.' Cuius regula est ut tu multiplices tertiam

ut equentur uni censui et ut ad regulam reducamus. Compleo quadraginta res auferendo  
 negationem quatuor censuum. Et sic in complemento quadraginta rerum sunt additi quatuor  
 census. Totidemque operatione addere uni censui, et exeunt quadraginta res equalium quinque  
 censibus. 24 questio secunda *om. FM* 29 et septem none census *om. F* 31 *post partes*  
*add. de F* 32 *post quinque add. F*: scilicet partibus que sicut dicunt est equalis 100 quod est  
 novenarius 11 (?) constituitur ex denario quod est quinta pars 25 et quoniam qui est quartum  
 quinte quinarum, id est, ex quo 24 quintis quinte, id est, 25 quatuor est  $\frac{4}{5}$  unius quinte. 33-  
 34 centum ... sectionum *om. C* 37-48 questio ... numero *om. F* 47 perduxī] produxi *L (et*  
*alibi infra)* 49 questio quarta *om. M*

- in quartam, et erit quod proveniet medietas sexte census. Et dragmam in dragmam, et erit dragma addita. Et tertiam rei in dragmam, et erit tertia radicis. Et quartam rei in dragmam, et erit quarta radicis. Erit ergo illud medietas sexte census et tertia rei et quarta rei et dragma, que equatur viginti dragmis. Prohice  
 55 ergo dragmam unam ex viginti dragmis et remanent decem et novem dragme, que equantur medietati sexte census et tertie et quarte radicis. Reintegra ergo censum tuum. Eius vero reintegratio est ut multiplices totum quod habes in duodecim, et provenient tibi census et septem radices, que erunt equales ducentis et viginti octo. Media igitur radices et multiplica eas in se, que erunt  
 60 duodecim et quarta. Et adde eas ducentis et viginti octo. Erit ergo illud ducenta et quadraginta et quarta. Deinde accipe radicem eius que est quindecim et semis. Ex qua minue medietatem radicum que est tres et semis. Remanet ergo duodecim qui est census. Iam ergo perduximus hanc questionem ad unum sex capitulorum, quod est quod census et radices equantur numero.
- 65 **Questio quinta:** 'Divide decem in duas partes, et multiplica unamquamque earum in se et aggrega eas. Et proveniat in quinquaginta octo.' Cuius regula est ut multiplices decem excepta re in se, et provenient centum et census exceptis viginti rebus. Deinde multiplica rem in se et erit census. Postea aggrega ea et erunt centum nota et duo census exceptis viginti rebus, que equantur  
 70 quinquaginta octo. Restaura ergo centum et duos census per res que fuerunt diminute, et adde eas quinquaginta octo. Et dices: 'Centum et duo census equantur quinquaginta octo et viginti rebus.' Reduc ergo ea ad censum unum. Dices ergo: 'Quinquaginta et census equantur viginti novem et decem rebus.' Oppone ergo per ea. Quod est ut tu prohicias ex quinquaginta viginti novem.
- 75 Remanet ergo viginti unum et census, que equantur decem rebus. Media ergo radices, et provenient quinque. Eas igitur in se multiplica, et erunt viginti quinque. Prohice itaque ex eis viginti unum, et remanebunt quattuor. Cuius radicem accipias que est duo. Minue ergo ipsam ex quinque rebus, que sunt medietas radicum; et remanet tres, qui est una duarum sectionum. Iam ergo  
 80 perduximus hanc questionem (P 114ra) ad unum sex capitulorum, quod est: census et numerus equantur radicibus.

**Questio sexta:** 'Tertia census multiplicetur in quartam eius, et proveniat inde census. Et sit augmentum eius viginti quattuor.' Cuius regula est quoniam tu nosti quod cum tu multiplicas tertiam rei in quartam rei, provenit medietas  
 85 sexte census que est equalis rei et viginti quattuor dragmis. Multiplica igitur

54 prohice] projici *L* (et alibi infra) 59 viginti om. *F* post media add. tuis *F*  
 61 quadraginta et quarta] viginti *F* 62-63 ex ... census] remanet ergo 12, supradictis 3 et semis, quod est medietas radicis quod est census *F* 65 questio quinta om. *FM* divide] siuidetur *F* 68 aggrega] aggregata *FM* 69 nota] tota *F* 77 ex om. *C* 82 questio sexta om. *CFM* 85 post sexte add. et del. casus *P*

medietatem sexte census in duodecim ut census reintegretur et fiat census perfectus. Et multiplica etiam rem et viginti quattuor in duodecim et provenient tibi ducenta et octoginta octo et duodecim radices, que sunt equales censui. Media igitur radices et multiplica eas in se. Quas adde ducentis et octoginta octo; 90 et erunt omnia trecenta et viginti quattuor. Deinde accipe radicem eius que est decem et octo. Cui adde medietatem radicum, et fiet census viginti quattuor. Iam igitur perduximus hanc questionem ad unum sex capitulorum, quod est: numerus et radices equantur censui.

### < VII. QUESTIONES VARIE >

< 1 > Quod si aliquis interrogans quesierit et dixerit: 'Divisi decem in duas partes. Deinde multiplicavi unam earum in alteram et provenerunt viginti unum.' Tu ergo iam scivisti quod una duarum sectionum decem est res. Ipsam 5 igitur in decem, re excepta, multiplica, et dicas: 'Decem excepta re in rem sunt decem res, censu diminuto, que equantur viginti uno.' Restaura igitur decem excepta re per censum, et adde censum viginti uno; et dic: 'Decem res equantur viginti uno et censui.' Radices ergo mediabis et erunt quinque. Quas in se multiplicabis et provenient viginti quinque. Ex eo itaque prohiçe viginti unum, et 10 remanet quattuor. Cuius accipe radicem que est duo, et minue eam ex medietate rerum. Remanet ergo tres qui est una duarum partium.

< 2 > Quod si dixerit: 'Divisi decem in duas partes et multiplicavi unamquamque earum in se. Et minui minus ex maiore et remanserunt quadraginta.' Erit eius regula ut multiplices decem excepta re in se et provenient 15 centum et census, viginti rebus diminutis. Et multiplica rem in rem, et erit census. Ipsum ergo minue ex centum et censu exceptis viginti rebus. Remanet itaque centum exceptis viginti rebus que equantur quadraginta. Restaura ergo centum per viginti, et adde ipsum quadraginta. Habebis ergo quadraginta et viginti res que erunt equales centum. Oppone igitur per eas centum; prohiçe 20 quadraginta ex centum. Remanent sexaginta que equantur viginti rebus. Ergo res equatur tribus, qui est una duarum partium.

< 3 > Si autem dixerit: 'Divisi decem in duas partes et multiplicavi unamquamque partem in se, et aggregavi eas. Et insuper addidi eis superfluum

91 decem et octo] 88 *F*

VII 8 mediabis] media *FM* 9 multiplicabis] multiplica *F* 16 et censu] et censu ex censu *F* 16-17 remanet ... rebus *om. L* 18 ipsum] eis *F* 19 oppone] appone *L* (*et alibi infra*) per *om. C* centum<sup>1</sup>] censui *L* 20 ex centum *om. M* equantur] erit equalis *F*

VI 87 *perfectus*: this is the only place in the text where a square is called a 'perfect square'.

quod fuit inter utrasque sectiones antequam in se multiplicarentur. Et provenit  
 25 illud totum quinquaginta quattuor.' Regula itaque eius est ut multi(P 114rb)pli-  
 ces decem excepta re in se; et erit quod proveniet centum et census exceptis  
 viginti rebus. Ex decem vero remansit res. Multiplica ergo ipsam in se, et erit  
 quod proveniet census. Deinde aggrega ea, et erit illud quod proveniet centum  
 et duo census exceptis viginti rebus. Adde igitur superfluum quod fuit inter eas  
 30 aggregato, quod est decem exceptis duabus rebus. Totum ergo illud est centum  
 et decem et duo census exceptis duabus rebus et exceptis viginti rebus, que  
 equantur quinquaginta quattuor dragmis. Cum ergo restaurabis, dices: 'Centum  
 et decem dragme et duo census equantur quinquaginta quattuor et viginti  
 duabus rebus.' Reduc ergo ad censum suum. Et dic: 'Census et quinquaginta  
 35 quinque equantur viginti septem dragmis et undecim rebus.' Prohice ergo  
 viginti septem et remanebunt census et viginti octo que equantur undecim  
 rebus. Media igitur res et erunt quinque et semis. Et multiplica eas in se, et  
 erunt triginta et quarta. Ex eis igitur minue viginti octo. Et residui radicem  
 sume, quod est duo et quarta. Est ergo unum et semis. Et minue eam ex  
 40 medietate radicem et remanebunt quattuor, qui est una duarum partium.

< 4 > Quod si dixerit: 'Divisi decem in duas partes et divisi hanc per illam et  
 illam per istam. Et provenerunt due dragme et sexta.' Huius autem regula est.  
 Quoniam cum tu multiplicabis unamquamque partem in se et postea aggregabis  
 eas, erit sicut cum una duarum partium multiplicatur in alteram. Et deinde  
 45 quod provenit multiplicatur in id quod aggregatur ex divisione, quod est duo et  
 sexta. Multiplica igitur decem excepta re in se, et erunt centum et census  
 exceptis viginti rebus. Et multiplica rem in rem, et erit census. Aggrega ergo  
 illud. Et habebis centum et duo census exceptis viginti rebus, que equantur rei  
 multiplycate in decem minus re. Que est decem res excepto censu multiplicato in  
 50 id quod provenit ex duabus divisionibus, quod est duo et sexta. Erit ergo illud  
 viginti et una res et due tertie radicis exceptis duobus censibus et sexta, que  
 equantur centum et duobus censibus exceptis viginti rebus. Restaura ergo illud,  
 et adde duos census et sextam centum et duobus censibus exceptis viginti rebus.  
 Et adde viginti res diminutas ex centum, viginti uni et duabus tertiis radicis.  
 55 Habebis ergo centum et quattuor census et sextam census que equantur  
 quadraginta uni rei et duabus tertiis rei. Reduc ergo illud ad censum unum. Tu  
 autem iam scivisti quod unus census quattuor censuum et sexte est quinta et

29-30 eas aggregato] eis aggregatis *F* 31 viginti] 22 *M* viginti rebus que] 20 que scilicet  
 omnia simul aggregata *F* 34 suum] unum *FM* 35 quinque *om. F* viginti septem] 28 *F*  
 undecim] 10 *F* 36 que] qui *L* 45 in id quod aggregatur] et 10 quod multiplicatur *F*  
 id] illud *C* 49 minus ... res *om. F* post censu *add. residuum M* 50 quod<sup>2</sup>] que *L*  
 51 due tertie] tertiam *F* 55 sextam census] sexta in censu *C* 56 post tertiis *add. et del. rei P*  
 reduc] rebus *L* 57 iam] eam *L* sexte est quinta] 8a est 4a *F* 57-58 quinta et quinta  
 quinte] quinta quinte *L*

- quinta quinte. Totius igitur quod habes accipe quintam et quintam quinte; et habebis censum et viginti quattuor dragmas que equantur decem radicibus.
- 60 Media ergo radices et multiplica eas in se. Et erunt viginti quinque ex quibus minue viginti quattuor que sunt cum censu, et remanebit unum. Cuius assume radicem que est unus. Ipsam ergo minue ex medietate radicum que est quinque. Et remanet quattuor, qui est una duarum sectionum. Et provenit ex hoc ut cum illud quod provenit ex divisione quarumlibet duarum rerum,
- 65 quarum una per alteram dividitur, multiplicatur in id quod provenit ex divisione alterius per primum, erit semper quod proveniet unum.

- < 5 > Sin vero dixerit: 'Divisi decem in duas partes et multiplicavi unam duarum partium in quinque et divisi quod aggregatum fuit per alteram. Deinde proieci medietatem eius quod provenit et addidi ipsam multiplicato in quinque.
- 70 Et fuit quod aggregatum est quinquaginta dragme.' Erit huius regula ut ex decem accipias rem et multiplices eam in quinque. Erunt ergo quinque res divise per secundam que est decem excepta re, accepta eius medietate. Cum ergo acceperis medietatem quinque rerum que est duo et semis, erit illud quod vis dividere per decem excepta re. He ergo due res et semis divise per decem
- 75 excepta re, equantur quinquaginta exceptis quinque rebus. Quoniam dixit: 'Adde ipsam uni duarum sectionum multiplicate in quinque', est ergo totum illud quinquaginta. Iam autem scivisti quod cum multiplicas quod provenit tibi ex divisione in id per quod dividitur, redit census tuus. Tuus autem census est due res et semis. Multiplica ergo decem excepta re in quinquaginta exceptis
- 80 quinque rebus. Erit itaque quod proveniet quingenta et quinque census exceptis centum rebus, que equantur duabus rebus et semis. Reduc ergo illud ad censum unum. Erit ergo quod centum dragme et census exceptis viginti rebus equantur medietati rei. Restaure igitur centum et adde viginti res medietati rei. Habebis ergo centum dragmas et censum que equantur viginti rebus et medietati rei.
- 85 Ergo media radices et multiplica eas in se, et minue ex eis centum, et accipe residui radicem, et minue eam ex medietate radicum que est decem et quarta. Et remanebit octo que est una duarum sectionum.

- < 6 > Quod si aliquis dixerit tibi: 'Divisi decem in duas partes et multiplicavi unam duarum partium in se. Et fuit quod provenit equale alteri
- 90 parti octuagies et semel.' Erit huius regula ut dicas: 'Decem excepta re in se fiunt centum et census exceptis viginti rebus, que equantur octoginta uni rei.' Restaure ergo centum, et adde viginti radices octoginta uni. Erit ergo quod

58 quintam?] quinta L 62 radicem] radicem L 63 duarum] earum F 64 duarum] duorum L 67 in duas partes om. F 74-75 he ... re om. F 90 decem] 4<sup>ta</sup> F

centum et census erunt equales centum radicibus et uni radici. Media igitur radices et erunt quinquaginta et semis. Multiplica eas in se et erunt bis mille *et*  
 95 *quingente et quinquaginta et quarta. Ex eis itaque minue centum. Et remanebunt bis mille et quadringente et quinquaginta et quarta.* Accipe igitur eius radicem que est quadraginta novem et semis. Et minue eam ex medietate radicum que est quinquaginta et semis. Et remanebit unus qui est una duarum sectionum.

100 <7> Et si aliquis dixerit: 'Duo census sunt inter quos sunt due dragme quorum minorem per maiorem divisi, et (P 114vb) provenit ex divisione medietas.' Dic: '*Hic rem ponit pro censu.*' Ergo res et due dragme in medietatem, que est id quod provenit ex divisione, est medietas rei et dragma, que sunt equales rei. Prohice ergo medietatem rei cum medietate, et remanet  
 105 dragma que est equalis medietati rei. Dupla ergo, et dic ergo quod res est due dragme et altera est quattuor.

<8> Quod si dixerit tibi: 'Divisi decem in duas partes. Deinde multiplicavi unam earum in alteram. Et post divisi quod aggregatum fuit ex multiplicatione per superfluum quod fuit inter duas sectiones antequam una in alteram  
 110 multiplicaretur. Et provenerunt quinque et quarta.' Erit eius regula ut accipias ex decem rem, et remanebunt decem excepta re. Unum igitur multiplica in alterum et erunt decem radices excepto censu. Et hoc est quod provenit ex multiplicatione unius eorum in alterum. Deinde divide illud per superfluum, quod est inter ea, quod est decem exceptis duabus rebus. Provenit ergo quinque  
 115 et quarta. Cum ergo multiplicaveris quinque et quartam in decem exceptis duabus rebus, proveniet inde census multiplicatus qui est decem res excepto censu. Multiplica ergo quinque et quartum in decem exceptis duabus rebus. Et erit quod proveniet quinquaginta due dragme <et semis> exceptis decem radicibus et semis, que equantur decem radicibus excepto censu. Restaura ergo  
 120 quinquaginta duo et semis per decem radices et semis, et adde eas decem radicibus excepto censu. Deinde restaura eas per censum et adde censum quinquaginta duobus et semis. Et habebis viginti radices et semis que equantur

94 *post mille add. et del. et quingente et quinquaginta quarta P* 96 *bis mille om. F* 102-104 *dic ... rei'] dragme. Pro minori censu pone rem. Pro maiori vero censu pone rem et duas dragmas. Quibus multiplicatis per mediam dragmam que provenit ex divisione minoris censi per maiorem et eveniunt media res et dragmam, id est, que equantur uni rei M* 105 *dupla ergo et om. F* 119 *decem om. F*

118 *et semis*: from the margin and in a contemporary hand. The omission of these words from the text proper of P is clearly a scribal error, as the next sentence suggests.

quinquaginta duabus dragmis et semis et censui. Operaberis ergo per eas secundum quod posuimus in principio libri, si deus voluerit.

- 125 < 9 > Si quis vero tibi dixerit: 'Est census cuius quattuor radices multipli-  
cate in quinque radices ipsius reddunt duplum census et augment super hoc  
triginta sex dragmas.' Huius regula est. Quoniam cum tu multiplicas quattuor  
radices in quinque radices, fiunt viginti census qui equantur duobus censibus et  
triginta sex dragmis. Prohice ergo ex viginti censibus duos census cum duobus  
130 censibus. Ergo remanent decem et octo census qui equantur triginta sex. Divide  
igitur triginta sex per decem et octo. Et proveniet duo qui est census.

- < 10 > Quod si dixerit: 'Est census cuius tertia et tres dragme, si auferantur et  
postea multiplicetur quod remanet in se, redibit census.' Erit eius regula.  
Quoniam cum tu proieceris tertiam et tres dragmas, remanebunt eius due tertie  
135 exceptis tribus dragmis, que est radix. Multiplica igitur duas tertias rei, *id est*  
*census*, exceptis tribus dragmis in se. Due ergo tertie multiplicatae in duas tertias  
fiunt quattuor none census. Et tres dragme diminute in duas tertias rei, due  
radices sunt. Et tres diminu(P 115ra)te in duas tertias faciunt duas radices, et  
tres in tres fiunt novem dragme. Sunt ergo quattuor none census et novem  
140 dragme exceptis quattuor radicibus que equantur radici. Adde ergo quattuor  
radices radici. Et erunt quinque radices que erunt equales quattuor nonis census  
et novem dragmis. Cum ergo vis ut multiplices quattuor nonas donec reintegres  
censum tuum, multiplica igitur omne quattuor in duo et quartam, et multiplica  
novem in duo et quartam. Et erunt viginti dragme et quarta. Et multiplica  
145 quinque radices in duo et quartam, et erunt undecim res et quarta. Facies ergo  
per ea sicut est illud quod retuli tibi de mediatione radicum, si deus voluerit.

- < 11 > Et si dixerit: 'Dragma et semis fuit divisa per hominem et partem  
hominis, et evenit homini duplum eius quod accedit parti.' Erit eius regula ut  
dicas: 'Homo et pars est unum et res.' Est ergo quasi dicat: 'Dragma et semis  
150 dividitur per dragmam et rem, et proveniunt dragme due res.' Multiplica ergo  
duas res in dragmam et rem. Et provenient duo census et due res que equantur  
dragme et semis. Reduc ea ad censum unum. Quod est ut accipias ex

127 triginta] et F 128 in quinque radices *om. L* 129 triginta sex] 28 F 134 due  
tertie *om. F* 135 tribus] duobus F 135-136 *id est census om. C* 138 et<sup>1</sup> ... radices *om. F*  
143 censum tuum] 9 radices FM omne *om. CFM* 144 et<sup>2</sup> ... quarta *om. M* 145 facies]  
fac L

123 *operaberis*: a contemporary hand adds in the margin of P *in libro erat oppones* as an  
explanation of *operaberis*; the same addition is found in Q. 133 *census*: the *census* is the  
square of  $(\frac{2}{3}x - 3)$  which equals *radix* in line 135. 145 *facies*: a contemporary hand adds in  
the margin of P the gloss *vel oppones*; the same gloss is found in Q.

unaquaque re ipsius medietatem. Et dicas: 'Census et res equantur tribus quartis dragme.' Oppone ergo per ea secundum quod ostendi tibi.

- 155 < 12 > Quod si dixerit tibi: 'Divisi dragmam per homines, et provenit eis res. Deinde addidi eis hominem. Et postea divisi dragmam per eos, et provenit eis minus quam ex divisione prima secundum quantitatem sexte dragme unius.' Erit eius consideratio ut multiplices homines primos in diminutum quod est inter eos. Deinde multiplices quod aggregatur per illud quod est inter homines
- 160 primos et postremos. Proveniet ergo census tuus. Multiplica igitur numerum primorum hominum qui est res in sextam que est inter eos, et erit sexta radicis. Deinde multiplica illud in numerum hominum posteriorum, qui est res et unum. Erit ergo quod sexta census et sexta radicis divisa per dragmam equatur dragme. Ergo reintegra illud: multiplica ipsum in sex, et erit quod habebis
- 165 census et radix. Et multiplica dragmam in sex, et erunt sex dragme. Census ergo et radix equantur sex dragmis. Media ergo radices et multiplica eas in se et adde eas super sex. Et accipe radicem eius quod aggregatur et minue ex ea medietatem radicis. Quod ergo remanet est numerus hominum primorum, qui sunt duo homines.

#### < VIII. > CAPITULUM CONVENTIONUM NEGOCIATORUM

Scias quod conventiones negociationis hominum omnes, que sunt de emptione et venditione et cambitione et conductione et ceteris rebus, sunt secundum duos modos, cum quattuor numeris quibus interrogator loquitur.

- 5 Qui sunt pretium et appretiatum secundum positionem, et pretium et appretiatum secundum querentem. Numerus vero qui est appretiatum secundum positionem opponitur numero qui est pretium secundum querentem. Et numerus qui est pretium secundum positionem opponitur numero qui est appretiatum secundum querentem. Ho(P 115rb)rum vero quattuor numerorum
- 10 tres semper manifesti et noti, et unus *est* ignotus. Qui est ille qui verbo loquentis notatur per quartum, et de quo interrogator querit. Regula ergo in hoc est ut consideres tres numeros manifestos. Impossibile est enim quin duo eorum sint quorum unusquisque suo compari est oppositus. Multiplica igitur unumquemque duorum numerorum apparentium oppositorum in alterum. Et quod
- 15 proveniet, divide per alterum numerum cui numerus ignotus opponitur. Quod

156 deinde ... eis *om. F*    159 est] et *L*    160 ergo] ego *L*

VIII    1 *om. F*    negociatorium *om. M*    2 omnes *om. L*    11 in hoc] hec *L*

VIII    1 The chapter is an application of 'The Rule of Three'; that is, given three of four terms in proportion, the fourth is easily found. See Euclid, *Elements*, book 7, prop. 19.

ergo proveniet, est numerus ignotus pro quo querens interrogat. Qui etiam est oppositus numero per quem dividitur.

Cuius exemplum secundum primum modum eorum est ut querens interroget et dicat: 'Decem cafficii sunt pro sex dragmis; quot ergo provenient tibi pro  
20 quattuor dragmis?' Sermo itaque eius, qui est decem cafficii, est numerus appretiati secundum positionem. Et eius sermo, qui est sex dragme, est numerus eius quod est pretium secundum positionem. Et ipsius sermo, quo dicitur quantum te contingit, est numerus ignotus appretiati secundum querentem. Et ipsius sermo, qui est per quattuor dragmas, est numerus qui est  
25 pretium secundum querentem. Numerus ergo appretiati qui est decem cafficii opponitur numero qui est pretium secundum querentem, quod est quattuor dragme. Multiplica ergo decem in quattuor, qui sunt oppositi et manifesti, et erunt quadraginta. Ipsum itaque per alium numerum manifestum divide, qui est pretium secundum positionem, quod est sex dragme. Erit ergo sex et due  
30 tertie qui est numerus ignotus. Qui est sermo dicentis quantum. Ipse namque est appretiatum secundum querentem, et opponitur sex qui est pretium secundum positionem.

Modus autem secundus est sermo dicentis: 'Decem sunt pro octo; quantum est pretium quattuor?' Aut forsitan dicitur: 'Quattuor eorum quanti pretii sunt.'  
35 Decem ergo est numerus appretiati secundum positionem. Et ipse opponitur numero qui est pretii ignoti, qui notatur per verbum illius 'quantum'. Et octo est numerus qui est pretium secundum positionem. Ipse namque opponitur numero manifesto qui est appretiati qui est quattuor. Multiplica ergo duorum numerorum manifestorum et oppositorum unum in alterum, scilicet quattuor  
40 in octo, et erunt triginta duo. Et divide quod proveniet per alium numerum manifestum, qui est appretiati, et est decem. Erit ergo quod perveniet tres et quinta, qui est numerus qui est appretiatum. Et ipse est oppositus decem per quem divisum fuit. Et similiter erunt omnes conventiones negociationis et earum regule.

45 Quod si aliquis querens interrogaverit et dixerit: 'Quemdam operarium conduxi in mense pro decem dragmis, qui sex diebus operatus est; quantum ergo contigit eum?' Tu autem iam scivisti quod sex dies sunt quinta mensis, et quod illud quod ipsum contingit ex dragmis est secundum quantitatem eius quod operatus est ex mense. Eius vero regula est quod mensis est triginta dies  
50 quod est appretiatum secundum positionem. Et sermo eius qui est decem est pretium secundum positionem. Eius vero sermo qui est sex dies est appretiatum secundum querentem. Et sermo eius quantum contigit est pretium secundum

19, 20 cafficii] kaficii *CF*: radicis *M* 25 est] et *L* cafficii] kaficii *CF* 26 pretium *om.*  
*F* 37 post numerus *add. et del.* quantum *P* 38-39 duorum ... oppositorum] duos numeros  
manifestos *F*: numeros manifestos *M* 46 decem] 6 *F* 51 sex] 30 *M*

- querentem. Multiplica ergo pretium secundum positionem, quod est decem, in appretiatum secundum querentem, quod est ei oppositum et est sex. (P 115va)
- 55 Et provenient sexaginta. Ipsum ergo divide per triginta qui est numerus manifestus qui est appretiatum secundum positionem. Erit ergo illud due dragme quod est pretium secundum querentem. Et similiter fiunt omnia quibus homines inter se conveniunt in negociatione, secundum cambium et mensurationem et ponderationem.

## &lt; APPENDIX &gt;

Liber hic finitur. In alio tamen *libro* repperi hec interposita suprascriptis.

- < 1 > *Iterata* quod si quis dixerit tibi: 'Divisi decem in duas partes et multiplicavi unam duarum sectionum in se. Et fuit quod provenit equale alteri octuagies et semel.'
- 5 Erit eius regula ut dicas: 'Decem excepta re in se fiunt centum et census exceptis viginti rebus que equantur octoginta uni rei.' Restaura ergo centum et adde viginti radices octoginta uni et erunt centum et census, que erunt equales centum et uni radici. Radices igitur mediabis et erunt quinquaginta et semis. Multiplica ergo eas in se, et erunt bis mille et quingente et quinquaginta et quarta. Ex quibus minue centum, et remanebunt
- 10 bis mille et quadringente et quinquaginta et quarta. Huius itaque accipe radicem. Que est quadraginta novem et semis. Quam minuas ex medietate radicum, que est quinquaginta et semis. Et remanebit unum, qui est una duarum sectionum.

- < 2 > Si autem aliquis dixerit: 'Divisi decem in duas partes et multiplicavi unam duarum partium in decem et alteram in se, et fuerunt equales.' Erit eius regula ut
- 15 multiplices rem in decem, et erunt decem radices. Deinde multiplica decem excepta re in se, et erunt centum et census exceptis viginti rebus. Que equantur decem radicibus. Oppone ergo per eas.

- < 3 > Quod si dixerit: 'Due tertie quinte census, septime radicis ipsius sunt equales. Tunc tota radix equatur quattuor quintis census et duabus tertiis quinte ipsius, que est quattuordecim partes de quindecim.' Erit huius regula ut multiplices duas tertias quinte
- 20 in *septem* ut radix compleatur. Due vero tertie quinte sunt due partes *de* quindecim. Multiplica igitur quindecim in se, et erunt ducenta et viginti quinque, et quattuordecim in se, et erunt centum et nonaginta sex. Minue igitur ex ducentis viginti quinque duas

55 sexaginta] 16 F    56 due om. L  
 Appendix    2 hic om. C    libro om. CL    2-12 liber ... sectionum om. M    3 iterata  
 om. CFL    4 sectionum] partium F    5 re om. L    14 eius] hec L    16 radicibus] rebus F  
 19 tunc om. L    que] qua L    21 septem] se (septem in marg.) P

Appendix    1 The Appendix added by Gerard ('repperi') is not found in Robert of Chester's translation (see Karpinski, *Robert of Chester*, p. 124) nor in the translation ascribed to William of Lunis.

tertias quinte ipsius que est triginta, et erit pars de quindecim. Quam divides per  
 25 septimam diminutam ex centum nonaginta sex que est viginti octo. Et proveniet unum  
 et quarta decima unius, que est media septima et est radix census.

< 4 > Si autem dixerit: 'Multiplicavi census in quadruplum ipsius et provenerunt  
 viginti.' Erit eius regula. Quoniam cum tu multiplicas ipsum in se, provenit quinque.  
 Ipse namque est radix quinque.

30 < 5 > Quod si dixerit: 'Est census quem in sui tertiam multiplicavi, et provenit  
 decem.' Erit eius consideratio. Quoniam cum tu multiplicas ipsum in se, provenit  
 triginta. Dic ergo quod census est radix triginta.

< 6 > (P 115vb) Si dixerit: 'Est census quem in quadruplum ipsius multiplicavi, et  
 provenit tertia census primi.' Erit eius regula. Quoniam si tu multiplicaveris ipsum in  
 35 duodecuplum ipsius, proveniet quod erit equale censui. Quod est medietas sexte in  
 tertiam.

< 7 > Quod si dixerit: 'Est census quem multiplicavi in radicem ipsius, et provenit  
 triplum census primi.' Erit eius consideratio. Quoniam cum tu multiplicas radicem  
 census in tertiam ipsius, provenit census. Dico igitur quod istius census tertia est radix  
 40 eius. Et ipse est novem.

< 8 > Si vero dixerit: 'Est census cuius tres radices in ipsius quattuor radices  
 multiplicavi, et provenit census et augmentum quadraginta quattuor.' Erit regula huius.  
 Quoniam cum tu multiplicas quattuor radices in tres radices, fiunt duodecim census.  
 Qui sunt equales censui et quadraginta quattuor dragmis. Ex duodecim igitur censibus  
 45 prohiçe census unum. Remanent ergo undecim census equales quadraginta quattuor.  
 Divide itaque quadraginta quattuor per undecim, et perveniet unus census qui est  
 quattuor.

< 9 > Et similiter si dixerit: 'Est census cuius radix in quattuor radices eius  
 multiplicata reddit triplum census et augmentum quinquaginta dragmarum.' Erit eius  
 50 regula. Quoniam radix una in quattuor radices multiplicata facit quattuor census qui  
 equantur triplo census illius radice et quinquaginta dragmas. Ergo prohiçe tres census  
 ex quattuor censibus. Et remanebit census qui erit equalis quinquaginta dragmis. Ipse  
 enim est census. Cum ergo multiplicabis radicem quinquaginta in radices quattuor  
 quinquaginta, proveniet triplum census et augmentum quinquaginta dragmarum.

55 < 10 > Quod si dixerit tibi: 'Est census cui addidi viginti dragmas, et fuit quod  
 provenit equale duodecim radicibus census.' Erit eius regula. Quoniam dicis quod  
 census et viginti equantur duodecim radicibus. Ergo media radices et multiplica eas in  
 se, et minue ex eis viginti dragmas, et assume radicem eius quod remanet. Ipsam ergo ex

26 que] quem P et<sup>2</sup>] si L 28 viginti] 10 F quoniam cum om. L tu multiplicas] ut  
 multiplices L 32 triginta<sup>2</sup>] 20 F 51 census<sup>2</sup> om. F 53 radicem] radices L 53-  
 54 radices quattuor quinquaginta] quattuor eius radicem 200 M 54 post proveniet add. quam  
 sunt M 57 post radicibus add. census C

medietate radicum que est sex minue. Quod igitur remanet est radix census, quod est  
60 duo. Et census est quattuor.

< 11 > Si vero dixerit: 'Multiplicavi tertiam census in quartam ipsius, et rediit census.'  
Erit eius regula. Quoniam cum multiplicas tertiam rei in quartam rei, provenit medietas  
sexte census que equatur rei. Ergo census est duodecim res. Et ipse est census.

< 12 > Quod si tibi dixerit: 'Est census cuius tertiam et dragmam multiplicavi in  
65 quartam ipsius et duas dragmas, et rediit census et augmentum tredecim dragmarum.'  
Erit eius consideratio ut multiplices tertiam rei in quartam rei et proveniet medietas  
sexte census, et dragmam in quar(P 116ra)tam rei et proveniet quarta rei, et duas  
dragmas in tertiam rei et proveniunt due tertie rei, et dragmam in duas dragmas et erunt  
70 due dragme. Erit ergo totum illud medietas sexte census et due dragme et undecim  
partes duodecim ex radice, que equantur radici et tredecim dragmis. Prohice ergo duas  
dragmas ex tredecim et remanebunt undecim. Et prohice undecim partes ex radice, et  
remanebit medietas sexte radice et undecim dragme, qui equantur medietati sexte  
census. Ipsum ergo reintegra quod est, ut ipsum in duodecim multiplices et multiplices  
omne quod est cum eo in duodecim. Proveniet ergo quod census equatur centum et  
75 triginta duabus dragmis et radici. Oppone ergo per ea.

< 13 > Quod si dixerit: 'Est census cuius tertiam et quartam proieci, et insuper  
quattuor dragmas. Et multiplicavi quod remansit in se. Et quod provenit fuit equale  
censui et augmento duodecim dragmarum.' Huius regula erit ut accipias rem et auferas  
tertiam et quartam ex eo, et remanebunt quinque duodecime partes rei. Et minue ex eis  
80 quattuor dragmas, et remanebunt quinque duodecime partes rei exceptis quattuor  
dragmis. Eas igitur in se multiplica. Erunt ergo quinque partes in se multiplicatae, viginti  
quinque partes centessime quadragesime quarte census. Postea multiplica quattuor  
dragmas exceptas in quinque partes duodecimas rei duabus vicibus. Et erunt  
quadragesime partes, quarum queque duodecim sunt res una. Et quattuor dragme  
85 diminute in quattuor fiunt sedecim dragme addite. Fiunt ergo quadragesime partes, tres  
radices et tertia radice diminute. Proveniunt ergo tibi viginti quinque partes centesime  
quadragesime quarte census et sedecim dragme exceptis tribus radicibus et tertia, que  
equantur radici et duodecim dragmis. Per eas igitur oppone. Prohice igitur duodecim ex  
sedecim et remanent quattuor dragme. Et adde tres radices et tertiam radice et  
90 proveniunt tibi quattuor radices et tertia radice que equantur viginti quinque partibus  
centesimis quadragesimis quartis census et quattuor dragmis. Oportet igitur ut censum  
tuum reintegres. Ipsum ergo multiplica in quinque et decem et novem partes vigesimas  
quintas donec reintegretur. Et multiplica quattuor dragmas in quinque et decem et  
novem partes. Erunt ergo viginti tres dragme et pars una vigesima quinta. Et multiplica  
95 quattuor radices et tertiam in quinque et decem et novem partes vigesimas quintas.  
Erunt ergo viginti quattuor radices et viginti quattuor partes vigesimas quintas radice.

67 in *om. L* 71 undecim<sup>2</sup>] 2 *F* ex radice *om. F* 78 duodecim] 13 *F* 79 partes *om. F*  
79-80 et<sup>3</sup> ... rei *om. F* 87 tertia] tertiam *L* 87-88 exceptis ... dragmis *om. FM*  
93 post dragmas add. tres *L* 94-95 erunt ... quintas *om. M* 94 tres *om. L* 93-  
94 decem ... partes] 19/25 partes dragmarum *F*; et in radices et 3 in 5 et 19/25 *M*

- Media ergo radices. Erunt ergo duodecim radices et duodecim partes vigesime quinte. Multiplica ergo eas in se, et erunt centum et quinquaginta quinque et quadringente et sexaginta novem partes sexcentesi(P 116rb)me et vigesime quinte. Minue ergo ex eis  
 100 viginti tres et partem vigesimam quintam que est cum censu. Et remanebunt centum et triginta duo et quadraginte et quadringenta quattuor partes sexcentesime et vigesime quinte. Eius itaque accipe radicem que est undecim et tredecim partes vigesime et quinte. Ipsam ergo medietati radicem, que est duodecim et duodecim partes vigesime quinte, adde. Erit ergo illud viginti quattuor, qui est census quem queris.
- 105 < 14 > Si vero tibi dixerit: 'Est census quem in duas tertias multiplicavi et provenit quinque.' Erit eius consideratio ut multiplices rem aliquam in duas tertias rei et sint due tertie census equales quinque. Ipsam ergo reintegra per equalitatem medietatis ipsius, et adde super quinque ipsius medietatem. Et habebis censum equalem septem et semis. Radix ergo eius est res quam multiplicabis in duas tertias et proveniet quinque.
- 110 < 15 > Quod si dixerit tibi: 'Duo census sunt inter quos sunt due dragme. Quorum minorem per maiorem divisi, et evenit ex divisione medietas.' Erit eius regula ut multiplices rem et duas dragmas in id quod ex divisione provenit quod est medietas; et erit quod proveniet medietas rei et dragma que equantur rei. Prohice ergo medietatem cum medietate. Remanet dragma que equatur medietati rei. Duplica eas. Ergo habebis  
 115 rem que equatur duabus dragmis, et ipsa est unus duorum censuum. Et alter census est quattuor.
- < 16 > Si autem dixerit: 'Multiplicavi censum in tres radices et provenit quintuplum census.' Quod est quasi dixisset: 'Multiplicavi censum in radicem suam et fuit quod provenit equale censui et duabus tertiis. Ergo radix census est dragma et due tertie. Et  
 120 census est due dragme et septem none.'
- < 17 > Quod si dixerit tibi: 'Est census cuius proieci tertiam. Deinde multiplica residuum in tres radices census primi, et rediit census primus.' Erit eius regula. Quoniam cum tu multiplicas totum censum ante projectionem sue tertie in tres radices eius, provenit census et semis, quoniam due tertie eius multiplicatae in tres radices eius  
 125 faciunt censum. Ergo ipse totus multiplicatus in tres radices eius est census et semis. Ipse ergo totus multiplicatus in radicem unam reddit census medietatem. Ergo radix census est medietas. Et census est quarta. Tertie ergo census due sunt sexta. Et tres radices census est dragma et semis. Quotiescumque igitur multiplicas sextam in dragmam et semis, provenit quarta que est census tuus.
- 130 < 18 > Sin autem dixerit: 'Est census cui abstuli quattuor radices. Deinde accepi tertiam residui, que fuit equalis quattuor radicibus. Census igitur est ducenta et

99 sexcentesime et vigesime quinte] 500 F 103 duodecim<sup>1</sup> ... partes] 13 partes F 105-116 si ... quattuor om. M 115-116 et<sup>2</sup> ... quattuor om. ms. Paris lat. 7377A 118 post suam add. et multiplicavi censum in radicem suam L 119 ergo ... tertie om. F census ... tertie om. L 120 due bis P 122-124 quoniam ... semis om. M 123 multiplicas] multiplices L 124 provenit ... eius<sup>3</sup> om. C

quingenta sex.' Erit eius regula. Quia enim scis quod tertia eius quod remanet est  
equale quattuor radicibus eius, et sic illud quod remanet est equale duodecim radicibus.  
Ergo adde ei quattuor radices quas prius abstulisti, et erit sedecim radices. Ipse enim est

135 radix census.

< 19 > (P 116va) Quod si dixerit: 'Est census de quo radicem suam proieci et addidi  
radici radicem eius quod remansit, et quod provenit fuit due dragme. Ergo hec radix  
census et radix eius quod remansit fuit equale duabus dragmis.' Prohice ergo ex duabus  
dragmis radicem census. Erunt itaque due dragme excepta radice in se multiplicata,  
140 quattuor dragme et census exceptis quattuor radicibus. Que equantur censui radice  
diminuta. Oppone ergo per eas. Est ergo census et quattuor dragme que equantur censui  
et tribus radicibus. Prohice itaque censum cum censu, et remanebunt tres radices  
equales quattuor dragmis. Ergo radix equatur dragme et tertie. Et census est dragma et  
septem none dragme unius.

145 < 20 > Et si dixerit: 'Est census ex quo proieci tres radices suas. Deinde residuum in  
se multiplicavi et provenit census.' Iam ergo scis quod illud quod remanet est etiam  
radix, et quod census est quattuor radices. Et ipse est sedecim dragme.

< 21 > 'Si quis autem tibi dixerit: 'Multiplicavi censum in duas tertias ipsius et  
provenit quinque.' Erit eius regula. Quoniam cum multiplicas ipsum in se, provenit  
150 septem et semis. Dic ergo quod ipse est radix septem et semis. Multiplica igitur duas  
tertias radicis septem et semis, quod est ut multiplices duas tertias in duas tertias.  
Provenient ergo quattuor none. Quattuor ergo none multiplicata in septem et semis sunt  
tres et tertia. Ergo radix trium et tertia est due tertie radicis septem et semis. Multiplica  
igitur tres et tertiam in septem et semis. Et provenient viginti quinque dragme, cuius  
155 radix est quinque.

140 quattuor<sup>1</sup>] tunc erunt F 141 diminuta *om.* F est] et L 142 tribus] duobus F  
144 unius] unias L 148 multiplicavi *om.* F 150 dic ... semis *om.* L 152 none<sup>1</sup> *om.* FM

## GLOSSARY OF LATIN MATHEMATICAL WORDS

With few exceptions, the locations of words are the first places where they occur. If a word has a second use or meaning, its location also appears within parentheses. References are to chapters (A = Appendix) and line numbers of the text edited above.

- accipere, *see* radicem accipere.  
 addere (II.B.7), to add.  
 additio (II.B.50), addition.  
 adiungere (III.50), act of adding one figure to another.  
 aggregare (II.B.8), to add.  
 aggregatio (V.1), sum.  
 algebra (*titulus operis* 2), neither this word nor the next is formally defined.  
 almuchabala (*titulus operis* 2), *see* algebra.  
 angulus (III.54), angle.  
 appretiatum (VIII.5), a quantity to be purchased, known or unknown (VIII.6), according to its position in a proportion.  
 articulus (IV.9), two-digit number.  
 auferre (A 130), to take away, subtract.  
 augmentare (II.A.18), to increase.  
 augmentatus (II.A.18), a coefficient greater than one.  
 augmentum (II.B.56), an increase.  
 cafficius (VIII.20), unit of liquid measure.  
 cambitio (VIII.3), exchange.  
 cambium (VIII.58), change.  
 causa (III.2), reason, explanation.  
 census (I.19 – definition), a square number (*but see* p. 218 n. 16 above).  
 complere, *see* quadratum complere *and* radicem complere.  
 computatio (I.5), computation.  
 conductio (VIII.3), payment.  
 coniungere (V.90), to join (particularly, line-segments).  
 conventiones negotiationis (VIII.2), commercial methods.  
 demonstrare (III.80), to show or explain, *but not* to prove.  
 diminuerre (IV.12), to subtract.  
 diminutio (II.B.51), subtraction.  
 diminutus (IV.12), a coefficient less than one; *also* missing or removed (III.14), *also* past participle of *diminuere* (IV.12).  
 dividere (III.58), to cut a line segment into parts, *or* to divide one number by another (V.32).  
 dragma (II.B.6), *synonym for* unit(s).  
 duplicare (I.10), to double a number.  
 duplicatio (V.11 – definition), the doubling of a number.  
 duplum (V.13), twice.  
 emptio (VIII.3), buying.  
 equalis (II.A.7), equal.  
 equaliter (V.3), equally.  
 equare (II.A.3), to equal.  
 equidistans (III.50), of equal length.  
 extremitas (III.24), part of a line segment, including its end points.  
 fractio (I.19), fraction.  
 genera composita (II.B.3), generic term for quadratic equations having two terms equal to a third.  
 ignotus (III.3), an unknown length of a line segment, *or* an unknown number (VIII.10).  
 impossibilis (II.B.55), an equation impossible to solve.  
 intentio (II.B.29), meaning.  
 latitudo (III.37), width of a quadrilateral.  
 latus (III.3), side of a plane figure, a line segment.  
 linea (III.59), line segment.  
 longitudo (III.36), length of a quadrilateral.  
 maius (II.A.11), the coefficient is greater than one.  
 mediare (II.B.8), to halve (*see* next two phrases).  
 medietas census (II.A.16), half the coefficient of the square number.  
 medietas radicum (II.A.22), half the coefficient of the roots.  
 mensuratio (VIII.59), measuring.  
 minuere (II.B.11), to subtract.  
 minus (II.A.12), the coefficient is less than one.  
 modus (I.16), kind or type of number.

- multiplicare (II.B.9), to multiply; *in se* means to square (I.18).  
 negociatio (VIII.1), *see* conventiones.  
 notus (V.10), known (in the sense of rational number).  
 numerus (I.6 – definition), the specified number of a quantity.  
 numerus simplex (I.20-21 – definition), constant.  
 opponere (VI.74), to subtract a positive term on one side of an equation from its larger like term on the other side; *also* in problems involving proportions, given  $a:b = c:d$ , then *a* opposes *d* and *b* opposes *c* (VIII passim).  
 pars (VI.8), part of a number.  
 pauciores (II.B.13), the coefficient of the square is less than one.  
 plures (II.B.13), the coefficient of the square is more than one.  
 ponderatio (VIII.59), weighing.  
 pretium (VIII.5), a price known or unknown (VIII.34), according to its position in a proportion.  
 pro(h)icere (VI.54), to subtract (used together with *opponere*).  
 projectio (V.65), subtraction.  
 proportio (I.21), relationship or ratio *but not* proportion.  
 protrahere (V.60), to extend.  
 punctum (V.59), point.  
 quadrare (III.61), to create a square figure.  
 quadratura (III.28), square area; *also* a square.  
 quadraturam complere (III.16), to bring a polygon into the shape of a square by adding one or more squares to it.  
 quadratum complere (III.43), *see preceding phrase*.  
 qualiter (IV.2), in which way.  
 quantitas (IV.7), the number of.  
 questio (II.B.9), equation.  
 radix (I.17 – definition), the root of the square in the problem.  
 radicem accipere (II.B.11), to find the square root of a number.  
 radicem complere (A 21), to reduce or increase the coefficient of the root to one; *analogous to* reducere.  
 reducere (II.A.18), to bring the coefficient of a square term to unity by multiplying it by its multiplicative inverse.  
 regula (II.B.8), procedure.  
 reintegrare (II.B.31), *same as* reducere.  
 reintegratio (VI.57), *noun for the preceding verb*.  
 res (IV.31), an unknown quantity, often a first degree variable.  
 residuum (V.68), remainder.  
 restaurare (V.98), roots opposite in sign are added together; a negative term on one side of an equation is transferred to the other side (VI.18), which is the meaning of *restaurare* hereafter.  
 secare (III.86), to cut or divide a line segment.  
 sectio (VI.10), part of a number.  
 sensibilis (V.94), visual.  
 significatio (II.B.16), meaning.  
 superficies quadrata (III.3), a square.  
 superfluum (III.76), excess; *also* difference (VII.23).  
 surdus (V.10), surd (*in the sense of irrational number*).  
 totus (III.83), complete, entire.  
 triplicare (I.11), to triple a number.  
 triplum (V.14), thrice.  
 unitas (IV.8), one-digit number.  
 venditio (VIII.3), selling.

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## AQUINAS' DISTINCTION AT *DE ENTE ET ESSENTIA* 4.119-123

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### I

DECISIVE importance, regarded as hitherto missed, has recently been attributed to the argument offered by St. Thomas Aquinas in these two consecutive sentences of his *De ente et essentia*: 'It follows that there can be only one reality that is identical with its being. In everything else, then, its being must be other than its quiddity, nature, or form.'<sup>1</sup> The importance attached to the passage would lie in its alleged function of bringing to a successful conclusion Aquinas' demonstration of real distinction between essence and existence in creatures. What follows in the text would then be regarded as showing how essence and existence, already established as really distinct, can enter into composition as potentiality and actuality in the constitution of finite beings.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *On Being and Essence* 4.6, trans. Armand Maurer, 2nd rev. edition (Toronto, 1968), p. 56. The Latin text is: 'Vnde relinquitur quod talis res que sit suum esse non potest esse nisi una; unde oportet quod in qualibet alia re preter eam aliud sit esse suum et aliud quidditas uel natura seu forma sua' (4.119-123; Leonine edition 43.377a). The text with a new English translation may be found in Scott MacDonald, 'The *Esse/Essentia* Argument in Aquinas's *De ente et essentia*', *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 22 (1984) 171-72. Cf. 'Surprisingly, the importance of this part of Thomas's argumentation is passed over lightly or even ignored by many commentators' (John F. Wippel, *Metaphysical Themes in Thomas Aquinas* [Washington, D.C., 1984], p. 107). 'The question which has occupied commentators is whether or not the conclusion (E/E 12) is to be taken as claiming that there is a *real* distinction between *esse* and essence or *esse* and thing' (MacDonald, p. 167). Actually, the question in its precise focus is of very recent date. But the problem is still the centuries-old one, that of 'the famous, if poorly named, "real distinction between essence and existence"', as it has been called by Frederick D. Wilhelmsen, 'The Priority of Judgment over Question: Reflections on Transcendental Thomism', *International Philosophical Quarterly* 14 (1974) 486. At the opposite pole in the discussion is the claim that the distinction is in some way seen to be real in the first section of the *De ente* argument. A defense of that stand may be found in Lawrence Dewan, 'Saint Thomas, Joseph Owens, and the Real Distinction between Being and Essence', *The Modern Schoolman* 61 (1984) 145-56. The notion of 'stages' in the argument may be found discussed in my article 'Stages and Distinction in *De ente*', *The Thomist* 45 (1981) 99-123.

<sup>2</sup> 'What phase three does contribute to Thomas's views concerning the essence-esse relationship in creatures is not, in my opinion, additional proof that they are really distinct but

If correct, this interpretation would mean that with Aquinas a real distinction between essence and existence in created things can be made manifest before the existence of God has been positively demonstrated. Here the issue no longer bears on the misplaced question whether a real distinction is to be found between essential being and existential being.<sup>3</sup> Taken at face value, rather, is the explicit and firm mention, made five times in the earlier writings of Aquinas, that for him the distinction is real.<sup>4</sup> What now is examined is the process by which the reality of the distinction is proved. In this perspective the discussion touches upon the most sensitive nerves of Thomistic metaphysics. Its queries accordingly promise insight into the vital structure and dynamics of the Thomistic metaphysical reasoning, thereby exciting renewed interest in a theme that readers would otherwise be prompted to look upon as long since dated and dead.

In this respect, the fact that only five times in the voluminous works of Aquinas is the distinction called 'real' should give rise to a query about how relevant the designation 'real' was for Aquinas himself. He brings in the distinction time after time without express characterization of it as 'real'. Just the mention that existence is distinct from essence in creatures seems to satisfy his purposes on nearly all occasions. As long as the two principles are regarded as distinct, most of the time no further qualification appears needed. Rarely does there seem to be any occasion with him to insist on the designation 'real'. The attitude is notably different from the mentality that prevails with Giles of Rome two years or so after Aquinas' death. For Giles none of the other customary descriptions of the distinction can safeguard creation. The distinction has to be bluntly designated as 'real', in the sense of lying between two different

rather explicit evidence to show that in addition to this they are also (really) composed as potency and act' (Wippel, *ibid.*, pp. 124-25 n. 46; cf. pp. 119, 132). 'At (E/E 12) the conclusion that *esse* and *essence* are really distinct is left in its negative form. ... The argument from (E/E 15)-(E/E 22) provides the positive characterization of the distinction' (MacDonald, *ibid.*, 167).

<sup>3</sup> e.g., in Joannes J. Urráburu, *Ontologia* (Paris, 1891), pp. 704-39, where existence in creatures is conceived in quidditative fashion: 'Existencia ipsa suam habet essentiam realem, nam est aliquis actus realis et quidditative definibilis' (4.1.2.253 [p. 733]). It seems fairly well agreed now that the various formulations of the *relation* between the terms, such as distinct from, different from, other than, diverse, or 'one is not the other', are used synonymously in this problem without significant nuances on the part of the writers concerned. See Leo Sweeney, 'Existence/Essence in Thomas Aquinas's Early Writings', *Proceedings of the American Catholic Philosophical Association* 37 (1963) 104-105. I have discussed the crucially important difference in the formulation of the *terms* themselves in *Aquinas on Being and Thing* (Niagara Falls, N.Y., 1981).

<sup>4</sup> *Sent.* 1.13.1.3 Solut. (ed. Mandonnet, 1.307), 1.19.2 Solut. (1.471); *De ver.* 27.1 ad 8; *In Boeth. De hebdom.* 2, Calcaterra nos. 32 and 33. For the chronology see James A. Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas d'Aquino: His Life, Thought, and Work* (Garden City, N.Y., 1974), pp. 358-87.

realities.<sup>5</sup> Since that time the qualification 'real' has been regarded by both proponents and opponents as a vital issue. But according to the indications available, it was not for Aquinas an issue that needed to be specified on each occasion. His reasoning in the *De ente et essentia* is not geared to answering a question about the reality of the distinction. That is a question we ourselves are asking the text. The answer has to be deduced from assertions and implications made in the course of the argument. It is not to be looked for as something already prepared and offered in the text itself. It has to be reasoned to from the different considerations involved at each stage.

One may well begin by asking if there is any indication elsewhere in the writings of Aquinas during the early period that the reasoning in the *De ente et essentia* leads up to a distinction recognizable without hesitation as being real. If the overall structure of the argument in the *De ente* can be shown to have the same general orientation as arguments in which the distinction reached is explicitly designated as 'real', the role played in Aquinas' metaphysical thinking by its reality can hardly help but be brought out. Hence the importance of this investigation of the parallel passages that are fairly contemporary with the *De ente*.

## II

One may well begin, then, with a glance at those five places in the earlier works of Aquinas in which the distinction is expressly called 'real'. Do they parallel at all, either wholly or in part, the structure found in the *De ente* reasoning? If so, the reasoning thus matched in the *De ente* may be taken as meant to lead up to a real distinction. One might also ask if they indicate in any way the point in the reasoning at which real distinction is reached. At least, since they are roughly contemporary with the *De ente* in the academic career of Aquinas, they may be expected to provide a helpful background against which the successive steps in the reasoning of the *De ente* chapter may be gauged.

The first passage is from the *Scriptum super libros sententiarum*. It outlines its argument sharply but very succinctly: 'For to have the universal and particular there is required, as has been said above, a real diversity between the communicable quiddity and the existence which is proper.'<sup>6</sup> The starting point

<sup>5</sup> See Edgar Hocedez, *Aegidii Romani Theoremata de esse et essentia* (Louvain, 1930), pp. (13)-(16), and works cited in Wippel, *Metaphysical Themes*, p. 123 n. 42.

<sup>6</sup> 'Ad hoc enim quod sit universale et particulare, exigitur aliqua diversitas realis, ut supra dictum est, quidditatis communicabilis, et esse quod proprium est' (*Sent.* 1.13.1.3 Solut. [1.307]). The same reasoning is found without mention of 'real' at *Sent.* 1.19.4.2 Solut. (1.483): '... ubicumque est genus et species, oportet esse quidditatem differentem a suo esse, ut prius dictum est'. Here the particular is the species as related to genus, instead of the individual as related to species. In both cases the starting point is a conceptual distinction.

is the distinction between a universal nature and the particular instance in which that nature is found. This is obviously enough a conceptual distinction, the distinction that arises when the same thing is conceived in different ways by the human mind. The one and the same person may be represented in the mind as Socrates, as a man, as an animal, as a living thing. For convenience in discussion each of these objects, distinct from one another as Socrates, man, animal, living thing, may itself be called a concept. Here the term 'concept' refers directly not to the conceptualizing activity of the mind nor to the product of the activity, but to what is thereby conceived.<sup>7</sup> It means the object of the conceptualization, the object upon which the mental *product* bears. Accordingly when the term 'concept' is taken as meaning the product of the conceptualization, it is obviously something that exists in the mind. In that sense each concept is really distinct from every other concept. Each is produced by a really different act of the mind. Your concept of one and the same object is really different from my concept of it, for they are located in really different places. Even in the same person the concept of the same object, say 'animal', is really distinct on each new occasion from the concept of that object produced by a former act. They are really separated by time. On the other hand, when 'concept' is taken to mean the object, such as man, animal, or living thing, it remains the same no matter who is thinking of it or at what time the thinking takes place. In this sense it signifies objects that are distinct not necessarily in reality but in the way they are represented in human conceptualization. It is between these objects that conceptual distinction, in contrast to real distinction, occurs. 'Intentional distinction' or 'distinction of reason' may be used as literal translations of the Latin terms for it, but 'conceptual distinction' is much clearer and more convenient in English.

It is in this objective sense of 'concept' that the distinction between universal nature and particular instance is a conceptual distinction. If the sense were that of concept as a mental product the distinction between the concepts would be real. However, the argument now being considered infers that this conceptual distinction requires real diversity between the quiddity, which is common, and the existence which is individual in the sense that it belongs exclusively to the instance in which it is found.<sup>8</sup> The inference, therefore, is from conceptual

<sup>7</sup> On existence as the object of a 'concept' for Aquinas, see Étienne Gilson, *Being and Some Philosophers*, 2nd edition (Toronto, 1952), pp. 221-27.

<sup>8</sup> This may be compared with the inference of real distinction between matter and form from the conceptually distinct parts of a definition: '... et sic definitio composita ostendit realem compositionem' (*Sent.* 1.25.1.1 ad 2 [1.603]). The conceptual distinction between the parts of the quiddity as expressed in the definition may be seen in the example 'Nulla res potest cogitari sine sua quidditate, sicut homo sine eo quod est animal rationale mortale' (*Sent.* 1.3.1.2 arg. 4 [1.93]).

distinction between universal and particular to real distinction in the existent between quiddity and existing, between what the thing is and that it exists. For the explanation of the way this conclusion may be inferred, a backward reference is made by Aquinas in the text. It may be found in a passage introduced as the argument of Avicenna:

Everything that is in a genus has a quiddity different from existence, for instance man. For to exist in actuality does not belong to humanity insofar as it is humanity, since humanity can be thought of without knowing whether a particular man exists. And the reason for this is that the common notion that is predicated of the things that are in a genus predicates the quiddity, since genus and species are quidditative predicates. But existence does not belong to that quiddity except through its reception in this or that individual. And therefore the quiddity of the genus or species is not communicated to them all in accord with one existence but only according to one common aspect. Hence it is clear that the thing's existence is not its quiddity. But in God, his existence is his quiddity. Otherwise it would be accidental to the quiddity and thus it would be acquired by him from something else, and he would not have existence through his essence. And therefore God cannot be in any genus.<sup>9</sup>

The reasoning here is that a thing whose existence is identical with its quiddity cannot be in a genus. It is being appealed to for justification of the conclusion that whatever is in a genus will have to have real diversity between quiddity and existence. Its force rests upon the consideration that a quiddity like that of man can be known without knowledge that a certain particular instance exists, even though the quiddity can exist only in particular instances. The quiddity is common, the existence is not. Existence is not provided by the quiddity itself. It has therefore to be acquired from something else. Though the distinction between the universal and particular is conceptual only, this reasoning is called upon to substantiate real diversity between existence and quiddity in anything that is located in a genus. But it gives no express mention of how or where the difference is recognized as real. The notion that existence is accidental to the quiddity and therefore acquired from something else would however seem, by its position, to be what caps the whole argument.

<sup>9</sup> 'Tertio ratio subtilior est Avicennae.... Omne quod est in genere, habet quidditatem differentem ab esse, sicut homo; humanitati enim ex hoc quod est humanitas, non debetur esse in actu; potest enim cogitari humanitas et tamen ignorari an aliquis homo sit. Et ratio hujus est, quia commune, quod praedicatur de his quae sunt in genere, praedicat quidditatem, cum genus et species praedicentur in eo quod quid est. Illi autem quidditati non debetur esse nisi per hoc quod suscepta est in hoc vel in illo. Et ideo quidditas generis vel speciei non communicatur secundum unum esse omnibus, sed solum secundum unam rationem communem. Unde constat quod esse suum non est quidditas sua. In Deo autem esse suum est quidditas sua: aliter enim accideret quidditati, et ita esset acquisitum sibi ab alio, et non haberet esse per essentiam suam. Et ideo Deus non potest esse in aliquo genere' (*Sent.* 1.8.4.2 Solut. [1.222]).

Three neighboring texts in the same *Distinctio* of the *Scriptum* may help fill out the background offered by the passage just considered. Two of these texts come before the passage, and the third after it. In the first, difference of quiddity from existence, in the perspective in which quiddity does not furnish knowledge of existence, is illustrated by the distinction between animality and rationality: “‘Accident’ here means what is not contained in the notion of something, as “rational” is said to be accidental to “animal”. And in this way existence is accidental to every created quiddity, because it is not contained in the notion of the quiddity itself. For the humanity can be understood, and yet whether the man has existence can be made a question.”<sup>10</sup>

Here the distinction as known from the failure to attain knowledge of the existence through inspection of the quiddity, and the consequent accidental status given to the existence from this viewpoint, is placed under the same type as the conceptual distinction between specific and generic objects. The one real person, Socrates, is seen as identified with two conceptually distinct objects, namely, a man and an animal. He is both, in reality. In comparable fashion quiddity and existence, as objects of human knowledge, are regarded as distinct from each other. That is as far as the example goes. Nothing is said that would preclude a further and real distinction between them. That will have to follow from the reasoning in the longer passage examined above, quite as a conceptual distinction between substance and faculties provides the basis for metaphysical demonstration of real distinction between them.<sup>11</sup>

The second of the three neighboring texts approaches the distinction through the words of Avicenna: ‘A fourth reason can be taken from the words of Avicenna. ... Since in everything that exists one may consider its quiddity, through which it subsists in a determined nature, and its existence, through which it is said to be in actuality, ... the name “he who is” or “being” is given it from the very actuality of existing.’<sup>12</sup> Here the existence is specified as the

<sup>10</sup> ‘Ad quod dicendum, quod accidens dicitur hic quod non est de intellectu alicujus, sicut rationale dicitur animali accidere; et ita cuilibet quidditati creatae accedit esse, quia non est de intellectu ipsius quidditatis; potest enim intelligi humanitas, et tamen dubitari, utrum homo habeat esse’ (*Sent.* 1.8, exp. 1<sup>ae</sup> partis textus [1.209]). At the same time, from the viewpoint of metaphysical priority existence is essential to the quiddity, since without existence the quiddity would be nothing, ‘... cum nihil sit essentialius rei quam suum esse’ (*ibid.*).

<sup>11</sup> The faculties, conceived as different from the substance, are shown to be really distinct from it only through a difficult reasoning process in terms of form as cause of being for Aquinas: ‘... et inter essentiam et talem operationem cadit virtus media differens ab utroque, in creaturis etiam realiter, in Deo ratione tantum’ (*Sent.* 1.7.1.1 ad 2 [1.177]; cf. 1.3.4.2 Solut. [1.116]).

<sup>12</sup> ‘Quarta ratio potest sumi ex verbis Avicennae, ... cum in omni quod est sit considerare quidditatem suam, per quam subsistit in natura determinata, et esse suum, per quod dicitur de eo quod est in actu, hoc nomen “res” imponitur rei a quidditate sua, secundum Avicennam, ... hoc nomen “qui est” vel “ens” imponitur ab ipso actu essendi.’ The Latin text goes on: ‘Cum autem ita sit quod in qualibet re creata essentia sua differat a suo esse, res illa proprie denominatur a

actuality of the existent thing. More pointedly in the third text the reasoning leads to a composition in which the components are respectively actuality and potentiality: 'If that quiddity is its existence, it will be the essence of God himself, which is his existence, and it will be altogether simple. But if it is not its existence, it has to have existence received from something else, as does every created quiddity. ... And since everything that does not have something from itself is potential in regard to it, a quiddity of this kind, since it has existence from something else, will be potential in regard to that existence, and in regard to him from whom it has existence, in whom no potentiality lies. And therefore in quiddity of this type there will be found potentiality and actuality insofar as the quiddity itself is potential, and its existence is its actuality.'<sup>13</sup> In this text the created thing's existence is described as an actuality received from an external cause, and ultimately from a cause that has no potentiality whatever and is accordingly pure actuality. In a created quiddity, the result is, both potentiality and actuality are found. The quiddity itself is the potentiality, while the existence is its actuality.

These excerpts from the *Scriptum* proceed clearly enough under the same general inspiration. A difference between quiddity and existing is at once recognized, as observable things exhibit a quiddity that provides no knowledge of their existence. Their existence, since it does not spring from the quiddity, has to be received from something else and eventually from something that is pure actuality. The last text concludes that a created thing has in consequence two components, the one an actuality, the other a potentiality. Together, the excerpts sustain the backward reference asserting that the *Scriptum* has already given the proof for the real distinction between quiddity and essence as worked out from the starting point of the readily recognizable distinction between a generic or specific nature (the universal) and a particular instance of the nature. The further quality of the distinction, now called 'real', is looked upon as reached by a difficult reasoning process, in contrast to the easily known aspect of conceptual difference from which the reasoning started. But the way the reality of the distinction becomes evident in the reasoning referred to as leading

quidditate sua, et non ab actu essendi, sicut homo ab humanitate. In Deo autem ipsum esse suum est sua quidditas. ...' (*Sent.* 1.8.1.1 Solut. [1.195]).

<sup>13</sup> 'Si illa quidditas sit esse suum, sic erit essentia ipsius Dei, quae est suum esse, et erit omnino simplex. Si vero non sit ipsum esse, oportet quod habeat esse acquisitum ab alio, sicut omnis quidditas creata. ... Et quia omne quod non habet aliquid a se, est possibile respectu illius; huiusmodi quidditas cum habeat esse ab alio, erit possibilis respectu illius esse, et respectu ejus a quo esse habet, in quo nulla cadit potentia; et ita in tali quidditate inveniatur potentia et actus, secundum quod ipsa quidditas est possibilis, et esse suum est actus ejus' (*Sent.* 1.8.5.2 Solut. [1.229-30]). Avicenna is mentioned immediately before this passage as a source for the notion of quiddity that is at issue here.

up to it is not specified. For the present one can merely note that all the well-known stages of the *De ente* argument are present in these combined excerpts from the *Scriptum* except the stage represented in the two sentences upon which the present inquiry (above, n. 1) centers.

The second relevant passage in the *Scriptum* merely asserts as an accepted tenet the reality of the distinction between the existence and what the existence actualizes in eviternal beings, without developed argument for it.<sup>14</sup> The *De veritate*, in the course of showing, as in the *Scriptum*, that God cannot be in a genus, restricts the consideration to the category of substance: 'Everything that is in the genus of substance is composite with a real composition, because whatever is in the category of substance is subsistent in its own existence, and its own act of existing must be distinct from the thing itself; otherwise it could not be distinct in existence from the other things with which it agrees in the formal character of its quiddity.'<sup>15</sup> In order to have the common generic quiddity and the individual thing a distinction between the thing and its existing is required here, quite as in the *Scriptum*. The composition between the two is expressly called real, and is regarded as following upon their distinction. The conceptual distinction is the starting point for the reasoning to the difference in reality. But again, no express indication is given as to how the distinction is seen to be real.

In the commentary on Boethius' *De hebdomadibus* a conclusion runs: '... just as in simple beings existence and that which exists differ in their notions, so in composites they differ really.'<sup>16</sup> Backward reference for the reason why is made to the preceding sections (Calcaterra nos. 24-25), where 'existence itself' because of its abstract manner of signification is shown to be unable to participate in any other notion. Dealing first with the abstract 'existence itself' as most universal (*communissimum* – no. 24), the discussion shows that

<sup>14</sup> 'Actus autem qui mensuratur aevo, scilicet ipsum esse aeviterni, differt ab eo cujus est actus re quidem. ...' (*Sent.* 1.19.2.2 Solut. [I.471]).

<sup>15</sup> *De ver.* 27.1 ad 8, trans. Robert W. Schmidt (Chicago, 1954), p. 311. The Latin is: '... omne quod est in genere substantiae est compositum reali compositione eo quod id quod est in praedicamento substantiae est in suo esse subsistens, et oportet quod esse suum sit aliud quam ipsum; alias non posset differre secundum esse ab aliis cum quibus convenit in ratione suae quidditatis' (Leonine edition 22.792, ll. 221-228).

<sup>16</sup> '... sicut esse et quod est differunt in simplicibus secundum intentiones, ita in compositis differunt realiter' (*In Boethii De hebdomadibus*, 2, Calcaterra no. 32). Cf. 'Si enim esset aliud realiter id quod est et ipsum esse, iam non esset simplex, sed compositum' (*ibid.*, no. 33). In this context *intentio* and *ratio* are taken synonymously: 'Quae quidem diversitas non est hic referenda ad res, de quibus adhuc non loquitur, sed ad ipsas rationes seu intentiones' (*ibid.*, no. 22). A discussion of the various meanings of intentional distinction in medieval Scholasticism and the Arabian sources may be found in Jean Paulus, *Henri de Gand. Essai sur les tendances de sa métaphysique* (Paris, 1938), pp. 220-37.

because it is abstract it cannot partake of anything in the way matter or subject participates in form or accident. Nor can it partake of a notion more universal than itself, as whiteness participates in color, since 'existence itself' is the most common of all. Deliberately set aside from the discussion is the way an effect is said to partake of the nature of its cause, especially when doing so to a lesser degree as in the case of air participating in the sun's light. The discussion then (nos. 31-33) applies to things the notions of existence and what exists. Because, in a thing, 'existence itself' does not partake of anything either essentially or accidentally, it is not a composite. In it the existence and that which is will differ as notions but without real difference between them. A composite thing, on the contrary, will not be its own existence.

In this passage the assertion of real difference between a composite thing and its existence is sharp and clear. But the exact reason for the reality of the distinction is not so readily forthcoming. In outline the reason is that existence is of such a nature (*ratio*) that it cannot partake of anything else. Where it subsists as a thing it will in consequence have no composition. In contrast, any composite thing will not be subsistent existence. As a thing, it will have to be in reality something other than its existence. Here the reasoning seems to parallel that contained in the two sentences of the *De ente* from which the present study (above, n. 1) began. But it is presupposing that 'existence itself' is a thing, that is, that existence subsists in reality. With the existence of a simple thing (God) presumed in that way, the contrasted composite things will have to be really distinct from their existence. Existence, now taken as a real nature, cannot enter into real composition with anything else. Where it is found in other things, it will have to be really other than what the things are. Again, however, the precise way in which the distinction becomes seen as real is not made explicit.

Naturally, the terminology of the discussion is adapted to the text of Boethius upon which commentary is being made. There is no express attempt to show that 'simple being' can have only one instance in reality, though that conclusion does follow from the tenet that 'existence itself' as a thing cannot be participated in by subjects or matter. Curious, perhaps, is the deliberate omission of the way in which it can be participated in degrees lower than substantiality. Finally, one might note how in simple things existence can be real and thing can be real, yet the distinction between them can be called 'intentional' or conceptual. The reality of the terms of the distinction is a different question from that of the reality of the distinction itself.

This combined group of passages, in which the distinction between quiddity and existence is expressly designated as 'real', contains in one way or another all the elements of the long reasoning in the *De ente* argument. All the passages are from the early writings of Aquinas. Taken together they show how the argument starts in a readily recognized conceptual distinction. The participation

theme is introduced, though the participation of a cause's perfection in a lesser degree explicitly recedes into the background. Existence is received from without, ultimately from subsistent existence, with the consequent distinction between the received existence as an actuality and the recipient as the corresponding potentiality. The existence of God, however, is not posed in those passages first hypothetically but is looked upon all the time as either demonstrated or accepted in positive fashion. In them the reasoning leads up to what is called explicitly a 'real' distinction, but without exact indication of how it is so recognized.

With this general setting in mind, contemporary as it is to the *De ente*, one may with considerably more confidence approach questions about the structure and nature of the reasoning in the longer and continuous presentation given in that much discussed work.

### III

Prior to an analysis of the text of the argument itself, however, some general considerations about the problems of its structure and nature, and about its background in the immediately preceding sections of the *De ente*, are in order. The importance of understanding the structure and nature of its reasoning has been emphasized recently, together with the claim that 'no one has yet offered a detailed account of exactly what the argument is.'<sup>17</sup> Aquinas, it is true, was not writing for a public accustomed to the etiquette of modern logic. But his arguments, as arguments, are not at all exempt from the requirement of conforming to its norms. In their light need arises 'to be clear about the precise structure of the argument'.<sup>18</sup>

There need be no reluctance today in regard to formalizing the reasoning of Aquinas for the purpose of bringing out its logical clarity and consistency. As long as the variations in the meaning of concepts in accord with Aquinas' doctrine of analogy and focal reference are taken into account, the ease in formalization might prompt the remark that if he were writing today and were challenged he would readily use modern logical form with suppressed premises made explicit. The formalizing may make the arguments seem very long drawn out in writing,<sup>19</sup> and might leave an impression that they are more forcefully expressed when one can go through whole portions of them at a glance, as with

<sup>17</sup> MacDonald, 'The *Esse/Essentia* Argument', 157. The logical structure of the *De ente* argument is given by MacDonald on pp. 158-59.

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.*, 157.

<sup>19</sup> e.g., in Jan Salamucha, 'The Proof "Ex Motu" for the Existence of God: Logical Analysis of St. Thomas' Arguments', *The New Scholasticism* 32 (1958) 334-72.

a spatial continuum, instead of having to traverse in staccato fashion each of its seemingly innumerable parts. However, there can be no question as to the help given by the formalization. The important sections of the present argument do benefit by precise logical analysis.

Along with the structure of the argument its nature, too, demands careful consideration. The reasoning is geared to the conclusion that immaterial substances are mixed through and through with potentiality: 'Substances of this kind, though pure forms without matter, are not absolutely simple; they are not pure act but have a mixture of potentiality.'<sup>20</sup> The subsequent argument is not precisely directed towards demonstrating a real distinction between the actuality and potentiality with which it is concerned. It does not use the terms 'real' or 'intentional' (cf. above, n. 16) to describe the distinction at any of the stages. Sufficient for its purpose is the proof that finite immaterial substances are composed of actuality and potentiality and therefore are not entirely simple.

Further, the nature of the argument will depend to a perhaps surprising extent on the way the objects upon which it bears are understood. These objects have been clarified to considerable extent in the preceding sections of the *De ente*. 'Matter' in its primary instance has been described, with reference to Averroes, as something that entirely lacks form (*De ente* 2.236-238). Whatever existence it has it receives from the form (4.46-48). On the other hand, form may either be an actuality of matter (2.31-32) or else exist without matter and in this way be closer to pure actuality (4.49-60). Where immaterial, an essence or quiddity or nature (three terms used interchangeably in the present context [1.14-52]) is form alone (4.65). The essence or quiddity or nature is isolated through abstraction from individuals. The abstraction is precise if the individuality is positively excluded from the content of the concept, as in the case of 'humanity'. The result is that the nature so abstracted cannot be identical with the individual in a way that allows predication. You do not say that Socrates is humanity. In contrast, the abstraction is non-precise when the individuality is neither included nor excluded. Rather, the abstracted nature is left open to it. So abstracted the nature may be predicated of the individual, as when you say that Socrates is a man.<sup>21</sup> This notion of abstraction is not familiar to modern philosophy. In the present context it deeply affects the notion of

<sup>20</sup> *De ente* 4.90-93 (trans. Maurer, p. 55). The Latin is: 'Huiusmodi ergo substantie, quamvis sint forme tantum sine materia, non tamen in eis est omnimoda simplicitas nec sunt actus purus, sed habent permixtionem potentie; et hoc sic patet' (Leonine edition 43.376b). As MacDonald, 'The *Esse/Essentia* Argument', 157 notes, it is 'stating the conclusion at the outset.' In this way the beginning and end of the one continuous argument are marked off with exactitude.

<sup>21</sup> *De ente* 2.243-308. Cf. *Sent.* 1.23.1.1 Solut. (1.555-56). It can have existence only in this or that individual (above, n. 9). Even cognitional existence, including that of the universal, is in the individual cognitive agent. See *De ente* 3.102-107.

essence or nature or quiddity. In either precise or non-precise abstraction, however, the nature just in itself abstracts from all existence whatsoever (*a quolibet esse* [3.69]) without prescind from any. In the abstraction the nature is neither one nor many (3.37-45), as well as neither existent nor non-existent insofar as it abstracts from all existence without prescind from any kind or instance of it.

Still more important, and perhaps fully as strange today, is the notion of existence that is at play in Aquinas. The existence that actuates the essence can be either existence in singular things themselves or existence of those same things in a soul's activity (*unum in singularibus et aliud in anima* [3.52-53]). Both are genuine kinds of existence, though of different grades, and both come by way of efficient causality from God, with cognitional existence always coming through the real activity of the cognitive agent though ultimately from subsistent existence, God.<sup>22</sup> For convenience existence in singular things may be called real existence, and existence in a soul may be named cognitional existence.

The contemporary *Scriptum* carefully distinguishes the two different kinds of cognitive activity by which quiddity and existence are known. A thing's quiddity or nature is known through conceiving what a thing is, through an act of apprehension that may be regarded as simple insofar as it is what Aristotle (*De an.* 3.6 [430a26]) called a knowledge of indivisibles. But the thing's existing is known through a synthesizing activity by which the cognitive agent apprehends that the thing exists.<sup>23</sup> It may be called judgment. The existence so grasped consists in a synthesis that is not a quiddity, though it can later be conceptualized for purposes of reflection on it and discussion about it.<sup>24</sup> These considerations need not be lightly dismissed as epistemological and irrelevant to the nature of the argument.<sup>25</sup> They are our means of penetrating into what

<sup>22</sup> With regard to the existence of sin, Aquinas notes: 'Sed hoc esse non est nisi esse rationis, cum in re potius sit non esse, et secundum hoc quod in ratione esse habet, constat quod a Deo est' (*Sent.* 2.37.1.2 ad 3 [2.947]). As God is the sole instance of existence as a quiddity, as a *what*, he may be designated the existence of all things in causal fashion: '... et ideo esse divinum dicitur esse omnium rerum, a quo omne esse creatum effective et exemplariter manat' (*Sent.* 1.8.1.2 Solut. [1.198]).

<sup>23</sup> 'Sed intellectus noster ... non apprehendit illud esse nisi componendo et dividendo' (*Sent.* 1.38.1.3 ad 2 [1.904]).

<sup>24</sup> '... esse rei ex materia et forma compositae, a qua cognitionem accipit, consistit in quadam compositione formae ad materiam, vel accidentis ad subjectum' (*Sent.* 1.38.1.3 Solut. [1.903]). On existence as later conceptualized but without finitizing restrictions, see 'Discussion Articles' between Barry Miller and myself in *The New Scholasticism* 53 (1979) 475-85 and 56 (1982) 371-80.

<sup>25</sup> The stand 'that Aquinas's epistemological views are relevant for interpreting the E/E Argument' is challenged by MacDonald, 'The *Esse/Essentia* Argument', 169.

Aquinas understands by essence and existence, and in consequence into the nature of his reasoning about them. It is true that for Aquinas there is no epistemology prior to metaphysics. Yet for us to misconstrue his starting points as Cartesian ideas or as Lockean or Humean sensations, instead of as sensible things existent both in themselves and in the human mind, would be to vitiate his reasoning from its very beginning.

Misunderstanding here would function like a cancerous growth continually invalidating the successive steps of the reasoning. The difference between essence as a still-life object expressed by a concept or a single word and existence as a dynamic synthesis expressed by the complexity of a proposition and sentence is forcefully brought to our attention by the epistemological considerations. But the metaphysical objects themselves, namely, the quiddity and the existence, come under our *immediate* awareness.<sup>26</sup> They are not at all the result of epistemological study, though clearer and more philosophical understanding of them is achieved through examining how they are reflected in the cognitional and vocal signs by which they are expressed. The epistemological considerations about precise and non-precise abstraction of essence are used tellingly by Aquinas himself in the *De ente*. To grasp how he is understanding existence, similar recourse must be had to the explanation given in the contemporary *Scriptum*. But both quiddity and existing need to be understood in the way Aquinas had already come to see them at the period in which the *De ente* was written. Otherwise the nature and structure of his thought in the treatise will be seriously misunderstood. The relevant texts, both in *De ente* and in the other early works, have been collected and discussed before in various articles and books. What is envisaged now is a reexamination of them to see what light they can throw on the kind of distinction made manifest at the end of the second stage of the *De ente* argument. With that focus steadily maintained, the reasoning in the text of the *De ente* may now be approached.

#### IV

As found in the *De ente* (4.90-166) the argument intends to show that composition of actuality and potentiality is present in immaterial substances

<sup>26</sup> The *De ente* (prologue 1-2) opens with the warning that 'a slight initial error eventually grows to vast proportions' (trans. Maurer, p. 28), and immediately notes (3-4) that the intellect's first conceptions are "a being" and "an essence". The actuality of 'a being' is its existence. The *De ente* does not profess to be offering an explanation of the term *esse*, even though using it frequently. It is what constitutes the essence an *ens*, and is thereby observable in the grasp of anything as an *ens*.

other than the first principle (4.54-56) of the universe. These other immaterial substances are the intelligences or, in Christian terminology, the angels. The reasoning starts from the essence or quiddity of observable things, but its stated scope is of wider range. It purposes to establish that in regard to *everything* the quiddity, namely, *what* the thing is, can be understood without knowledge of the thing's existence – unless perhaps there be something that might be defined as its own existing. From the wording in its opening sentence (*de intellectu essentie* [4.94]) the first part of the reasoning, when isolated as a unit in itself, has been termed the *intellectus essentiae* argument. It runs:

Everything that does not belong to the concept of an essence or quiddity comes to it from outside and enters into composition with the essence, because no essence can be understood without its parts. Now, every essence or quiddity can be understood without knowing anything about its being. I can know, for instance, what a man or a phoenix is and still be ignorant whether it has being in reality. From this it is clear that being is other than essence or quiddity, unless perhaps there is a reality whose quiddity is its being.<sup>27</sup>

The notion of quiddity had already been explained carefully by Aquinas in the preceding chapter. It is something understood in abstraction from the individuals in which it has existence either in the real world or in cognition.<sup>28</sup>

When read against its immediate background in the *De ente* (above, nn. 21-22) the argument is accordingly starting from existing things, understood as comprising both things that exist in the real world and things that exist in the

<sup>27</sup> *De ente* 4.94-104 (trans. Maurer, p. 55). The Latin is: 'Quicquid enim non est de intellectu essentie uel quiditatis, hoc est adueniens extra et faciens compositionem cum essentia, quia nulla essentia sine hiis que sunt partes essentie intelligi potest. Omnis autem essentia uel quiditas potest intelligi sine hoc quod aliquid intelligatur de esse suo: possum enim intelligere quid est homo uel fenix et tamen ignorare an esse habeat in rerum natura; ergo patet quod esse est aliud ab essentia uel quiditate. Nisi forte sit aliqua res cuius quiditas sit ipsum suum esse, ...' (Leonine edition 43.376b). On 'parts of an essence' see above, n. 8.

<sup>28</sup> *De ente* 3.52-53, 102-107. MacDonald, 'The *Esse/Essentia* Argument', 164 correctly insists that '... these conceptual activities are not *the starting point* of the argument.' The conceptual activities are known only concomitantly and reflexively, while the thing with its quiddity and existence is grasped directly. The fact that the quiddity is understood in abstraction does not make it any less real. Taken non-precisively it remains identical with the thing of which it is predicated (above, n. 21). Wippel, *Metaphysical Themes*, p. 121 n. 39 has qualms that speaking of the distinction as between thing and existence, instead of as between essence and existence, 'might confuse some readers'. But the essence that is really distinct from real existence is the essence taken non-precisively. Taken precisely, the essence can have existence only in the mind – you cannot say that Socrates or any other individual is humanity. The essence that really exists is therefore the essence that does not prescind from the individual difference. When taken as a transcendental a thing (*res*) signifies what is able to exist, in the sense of potential being as one of the various meanings of *ens*. It may be applied even to subsistent existence (e.g., *De ente* 4.103-104 – text above, n. 27) on account of the conceptual distinction between it and its existence. Accordingly there should be no danger of confusion here. But cf. below, n. 40.

world of human thought. The question faced is whether their existing is other than their quiddity. Here the participle 'existing' conveys the message much more sharply than the abstract noun 'existence', for it preserves the verbal force from the Latin infinitive *esse*. In the Latin the infinitive functioned as a verbal noun in a way that is expressed accurately by the English participle used in nominal fashion. Correctly one may say in English that a hockey player's stickhandling is his forte, or that a man's right living is the secret of his longevity, or that his drinking was his ruin, or that the quality of a product is its own advertising. English idiom does not permit the infinitive in these cases. On the other hand, the abstract noun 'existence' tends to give the impression of a quality or characteristic added after the fashion in which color or size is asserted of an individual. The existing, however, is not something consequent on the substance but is on the contrary prior to the substance or quiddity, for without existing in some way the thing would be nothing.<sup>29</sup>

When close probing of the relations between the quiddity and the existence is at issue, therefore, the interests of clarity will be better served by fairly frequent use of the participle 'existing', at least to the extent the idiom of English speech allows. This will help keep before one's mind the fact that for Aquinas the thing's existence is the synthesis reflected by the copula in a proposition or by a verb used absolutely. The existence will not then be understood after the manner of an object represented by an ordinary noun or adjective, or as a categorial relation. In contrast, the quiddity is regularly expressed by a single ordinary noun and is understood through acquaintance with the parts by which it is defined, the parts contained in its definition.

In the present context, consequently, the question whether existing is a part of a thing's definition arises. The answer given by Aquinas is no. A thirteenth-century mind could understand what a phoenix is, namely, a bird that arises from its own ashes, and still not know whether it ever existed in reality. The thirteenth-century person, just like ourselves, would know immediately that the phoenix was existing in his mind while he was thinking about it. But he knew that fact through immediate apprehension by judgment, and not through his

<sup>29</sup> See above, n. 10. Cf. 'S. Thomas parle comme si les essences possédaient de soi une réalité diminuée capable de recevoir l'esse venu de la Cause première. Ce n'est certainement pas ce qu'il veut dire, car il sait fort bien que les essences n'ont aucune réalité avant d'être créées et que l'être fini est tout entier le terme de l'acte créateur' (Fernand Van Steenberghen, 'Note d'herméneutique: la "tournure dialectique" dans la littérature de l'école' in *Pascua mediaevalia. Studies voor Prof. Dr. J. M. De Smet*, ed. R. Lievens et al. (Louvain, 1983), p. 281. MacDonald, *ibid.*, 165 notes that '... Aquinas must assume the knowledge that *esse* in fact belongs to things.' But it is a prior requisite, rather than an assumption, since for Aquinas nothing is more essential to a thing than its existence, even though the existence is not contained in its essence nor follows from its essence. There is no need to be tricked by the 'tournure dialectique'.

conceptualization of the quiddity. Correspondingly, though we know that the phoenix is existing in our own mind as we think about it, that knowledge of its cognitional existence comes to us through an apprehending act of judgment. The knowledge of the quiddity does not tell us anything about its existing in our cognition, any more than it informs us of the cognitional existence of the phoenix in the minds of other persons who may be reading the text of Aquinas at the given moment.

The same holds correspondingly in the case of a man. I know through judgment that the man with whom I am talking exists in the real world in front of me. No more than Locke (*Essay* 4.11.3), who in spite of his philosophical tenets was sure of that fact, can I doubt about real existence here. But it is through my act of direct judgment that I know the man exists in reality. What I conceptualize about his quiddity does not tell me anything about his existing. My concept of him has the same quidditative content when I think about him again after a long interval without immediate knowledge that he is still existent.

On this ground Aquinas draws the conclusion that existing is other than quiddity except where the existing itself would be the quiddity. The two-faceted conclusion covers cogently the observable type of quiddity on which the opening consideration was based, and a tentatively introduced type in which quiddity and existing would be by definition identical. Untouched as yet by the reasoning and left open for examination is the case of the unobservable created substances with which the whole argument is primarily concerned, namely, the angels.

What kind of otherness, though, has been demonstrated? Is it merely conceptual distinction? Existing, while originally grasped through judgment, is for purposes of thought and discussion at once conceptualized as an actuality or perfection, notions taken from quidditative objects. Existence becomes the object of this concept, while quiddity remains an object originally attained through conceptualization. The two are the objects of different concepts, and in this way conceptually distinct. That is the strongest distinction that appears for the time being. It is the distinction only between the objects of two different concepts. Accordingly it may be compared in the *Scriptum* (see above, n. 10) to an established conceptual distinction. For Aristotle (*Metaph.* 4.2 [1003b22-29]) a man and an existing man were the same, involving at most a distinction between two different notions of the same thing and (10.2 [1054a16-18]) without predicating anything over and above the category to which a thing belonged. Need one see for the present any stronger distinction made manifest in this passage of Aquinas between a thing and its existing?

There can easily be at first acquaintance a temptation to argue that in the context Aquinas has already demonstrated absence of identity between a thing's quiddity and its real existence. The quiddity, for him, remains the same when

existing in somebody's cognition. In the cognition it is separated in place and perhaps also in time from its real existence in itself. Or, a house can exist in the mind of the architect long before existing in the real world. Yet it was the same house, separated from its real existence. The quiddity of an outer galaxy was really different for millennia from the existence it receives in the mind of a present-day astronomer. Real separation in place or time for the quiddity would seem to be the strongest sign possible of real distinction.

This way of arguing, however, rings hollow. Existence belongs to individuals. The suggested argument does not show that the existence of an individual is really different from the quiddity it actuates, but only from the quiddity existent in another individual. The quiddity as common to both individuals, and so the same in both, is the quiddity taken in abstraction. In that consideration no existence pertains to it at all, for the common quiddity abstracts from all existence quite as it does from all individuals. As common, it does not exist in time and space for making the above comparison. The prior role played by existence (see above, n. 29) does not allow the quiddity to be projected in that fashion. The distinction between it and its existing, therefore, does not as yet appear on the surface as a difference in reality but only as a distinction between the objects of two different concepts. Whether or not these are two different ways in which the same real thing is known is not as yet made manifest.

Further, and all important for the issue at hand, the *intellectus essentiae* argument if alleged to conclude immediately to a real distinction would be taking for granted that existence has a real positive content of its own over and above the content of the quiddity. But this is something very difficult to prove. Spontaneously, when the question is faced for the first time, a thing and its existing may appear to be really the same. The expression 'existing' would seem to add merely a reference to duration between beginning and end, but imply no real content besides the thing itself. For a number of modern thinkers, in fact, existence has been an empty concept, a blank, a surd.<sup>30</sup> For Aquinas himself existence was not among the objects of immediate conceptualization (above, n. 23). Existence is not seen anywhere as a quiddity or a quality. Difficult demonstration is required to show that it has positive content of its own, a content that does not coincide in reality with the individual as specific and generic natures do. But until those points have been demonstrated, the distinction between a quiddity and its existing does not appear any greater than a distinction between two different notions of the same thing.

<sup>30</sup> A discussion of this topic may be found in my article 'The Content of Existence' in *Logic and Ontology*, ed. Milton K. Munitz (New York, 1973), pp. 21-35.

That was the way in which the two notions were regarded as distinct in simple things by the *De hebdomadibus* (above, n. 16). The existence could be real, and the quiddity could be real, without any real distinction whatever between them. Why could not the same view be taken in the case of the distinction in finite things? The notion of what a thing is and the notion that it exists are taken from composite beings. When applied to simple things the content can be shown to coincide in reality. But that is a conclusion. It is not something immediately evident from the notions. Whether or not they so coincide in composite things is similarly a matter for demonstration, as here for Aristotle or for Suarez the objects of the two concepts really coalesce. But the demonstration is not easy. To conclude at once that there is real distinction between them would be traveling much too quickly. There need not be any objection, however, to calling the distinction factual, in the sense that it is a fact that the two are distinct conceptually. To the extent of that objective, then, the reasoning is valid and cogent. It is a genuine part of Aquinas' argument here.<sup>31</sup>

But the argument has every appearance of not being meant to stop at this point. It goes straightway on in natural sequence to explore the status of a thing whose quiddity would be its existing. This suggested object, the reasoning shows (4.104-119), will be both unique and primary. It will be unique in allowing no more than one instance of itself as a quiddity. It will be primary as the instance upon which all non-quidditative occurrences of itself depend. It will not permit multiplication through species or through individuals. But a third way of plurification is described and left open for it. This is the prospect indicated by mention of it as the primary instance of a perfection, conjuring up the possibility of multiplication in secondary instances of lesser perfection, in the manner of Aristotelian focal reference.<sup>32</sup> These less perfect occurrences of existence will have accidental status (above, nn. 9-10). In them existence will no longer be a quiddity. In consequence this alternative is rightly left out of

<sup>31</sup> Van Steenberghen, 'Note d'herméneutique', 279 sees this first section of the *De ente* reasoning as a victim of the Scholastic 'tournure dialectique'. MacDonald, 'The *Esse/Essentia* Argument', 161 takes the *adueniens extra* (*De ente* 4.95) to mean 'coming from without' instead of over and above. For him this introduces a new alternative proposition besides the '*Esse* is not part of the essence', allowing the claim: 'If my remarks about the underlying logical structure of Aquinas's argument are right, then the IE argument is not to be found in *De ente* 4' (p. 162). This change in the logical structure of the argument, however, does not affect its probative force. Anything that comes *to* something comes *from* a source.

<sup>32</sup> See Aristotle, *Metaph.* 2.1 (993b24-31), 4.1 (1003a33-b19). For the term 'focal meaning', now quite commonly used in English to designate this Aristotelian framework, see G. E. L. Owen, 'Logic and Metaphysics in Some Earlier Works of Aristotle' in *Aristotle and Plato in the Mid-Fourth Century*, ed. Ingemar Düring and G. E. L. Owen (Studia graeca et latina gothoburgensia 11; Göteborg, 1960), p. 169.

consideration in the immediate conclusion, which is that subsistent existence cannot be multiplied either by *differentiae* or by matter.<sup>33</sup>

At this point comes the twofold conclusion expressed in the sentences upon which the present article focuses: 'It follows that there can be only one reality that is identical with its being. In everything else, then, its being must be other than its quiddity, nature, or form' (above, n. 1). An advance over the immediate conclusion of the *intellectus essentiae* portion of the argument may be expected. But does that advance consist in a demonstration that the distinction is real? Or does it consist rather in extending the conceptual distinction already reached to all possible instances other than one individual thing, thus universalizing the conclusion in this fashion? It will thereby bring the angels under its scope. In everything, except for a unique individual, existing will be other than quiddity. The new wording does not reveal anything more. The conclusion of the *intellectus essentiae* section had been that 'being is other than essence or quiddity, unless perhaps there is a reality whose quiddity is its being' (4.102-104). The intervening discussion had shown that this reality was limited to only one individual, allowing the conclusion to read that in everything else 'its being must be other than its quiddity, nature, or form' (4.122-123). It reads as though the same conclusion had now been exactly determined in regard to extent. Nothing has been introduced to show that existing adds a positive content of its own over and above the quidditative content of the thing. The further reasoning has safeguarded the first conclusion against the charge that the human intellect in its conceptualization may be missing the thing's existence just as it misses the specific *differentiae* of natural things, even though these specific traits are part of the essence. It also provides the framework for showing that existence is a positive perfection that is found in varying degrees. These contributions amply justify its place as a stage in the overall argument. But they do not as yet prove real distinction between the thing and its existing.

There need be no hesitation, then, in agreeing that if Aquinas 'has successfully shown that it is impossible for there to be more than one being in which essence and existence are identical, then he can conclude to factual otherness of essence and existence in all other entities.'<sup>34</sup> There is no doubt

<sup>33</sup> This is tellingly noted by MacDonald, 'The *Esse/Essentia* Argument', 164: 'Aquinas's failure to deal with the third account of pluralization does not represent a lacuna in need of explanation but is, in fact, a deliberate strategy which links pieces of the argument together.'

<sup>34</sup> Wippel, *Metaphysical Themes*, p. 127 takes 'factual' as contrasted with 'merely hypothetical', and notes that the point at issue is whether 'such a "factual" and "real" distinction has been established at this stage of the argument; cf. p. 115. But the hypothetical form of the reasoning indicates clearly enough a *modus ponens*. The apodosis is that subsistent existence can have only one instance. The contradiction thereby excluded would be a plurality of its instances. Nothing is said in that apodosis about a plurality in real accidental existence. There need be no hesitation in accepting as a consequence of the whole statement taken in a composite sense the

about the fact of the distinction. But still no demonstration has been offered that it is a real distinction, even aside from the absence of the term 'real'. A factual distinction need not be equated with a real distinction. Outside the mind what the creature is is not existence. Yet that does not immediately imply that there is a real distinction between a creature and its real existence. Nor does this immediately follow from the demonstration that 'it is not possible for there to be more than one entity in which essence and *esse* are identical', as Wippel seems to maintain.<sup>35</sup> Until existence has been shown to have a positive content of its own over and above the quidditative content of the finite thing, a conceptual distinction suffices as it did with Aristotle and Suarez to explain the fact that in the extramental world every finite thing's nature is something other than its own existing, yet in a way that would leave the two really identical. The finite thing is still a stone, a cat, a man. What it is does not become existence, even though in this view the existence is held to be nothing really over and above the thing itself.

MacDonald has offered 'two considerations'<sup>36</sup> in support of the claim that real distinction has been made manifest at this stage of the argument. The first is that here 'the result must be a conclusion about the relation of *esse* to essence in existing things, i.e., in reality.' To this the reply may be made that for Aquinas (*De heb.* 2.32; above, n. 16) essence and existence may be really the same in a real thing when they are conceptually distinct. They are so in a simple being. If what the reasoning at the present stage has accomplished is the universalizing of the conclusion stated in the *intellectus essentiae* section, namely, as universalized to all things except a unique primary instance of being, the present conclusion is still showing a distinction between two objects of conceptualization. Later it can be demonstrated that in subsistent existence the two are really identical, and that in all other things they are really distinct.<sup>37</sup>

MacDonald's second consideration is that here there is no way to '... show that intelligences are not simple in every way unless it is the claim that there is a

further conclusion that in all other things existence will differ from quiddity. It will then follow cogently whether or not existence subsists in that unique instance, as Wippel (pp. 114, 115, 117, 119-20, 126) repeatedly asserts. The issue rather is whether the otherness as yet shows itself to be real, or whether the otherness established in the *intellectus essentiae* stage is now merely being universalized to all created things.

<sup>35</sup> *ibid.*, p. 126.

<sup>36</sup> MacDonald, 'The *Esse/Essentia* Argument', 167.

<sup>37</sup> This is done (*De ente* 4.127-166) in terms of efficient causality. Yet MacDonald, *ibid.*, 170 writes: 'The whole of the argument, then, is concerned with things in reality, and no shift from the order of formal to the order of efficient causality occurs later in the argument.' There is of course no doubt that the argument from start to finish is concerned with reality, for the formal cause is a real cause. But the shift to efficient causality is explicit as it bursts into prominence at *De ente* 4.132-133: 'by "caused" I mean by an efficient cause' (trans. Maurer, p. 56).

real distinction in intelligences.<sup>38</sup> Against this, one may say that 'not simple in every way' does not occur in the text at the present stage. It was used for the overall purpose of the whole argument at the commencement (*De ente* 4.91-92). From the start the purpose of Aquinas had been to prove real distinction, as emerges from the parallel discussion of the theme in the *Scriptum* (above, nn. 6 and 9) where real diversity was expressly intended. But the present stage of the argument in the *De ente* does not mention the ultimately envisaged conclusion that the intelligences are 'not simple in every way'. What it does say is that in the intelligences the existence 'must be in addition to their form' (trans. Maurer, p. 56) because it is other than form or quiddity in all things except subsistent existence. The conclusion that an intelligence is not simple in every way can be left for the proof that it itself is a real potentiality for actualization by existence.

Here a general remark is in order. Without sensitivity to the way Aquinas understands the notions of essence and existing, a reader may very easily be inclined to interpret the middle part of the *De ente* argument as manifesting a real distinction. If essence in the real world is regarded as something finished in itself instead of as an object abstracted non-precisely and thereby left open for completion by its metaphysically prior existence, it can hardly help but be looked upon as rounded off in the distinct contours of a fully constituted recipient of existence (cf. above, n. 29). It will be regarded as possessing some kind of essential being of its own, like an Avicennian common nature, and as having its essential predicates in independence of any efficient causality.<sup>39</sup> Gilson noted incisively how Cajetan took created substance as 'un récepteur déjà pleinement constitué' in relation to the existence that actuates it.<sup>40</sup> Correspondingly, without keen and continued awareness that existing is first grasped through judgment and only later conceptualized as an actuality, it can hardly escape being viewed in the manner of a quality or other incomplex object. It will then tend to be looked upon as something having of itself the finitude of an object originally known through conceptualization and marked off as in itself a distinct unit.

Between the two terms so conceived, real distinction may be expected to appear when they are found together in the outside world. A real distinction is one that lies between its terms even though no human mind is thinking about them. Between real quiddity and real existence conceived in the way just

<sup>38</sup> MacDonald, 'The *Esse/Essentia* Argument', 167.

<sup>39</sup> 'Seclusa omni causalitate effectiva respectu rosae, quaero an ista sit vera, Rosa est substantia corporea; si sic, habeo intentum' (Cajetan, *In De ente et essentia D. Thomae Aquinatis commentaria* 5.12.100, ed. M.-H. Laurent [Turin, 1934], p. 157).

<sup>40</sup> Étienne Gilson, 'Cajetan et l'existence', *Tijdschrift voor filosofie* 15 (1953) 274. Cf. above, n. 29.

mentioned, a real distinction may be expected to appear if one is not willing to grant that the intrinsic content of the two concepts is exactly the same, with only a difference of reference in one of them to something external.<sup>41</sup> But if real difference between the objects so conceived is maintained, it will face the problem of showing how it is not the distinction upheld by Giles of Rome as between two realities, between *rem* and *rem*. If on the other hand the quiddity is seen strictly as in itself an unfinished recipient, and its existence a prior and accidental actuality undetermined in itself and requiring specification by the quiddity, the way is left open for inquiry whether the two can really coalesce or whether they must stay distinct in reality as well as in conceptualization.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup> 'Dico tertio ... si utraque actu sumatur, solum distingui ratione cum aliquo fundamento in re, quae distinctio satis erit ut absolute dicamus, non esse de essentia creaturae actu existere' (Suarez, *Disp. metaph.* 31.6.13 [26.246a]). On the reference to efficient causality, see also no. 14. For a defense of the stand that Suarez could maintain a conceptual distinction between essence and existence while denying explicitly a real distinction between them, see José Gómez Caffarena, 'Sentido de la composición de ser y esencia en Suárez', *Pensamiento* 15 (1959) 135-54, especially 137 nn. 8-9.

<sup>42</sup> Wippel, *Metaphysical Themes*, p. 123 sees 'neither convincing textual nor convincing philosophical evidence' for this position. To this, one may reply that Aquinas is not intent on demonstrating in the *De ente* that the distinction is real in contrast to conceptual. Hence he does not make the demonstration of its reality explicit in the text here. If it were explicit, a commentator would hardly be required. The question is one that we are asking, and it is we who have to work out the answer. Here Gilson's advice is sound: one should keep in mind the theological cast of Aquinas' mentality. For him subsistent existence was the God of Abraham, and mixture of the divine nature with any finite nature would be unthinkable. When participated naturally or supernaturally it would at once appear as really distinct from the creature that shared in it. But for this to hold on the philosophical level existence must first be established as a positive nature, which means demonstrating that existence subsists in its primary instance. Heat is known immediately as a positive accidental nature. Existence is not. So '... if there is real distinction between heat and the subject which receives it, the implication is that there will be real distinction between *esse* and the subject which receives it' (Wippel, p. 131), but in order to bring out the implication, I would insist, the proof for the existence of God is required. Moreover, care is in order with taking this position as phrased by MacDonald, 'The *Esse/Essentia* Argument', 168: 'Once we have a concept of *esse* which corresponds to a real nature, God, we are in a position to see that *esse* cannot be identical with any other essence.' The concept from which the Anselmian argument commences does correspond to a real nature, God, but unless God is already known to exist in reality (Aquinas, *Sent.* 1.3.1.2 ad 4 [1.95] and cf. *ST* 1.2.1 ad 2), the concept does not show that existence subsists. Existing has first to be established as subsistent, through argument from observable things.

The 'textual evidence', then, has to be sought elsewhere in Aquinas himself. As regards 'philosophical evidence', being contains all its differentiae. If it subsists in reality in a single primary instance it will contain all other things within itself, and the things will be the divine causal essence instead of existents in themselves. To use Aquinas' phraseology, a creature in the divine essence would be 'ratione tantum differens' (*Quodl.* 8.1 Resp.; cf. *Sent.* 1.36.1.3 ad 1 & 2 [1.836-37], *De pot.* 3.5 ad 2). In finite things, therefore, existence will have to be really other than, and accidental to, the things themselves under pain of really absorbing them all into itself. If it were at all quidditative in them, like animality in man, the Parmenidean reasoning would hold.

## V

That final stage in the argument, however, is another story. The present inquiry had as its topic the meaning of the conclusion reached in the middle section of the reasoning and expressed in the two sentences quoted at the beginning (above, n. 1). It comes to its end in showing that what has been attained in the middle section is the universalizing of the first section's distinction, by way of extension to all created things. At the same time it has presented the participation framework in which secondary instances of a perfection can be multiplied under the causality exercised by the primary instance.<sup>43</sup> The middle section is thereby a further stage towards the demonstration of real distinction between quiddity and existence in all things except subsistent existing. But taken just in itself it leaves open the question whether existence, like animality or corporeity, is something that coalesces in reality in the one nature of man, or whether it is a perfection that has to remain really distinct from anything it really actuates quite as color has to remain really distinct from the substance in which it inheres. Predicamental accidents, of course, are subsequent to the thing in which they inhere, while existence is metaphysically prior to the subject it actuates. But as far as remaining distinct in the real world regardless of human consideration, both existence and real predicamental accidents have to meet this criterion if real distinction is to be upheld. Otherwise the content of each, though conceptually different from the other's content, may yet merge in reality into the one nature, as do animality and corporeity in a man or ox. Though greater than the distinction through external reference as found in the conceptual distinction between quiddity and being in a simple thing (above, n. 16), the conceptual difference in intrinsic content does not guarantee real distinction. Real distinction still has to be demonstrated. Between body and animal the distinction remains conceptual.

The foregoing inquiry likewise shows how the structure of the argument will be gauged differently in accord with the different ways in which quiddity and existing are understood. For many, the reasoning of Aquinas on the topic has been divided into a number of separate arguments. For those who see one

<sup>43</sup> The argument cited by Wippel, *Metaphysical Themes*, p. 116 n. 26 from *CG* 2.52 *Si enim* starts from subsistent *esse*, already established, and shows that to be diversified the *esse* has to be accidental to the subject in which it is joined. This seems as much akin to the final stage of the *De ente* argument as to the second stage. However, any stage of the *De ente* reasoning is in solidarity with all the others. This allows the demonstration to be recalled in any of the numerous ways used by Aquinas for referring to the distinction between being and thing. The charge that the demonstration of the existence of God in the final stage of the argument presupposes real distinction of existence from thing may be found met in my article 'Being and Natures in Aquinas', *The Modern Schoolman* 61 (1984) 160-61.

continuous argument running through the long text, the first stage may manifest a conceptual distinction between quiddity and existence, the second stage a real distinction, and the final stage an application of the real distinction in positive fashion in their composition as parts. Or the distinction may appear in observable things as conceptual in the first stage, in the second stage come to be extended to all things except subsistent existing, and in the final stage reach the point where it is known to be real. The logical formalization may remain the same, since the term 'real' is nowhere expressed in the *De ente* argument. The argument has to be fleshed out for the nature of the distinction to appear, and the way in which that takes place will differ radically in keeping with the understanding of the terms 'quiddity' and 'existence'.

Precisely here does the importance of close study of the *De ente* argument lie. Its reasoning penetrates to the inmost depths of the metaphysical treasure buried beneath the not always pleasant Latin of Aquinas' writings. The skeletal structure of his proofs for the existence of God, of his demonstration of perpetual existence for the spiritual soul, and of his location of human destiny in intellectual activity and possession is to be found in his understanding of essence and existence as contained succinctly in the *De ente* reasoning. Renewed and continued attention to it, such as is demanded by discussions like the present one, cannot help but be rewarding. But, emphatically, the topic should not be approached as though Giles of Rome and Suarez and the modern epistemologists had never had their say.

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## CATALAN LAWYERS AND THE ORIGINS OF SERFDOM\*

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PEASANT servitude in medieval Catalonia grew slowly from the first efforts of aristocrats to impose arbitrary exactions in the mid-eleventh century to the fully developed servile conditions of the fifteenth century that would provoke the celebrated rebellions, the so-called Wars of the Remença. Even if we accept the narrow definition of Verriest, that serfs were those peasants who belonged to their lords and whose condition was hereditary, for Catalonia the existence of serfdom is indisputable.<sup>1</sup> On the long road to peasant enserfment the early

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The following abbreviations are used:

- ABL = *Antiquiores Barchinonensium Leges, Quas Vvlgvs Vsaticos appellat, cum comentariis Supremorum Iurisconsultorum Jacobi a Monte Iudaico, Jacobi et Gvielermi a Vallesicca et Jacobi Calicii* (Barcelona, 1544).  
ACA = Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó (Barcelona).  
ACB = Arxiu de la Catedral de Barcelona.  
ACF = Arxiu de la Curia Fumada (Vic).  
ACS = Arxiu de la Catedral de Solsona.  
ACV = Arxiu Capitular de Vic.  
ACSU = Arxiu Capitular de la Seu d'Urgell.  
ADB = Arxiu Diocesà de Barcelona.  
ADG = Arxiu Diocesà de Girona.  
ADV = Arxiu Diocesà de Vic.  
AHDE = *Anuario de historia del derecho español*.  
AHN = Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid).  
AIEC = *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*.  
APO = Archives des Pyrénées-Orientales (Perpignan).  
BPP = Arxiu de la Biblioteca del Palau de Peralada.  
Cortes = *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón y de Valencia y Principado de Cataluña*, vol. 1, part 1 (Madrid, 1896).  
Recueil ... = *Recueil de mémoires et travaux publié par la Société d'histoire du droit et des institutions des anciens pays de droit écrit*.

<sup>1</sup> Léo Verriest, *Institutions médiévales: introduction au corpus des records de coutumes et des lois de chefs-lieux de l'ancien comté de Hainault* (Mons-Frameries, 1946), pp. 168-70, 246.

thirteenth century is especially important because at this time a legal structure of servitude was first defined. What had previously been a spectrum of tenurial arrangements of almost infinite variety started to become ordered into categories. Questions arose over what ties bound peasants to their lords and which of those ties implied hereditary and inescapable obligations. Shortly after 1200 lords began to demand oaths and recognition charters from peasants in which the unbreakable, hereditary ties to the land and its lord were acknowledged.<sup>2</sup> In order to redeem his liberty the peasant would have to pay a fine, and thirteenth-century documents recording such payments are common.<sup>3</sup>

The inclination to regularize and define servitude coincided with the first penetration of Roman law into Catalonia. Among the effects of this momentous intellectual movement was a tendency to simplify customary arrangements and to define personal status rigorously. Roman law encouraged the separation of free from unfree peasants and the relation of tenurial obligations to personal status. It is not that Roman law in itself helped impose serfdom, but rather that in helping the growth of a more ordered society Roman law aided the definition of privileges and classes. Lack of rights or privation of legal standing before courts identified serfs more clearly than had been possible in a less disciplined era.

This article attempts to discover the influence of the revived Roman law on the conditions of the Catalan peasantry. Naturally legal treatises did not always have an immediate impact on the actual arrangements between peasants and lords. It is the tendency of lawyers to impose a merely verbal order on a complex social situation, and this has discredited them in the eyes of social historians of our era. Medieval lawyers often dismissed as serfs all those below the rank of privileged townsmen. When Beaumanoir described the third estate as simply 'serfs' he was reflecting an outlook common to medieval lawyers.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The worsening of conditions is evident in Vic; cf. Paul Freedman, 'The Enserfment Process in Medieval Catalonia: Evidence from Ecclesiastical Sources', *Viator* 13 (1982) 236-38. Servile recognitions also became common elsewhere in Old Catalonia in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, for example in Roussillon: APO, B50 (liasse), unnumbered parchment, 30 November 1182; B48 (liasse), unnumbered parchment, 11 March 1222; Série H, Temple, St. Hippolyte 1757 (1209); and in the Vallès: document of 1218 from Sant Pere de Vilamajor, ed. E. de Hinojosa, 'Origen y vicisitudes de la pagesia de remensa en Cataluña', *Discursos leídos en la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1902), p. 12; ADB, Perg. Santa Anna, carpeta 2A, 109 (1227) and carpeta 8, 138 (1240).

<sup>3</sup> Some examples from a variety of locations in Old Catalonia: ADG, Cartulari de Carlemany 1, fol. 280 (1205); ACV, calaix 7, 122 (1239); ACF, Anònims I, fols. 38, 48 (1231), 104, 106v, 108v (1232); BPP, Sec. C, 30 (1243), ed. Miquel Golobardes Vila, *Els remences dins el quadre de la pagesia catalana fins el segle xv* 2 (Peralada, 1970), no. 36; ACA, Canc. perg. Jaume 1, 1747 (1263); APO, B48 (liasse), unnumbered parchment, 14 August 1246; ACB 1-6-2094 (1243) and 1-1-609 (1293).

<sup>4</sup> Philippe de Beaumanoir, *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, ed. Amédée Salmon, 3 vols. (Paris, 1899-

At one time the medieval lawyers were considered reliable guides to the social conditions of their time. Historians of the nineteenth century were misled by this group of sources into believing that the medieval peasantry formed a single, almost completely servile class, a view that careful regional studies have destroyed. Doubts over the alleged strength of medieval serfdom are in fact so strong that many experts question whether it is even possible to speak of serfdom apart from the abstractions of the jurists. Marc Bloch, who emphasized the diverse geography of medieval social development, is himself open to criticism for excessive reliance on legal indices of servitude (*chevage*, *formariage* and *mainmorte*).<sup>5</sup> Large regions at the heart of the supposedly 'classic lands of feudalism' turn out to have had virtually no peasant servitude. In other areas, as in much of southern France, servitude existed but was weak and short-lived.<sup>6</sup> Confrontation of legal with archival sources has ended reliance on the former for the description of medieval society.<sup>7</sup>

Yet it would be wrong to dismiss entirely the legal writings concerning serfdom. In Catalonia, where the growth of servitude included legislation that had the effect of binding peasants and their progeny to the land, the role of lawyers was not that of mere theoreticians. Jurists, more than other learned persons, dealt with how to define peasant classes, what rights lords held over peasants, what the standing of peasants was with regard to royal government, and how customary law might be reconciled with Roman law. Even if they did not accurately depict the distribution or origins of servile tenure, the lawyers are a legitimate source for understanding what contemporaries thought serfdom

1900), c. 1452 (2.234): 'Nous avons parlé de .ii. estas, c'est assavoir des gentius hommes et des frans hommes de poosté, et li tiers estas si est des sers.'

<sup>5</sup> Marc Bloch, 'Liberté et servitude personnelles au moyen âge, particulièrement en France: contribution à une étude des classes' in Bloch's *Mélanges historiques* 1 (Paris, 1963), pp. 286-355; English translation in the collection of Bloch's essays, *Slavery and Serfdom in the Middle Ages*, trans. William R. Beer (Berkeley, 1975), pp. 30-91. Attacked by Verriest, *Institutions médiévales*, pp. 201-18.

<sup>6</sup> A useful survey of French regional studies on this subject is given in Theodore Evergates, *Feudal Society in the Bailliage of Troyes under the Counts of Champagne, 1152-1284* (Baltimore, 1975), pp. 136-44; see also his own conclusions for Troyes, pp. 16-40. On southern France: Paul Ourliac, 'Le servage à Toulouse aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles' in *Économies et sociétés au moyen âge. Mélanges offerts à Édouard Perroy* (Paris, 1973), pp. 249-61; André Cabanis and Danielle Anex-Cabanis, 'Serfs Commingeois', *Recueil ...* 9 (1974) 107-19. Marcel Gouron and André Gouron, 'Hommage et servage d'ourine: le cas des serfs d'Agde', *Recueil ...* 7 (1970) 270, are not convinced of the weakness of servitude in the Midi. Pierre Bonnassie, 'Du Rhône à la Galice: genèse et modalités du régime féodal' in *Structures féodales et féodalisme dans l'occident méditerranéen (X<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles) ... Colloque international ... (Rome, 10-13 octobre 1978)* (Rome, 1980), pp. 17-44, considers the social organization of the Languedoc to be similar to that of Catalonia.

<sup>7</sup> See the remarks of Verriest, *Institutions médiévales*, pp. 168-71 and of Guy Fourquin, *Le paysan d'Occident au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1972), p. 128.

was. This is particularly important when we look at the terms used to describe peasants, such as *homo proprius*, *rusticus*, or *homo de remença*, terms that appear not only in legal texts but in routine documents as well. As long as the nature of medieval servitude remains poorly understood, much of the controversy surrounding it will hinge on how to explain these technical terms, and whether or not they implied a degraded social status. The lawyers' discussions must be used in conjunction with archival evidence reporting sales, establishments of tenants, charters of redemption and the like. Taken together, the legal and archival material may inform each other instead of appearing as contradictory sources.

### THE RECEPTION OF ROMAN LAW IN CATALONIA

The study of the revived Roman law was introduced into Catalonia late in the twelfth century. As was true elsewhere in Europe, the new jurisprudence was absorbed slowly and its influence was not immediately obvious.<sup>8</sup> It was not a discovery that at once dazzled contemporaries or led them instantly to revolutionize justice and government. Nevertheless, although slow in its initial manifestations, Roman law eventually assisted in a transformation of legal procedure, administrative practices and images of society. In Catalonia, and elsewhere in Europe, a degree of central authority was built by means of both Roman and a more organized customary law, the latter often interpreted by lawyers trained in the Roman system.<sup>9</sup>

The Roman law of the high Middle Ages, derived from the *Corpus iuris civilis* of Justinian, was understood by its practitioners to be rational, universal and centralized. These characteristics brought it into conflict with the customs governing the Crown of Aragon and other European kingdoms whose institutions were based on local diversity, practices sanctioned by time rather than legislation, and limited executive authority. The task of Catalan jurists was to reconcile to Roman law the variations of customary law and its often

<sup>8</sup> On the early study of Roman law in Catalonia: Eduardo de Hinojosa, 'La admisión del derecho romano en Cataluña', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 5 (1909-10) 209-21, virtually the same as his article in *Mélanges Fitting. LXXV<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de m. le professeur Hermann Fitting* 2 (Montpellier, 1908), pp. 391-408, which is reprinted in Hinojosa's *Obras* 2 (Madrid, 1955), pp. 389-404; José María Font Rius, 'La recepción del derecho romano en la península ibérica durante la edad media', *Recueil ...* 6 (1966) 85-104; Lluís Paris i Bou, 'Un document de Poblet i la introducció del dret romà a Catalunya' in *Miscel·lània històrica catalana* (Poblet, 1970), pp. 155-59; André Gouron, 'Aux origines de l'influence des glossateurs en Espagne', *Historia, instituciones, documentos* 10 (1983) 325-46.

<sup>9</sup> The essays of Gaines Post, collected in his *Studies in Medieval Legal Thought: Public Law and the State, 1100-1322* (Princeton, 1964) describe the importance of Roman law in the formation of nations and the notion of public law.

different assumptions.<sup>10</sup> To explain the nature and origin of peasant servitude was part of the effort to make two legal systems and philosophies compatible.

The Catalan reception of Roman law is visible in occasional indications of familiarity with the *Corpus iuris civilis* (via the Provençal *Summa trecensis*) offered in a judicial decision in Vic in about 1185, or in the bequests of Roman legal books by canons of the cathedral of Barcelona in 1188, 1195 and 1197.<sup>11</sup> There are traces of legal defenses using Roman exceptions in pleas after 1210: renunciation of the right of a defendant to dispute an agreement because the money provided for in the contract was not received (*exceptio non numeratae pecuniae*), and renunciation of any future challenge on the grounds that one of the parties was a woman (*exceptio Senatusconsulti Velleiani*).<sup>12</sup> The influence of Roman law is evident in the privileges of the town of Lleida collected in 1228.<sup>13</sup> By 1243 the penetration of the new learning was sufficient to provoke an order from King Jaume I prohibiting the allegation of Roman law in cases for which customary law was available. In 1251 Roman and canon law were summarily banned from secular courts of the Crown of Aragon.<sup>14</sup> Neither of these orders had more than a temporary effect, if that, but they show the unease arising from the perceived threat of Roman law to custom.

Description of the bonds tying certain peasants to their landlords and farms provided one of the many occasions for conflict of laws in the thirteenth century. Roman law, with its emphatic distinction between slave and free, admitted only with difficulty the existence of intermediate conditions such as that of attached peasants, and provided few opportunities for free persons to subordinate themselves.<sup>15</sup> The problem is presented succinctly in the collection of feudal customs known as the *Commemoracions*, composed by Pere Albert, a canon of Barcelona who wrote in the mid-thirteenth century. In discussing non-noble commendation Pere Albert wrote:

Although according to Roman law, a free man cannot make himself the *servus* of another by mere agreement or public recognition, it is possible to agree by

<sup>10</sup> Francisco Elías de Tejada, *Historia del pensamiento político catalán* 1 (Seville, 1963), pp. 100-108.

<sup>11</sup> The example from Vic is considered in Paul H. Freedman, 'An Unsuccessful Attempt at Urban Organization in Twelfth-Century Catalonia', *Speculum* 54 (1979) 479-91. The bequests of the canons of Barcelona are cited in José Balari Jovany, *Orígenes històrics de Catalunya*, 2nd edition (Barcelona, 1964), p. 506.

<sup>12</sup> Font Rius, 'La recepció', 94. The *Senatusconsultum Velleianum* forbade a woman from assuming the liability of another person.

<sup>13</sup> Hinojosa, 'La admisión', 216.

<sup>14</sup> Font Rius, 'La recepció', 93.

<sup>15</sup> Hermann Kantorowicz and W. W. Buckland, *Studies in the Glossators of the Roman Law* (Cambridge, 1938), pp. 136-38. On the glossators and their teachings concerning servitude: André Gouron, 'Liberté, servage et glossateurs', *Recueil ...* 11 (1980) 41-51.

recognition to a lowering of one's condition because by means of a written document a free man can make himself the man of a noble and do him homage. ... And although homage is not found in Roman civil law, it is established by very ancient use in Catalonia and is to be taken to be the law and aided and defended by the laws, for licit agreements must be protected.<sup>16</sup>

In cases of clear disparity, custom was deemed to preempt Roman law: in the words of a late medieval maxim, '*ius Cathalonie derogat iuri romano*'.<sup>17</sup> Such a solution was not really satisfying to a society in which considerable ingenuity was marshalled to reconcile apparent contradictions in theology, law and philosophy so as to bring harmony from the dissonance of Greek philosophy and Christian teaching, or papal authority and conciliar claims, or of Roman law and feudal society.<sup>18</sup>

Throughout medieval Europe the common way of fitting Roman law to make it accept medieval serfdom was to elaborate on the rules governing the *coloni*.<sup>19</sup> The late-Roman *colonus* was a peasant who was free in his personal condition but could not leave the land he tilled and was transferred with it when the land changed hands. It was thus possible to make the legal structure of medieval serfdom more or less compatible with Roman law. More important and more difficult than this technical reconciliation were problems created by the ambiguous status and obligations of the medieval peasantry. The medieval tenants were not governed by a single body of written laws and their status was not as well-defined as that of the Roman colonate. It would be a difficult task to enclose the panoply of medieval tenurial arrangements within Roman definitions. This was the difficulty for Catalan lawyers who concerned

<sup>16</sup> Pere Albert wrote in Latin and was translated into Catalan. The Catalan text of the passage quoted is in Josep Rovira i Ermengol, *Usatges de Barcelona i Commemoracions de Pere Albert* (Barcelona, 1933), pp. 174-75. Latin text is from Joan de Socarrats, *In tractatum Petri Alberti canonici Barchinonensis, de consuetudinibus Cathalonie inter Dominos et Vasallos* ... (Barcelona and Lyons, 1551), pp. 324-25: 'Licet de iure Romano homo liber non possit se facere seruuum alicuius per aliquam simplicem pactionem, nec etiam per confessionem factam in iure, potest tamen per confessionem aliquis suam conditionem grauare: quia per pactionem, interueniente scriptura, potest aliquis homo liber se constituere hominem alicuius nobilis, & potest ei facere homagium .... Et quamuis illud homagium introductum non sit de iure Romano ciuili scripto, introductum tamen est de vsu diuturno Cathalonie, qui legem imitatur, & ideo legibus adiuuatur, & defenditur; quia pactiones licite custodiendae sunt.'

<sup>17</sup> As Jesús Lalinde Abadía points out (*La persona y la obra del jurisconsulto vicense "Jaume Callís"* [Vic, 1980], pp. 74, 158-59), the phrase was originally more limited: '*ius nouum Cathalonie derogat iuri antiquo romano*'. The sovereignty of the ruler of Catalonia was thus protected against the imperial implications of the *ius commune* but it was left possible for Catalan custom to be modified by Roman law.

<sup>18</sup> The expression 'harmony from dissonance' is taken from Stephan Kuttner, *Harmony from Dissonance. An Interpretation of Medieval Canon Law* (Latrobe, Pa., 1960).

<sup>19</sup> Kantorowicz and Buckland, *Studies*, pp. 136-38; Gouron, 'Liberté', 44-46.

themselves with peasants. In applying some of the Roman terms and outlook they influenced the development of customs governing peasant conditions.

### LEGAL DEFINITIONS OF PEASANT STATUS

The growth of peasant servitude from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century was aided by the desire of lawyers to resolve ambiguities of status. Jurists wanted to reduce local and customary variation to a simplified hierarchy of peasant classes. In this effort it is not easy to say that Roman law in itself encouraged or discouraged serfdom. Both custom and Roman law could be used to support either liberty or servitude. In their commentaries medieval lawyers attempted to describe peasants by using both Roman and customary texts, and it was partly this very process of definition that contributed to the progressive enserfment of much of the Catalan peasantry.

Most legal works from 1250 to 1500 are commentaries on the *Usatges of Barcelona*, the fundamental customary law code, or on subsequent collections of customary laws (the *Consuetudines Cathaloniae*), or on the enactments of kings and their councils or 'Corts' (a list of jurists and their works is given in Appendix 1). At the heart of this massive and imperfectly understood literature is an effort to harmonize Roman and customary law, particularly in regard to relations between knights and their lords. The status of peasants was a subordinate aspect of the problem of reconciling a system of graduated dependence with a Roman emphasis on the stark contrast between slave and free.

If one begins with the *Usatges* themselves, a collection formed in stages between the late eleventh and early thirteenth century, the uncertainty surrounding the status of peasants is apparent.<sup>20</sup> The word for peasants in the *Usatges* is *rustici*, a broad term that implies nothing about status or obligations. At one point the *Usatges* speaks of a 'rustic or any man who has no dignity other than that of being a Christian.'<sup>21</sup> Commentators would regard this as defining a *rusticus* as a person who possesses no privileges. In none of the chapters of the *Usatges* written before 1200 is there any indication that rustics

<sup>20</sup> There is a new edition of the Latin text of the *Usatges* by Joan Bastardas i Parera (*Usatges de Barcelona: El Codi a mitjan segle XII* [Barcelona, 1984]), based on four manuscripts. It also includes a thirteenth-century Catalan translation from an ACA manuscript. For other editions of the *Usatges* see Appendix 1. On the problems of the date and composition of the collection, see: Bastardas, ed., *Usatges*, pp. 9-38 and *Sobre la problemàtica dels Usatges de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1977); Carlo Guido Mor, 'En torno a la formación del texto de los Usatici Barchinonae', *AHDE* 27 (1957-58) 413-59; Pierre Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu du X<sup>e</sup> à la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: croissance et mutations d'une société* 2 (Toulouse, 1976), pp. 711-28.

<sup>21</sup> Bastardas, ed., *Usatges*, p. 60: 'Rusticus interfectus seu alius homo qui nullam habet dignitatem, preter quod christianus est, emendetur per .vi. uncias....'

were legally unfree or that they were attached to their land, although there are forms of subordination to a lord or other customs that could be glossed as the basis for servitude by jurists of the fourteenth and fifteenth century.<sup>22</sup>

The only appearance in the *Usatges* of different levels of status within the peasant class comes in the pair of customs entitled 'Sacramenta rustici' and 'De aliis namque rusticis'.<sup>23</sup> In the latter a higher kind of *rusticus* appears, a *bachallarius*, whose oath is acceptable in cases involving sums of four mancuses or less, as opposed to the smaller limit of seven sous for common rustics provided for by 'Sacramenta rustici'. Apart from this example the *Usatges* presents an undifferentiated peasantry, neither privileged nor yet subjugated by their lords.

In glosses to the *Usatges* by jurists of the thirteenth to fifteenth century, *rusticus* would remain the most common term for peasant. Rustics were considered free men,<sup>24</sup> but at the same time they might be mistreated by their lords and had no legal recourse against such mistreatment.<sup>25</sup> In the mid-thirteenth century the anonymous standard gloss to the *Usatges* applied the Roman notion of thirty years' prescriptive right to the question of determining at what point a rustic was considered bound to his land.<sup>26</sup> By the fourteenth century *rusticus* often meant a peasant bound to the land without reference to the thirty-year provision.<sup>27</sup>

Pere Albert was the first jurist to use the term *homo proprius* or *homo solidus* to describe peasants, although the use of *solidus* alone in documents concerning

<sup>22</sup> The fifteenth-century jurist Narcís de Sant Dionís listed thirty-two *usatges* concerning peasant servitude (ed. Valls i Taberner, 'El Compendium Constitutionum Cathalonie de Narcís de Sant Dionís, *Revista jurídica de Catalunya* 33 (1927) 442-43. A modern list of supposedly relevant *usatges* is given in Guillermo María de Brocà, *Historia del derecho de Cataluña especialmente del Civil* (Barcelona, 1918), pp. 212-15. The *Usatges* that were used as occasions for discussions of servitude were not really all that numerous: 'Rusticus interfectus', 'Placitare', 'De omnibus hominibus', 'Sacramenta rustici', 'Similiter si senior', 'Tutores', and 'Qui solidus' were the most important.

<sup>23</sup> Bastardas, ed., *Usatges*, p. 88.

<sup>24</sup> As, for example, in the standard gloss to the *Usatges* in *ABL*, fol. 109v: 'non datur licentia dominis in seruos proprios seuire ... multominus in rusticos qui sunt liberi ...' and in Jaume de Montjuic, *ABL*, fol. 23 (commenting on 'Rusticus interfectus'): 'Quod autem hic loquatur de libero patet ....'

<sup>25</sup> See below, nn. 65, 66, 67. The right of mistreatment was also upheld by Jaume Callís, *ABL*, fols. 47, 69.

<sup>26</sup> *ABL*, fol. 125. Pere Albert (Socarrats, *In tractatum*, p. 331) considered homage, both noble and servile, as unbreakable after thirty years.

<sup>27</sup> Guillem de Vallseca, *ABL*, fol. 46: 'Quid de rustico non ne poterit sibi dominus mandare placita vbicunque dominus voluerit, dic quod non, quia non debet extrahi a loco ubi manet, cum a gleba non debeat separari.' The words 'quia non' are not found in the fifteenth-century manuscript, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 695, fol. 16. The passage was repeated by Jaume de Marquilles, *Comentaria Jacobi de Marquilles super vsaticis barchinone* (Barcelona, 1505), fol. 72v.

dependent peasants is earlier.<sup>28</sup> These rather fluid terms denoted persons who had pledged themselves to lords, and could be applied to both vassals and rustics. Until the late thirteenth century peasant servitude was often seen as a debased form of vassalage. For Pere Albert rustics were *homines solidi* who were not vassals and who were tied not only personally to a lord (like a vassal) but to the land as well. In this same passage of Pere Albert's *Commemoracions* is found the first statement that bondage to the land is characteristic of Old Catalonia, the lands of the east and north that were first reoccupied by the Christians of the eighth to twelfth centuries.<sup>29</sup> Servitude would be less common in the more recently conquered lands south of Barcelona and west of the Llobregat River. For Pere Albert, therefore, there was a subordinate class of peasants, the *homines solidi*, who had to redeem themselves to acquire liberty, and this class was limited to Old Catalonia.

Lawyers of the fourteenth and fifteenth century used both *rusticus* and *homo solidus* but also tried to employ more precise terms, often derived from Roman law. This effort at precision often merely confused things further, if not for contemporaries then at least for modern observers. In their works the jurists tended to consider all *rustici* within Old Catalonia as in some sense unfree. This is similar to the efforts of canonists to describe servitude by reference to a variety of terms whose total effect was to shift the status of peasants in the direction of increased dependence.<sup>30</sup> Unlike the canonists, however, the Catalan lawyers never used the word *servus* except to deny that attached peasants were *servi*, a word used only for slaves.<sup>31</sup>

To describe what terms the Catalan lawyers did use requires a slightly tedious look at texts in which words used to describe peasants are matched or contrasted. This exercise is worth performing because of the confusion among historians about what servitude was, and the degree to which it was a

<sup>28</sup> Socarrats, *In tractatum*, p. 338. On peasants as *solidi*: Bonnassie, *La Catalogne* 2.822-23.

<sup>29</sup> Socarrats, *In tractatum*, p. 338: 'Si autem est rusticus, servatur diuersimode in Cathalonia quia in quadam parte Cathalonie, que dicitur vicus (*should be, as in mss.*, vetus) Cathalonici ... homines solidi, qui non sunt milites, sunt sic astricti dominis suis, quod filii eorum sunt homines dominorum suorum, sic quod non possunt contrahere matrimonia, nec de mansis recedere. Quod si fecerint, oportet quod redimant se ....'

<sup>30</sup> See John T. Gilchrist, 'The Medieval Canon Law on Unfree Persons: Gratian and the Decretist Doctrines c. 1141-1234', *Studia gratiana* 19 (1976) 278-81; idem, 'Saint Raymond of Penyafort and the Decretalist Doctrines on Serfdom', *Escriptos del Vedat* 7 (1977) 302-307.

<sup>31</sup> See above, n. 24 and the explicit denial that rustics are *servi* in Tomàs Mieres, *Apparatus super Constitutionibus civitatum generalium Cathalonie* 2 (Barcelona, 1621), p. 514. In documents peasants occasionally appear as *servi*: a parchment of the year 1252 from Besalú cited in Francisco Monsalvatje y Fossas, *Noticias históricas* 12 (Olot, 1902), no. 836 contains an act of homage by a peasant who promises obedience to the prior of Santa Maria de Besalú 'sicut servus debet esse domino suo'. These words also appear in a Peralada document of 1316, a recognition made by a *homo proprius*, ed. Golobardes, *Els remences*, no. 101.

significant feature of land tenure in medieval Europe. Part of this confusion is caused by uncertainty over what various terms mean. Here again the medieval jurists can be faulted for abstracting terms from their readings that do not reflect social reality, but they are the only ones whose thoughts on differentiation among peasants survive. To read the archival evidence requires some idea of what significant words meant to those who wrote them.

Although the terms *homo solidus* or *homo proprius* might cover both vassals and rustics, and one might therefore expect the lawyers of the late Middle Ages to have discarded them, the expressions remained in use. Perhaps this was in order to preserve a notion of personal commendation as opposed to a bond exclusively to the land. It is clear from archival documents that homage by peasants was not uncommon, but as Poly and Bournazel have noted, the homage of Catalan *homines proprii* remained based on land tenure more than on personal commendation.<sup>32</sup> In any event rustics could be *homines solidi*, according to Jaume Callís writing near 1400, in effect repeating what Pere Albert had said 150 years earlier.<sup>33</sup> More significant is the statement that *homines proprii* may be mistreated by their lords, a teaching found in a treatise by Callís on criminal law and in the *Customs of Girona* drawn up in 1430.<sup>34</sup> The right of a lord to mistreat peasants under his control was thought to have been sanctioned by legislation of 1202 that, as will be seen, was considered a basis for enserfment. In the text of that enactment the term used is simply *rustici*.<sup>35</sup> Thus *homines solidi* would appear to have been the same as *rustici* and both words possessed the same imprecision. By the late fifteenth century, however, Joan de Socarrats, the jurist who treated the subject of peasant status most thoroughly (and most harshly), said that *homines solidi* were the same as *homines de remença*, those who had to redeem themselves and who are considered by modern writers as the most debased class of peasants.<sup>36</sup> Here the tendency to group all peasants as serfs is evident.

<sup>32</sup> Jean-Pierre Poly and Éric Bournazel, *La mutation féodale, x<sup>e</sup>-xii<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, 1980), p. 211.

<sup>33</sup> *ABL*, fol. 104.

<sup>34</sup> J. Callís, *De sono emissio*, fol. 6v, bound with *Solemptissimi aureique tractatus Excell. ... dni. Jacobi de Callicio, videlicet de Pace et Treuga et de Sono emissio* (Barcelona, 1518) although there is reason to believe *De sono emissio* was originally printed separately in Valencia between 1513 and 1515, according to Lalinde Abadía, *La persona*, p. 47; *Consuetudines diocesis gerundensis*, ed. J. Rovira i Ermengol, *AHDE* 5 (1928), c. 26.

<sup>35</sup> Corts of Cervera, c. 2, ed. Cortes, p. 86. See below, n. 63.

<sup>36</sup> Socarrats, *In tractatum*, p. 501: 'cum ista iura intestiae & exorchiae ac etiam cugutiae sint de illis malis vsibus, in quibus homines proprii & solidi, de quibus fit mentio supra in c. habito tenentur eorum dominis, propterea quia isti sunt homines de redemptione ....' In New Catalonia there was a distinction between *homines solidi* and peasants of the *remença*: Agustí Altisent, 'Un poble de la Catalunya Nova els segles xi i xii: l'Espluga de Francolí de 1079 a 1200', *Anuario de*

More than *homines solidi*, it was the only partially understood Roman term *adscripticius* that was favored by Catalan lawyers. It was generally agreed that *rustici* and *adscripticii* were the same but the meaning of the latter was more precise.<sup>37</sup> The *adscripticius* was understood to be a type of Roman *colonus* who became tied to the land by voluntary written confession (the origin of the word was erroneously ascribed to the requirement that the confession be written).<sup>38</sup> Use of this classicizing term had two advantages: it gave a Roman precedent for the servitude of previously free peasants, and it avoided the confusion with vassalic loyalty that arose from use of *homo solidus*. There was no doubt that *adscripticii* were of free personal condition but bound to the land.<sup>39</sup> The use of *adscripticius* further reflects therefore the inclination to view all rustics as serfs.

There was, it must be noted, a simultaneous counter-tendency to elevate the status of some rustics by reviving another classical word, *emphyteuta*. In Roman law *emphyteusis* was a contract by which a lord conceded land for a long period for little payment. The tenant (the *emphyteuta*) could pass his right to his heirs but the land could not be alienated. *Emphyteutic* leases were a means to encourage exploitation of vacant or marginal land and were of importance during the late Empire.<sup>40</sup> In the medieval version the lease was perpetual, it could apply to urban or rural land, the *emphyteuta* paid a small annual sum (a *census*), and could alienate the property, eventually even without the lord's consent, provided a certain portion of the price received were given to the lord.<sup>41</sup>

The word *emphyteusis* first appeared in Catalonia at the same time that the institutions of serfdom arose, that is, at the end of the twelfth century.<sup>42</sup> Its use

*estudios medievales* 3 (1966) 204-205; Josep Joan Piquer i Jover, *El senyoriu de Verdú* (Tarragona, 1968), pp. 22-24; but Eduardo de Hinojosa, *El régimen señorial y la cuestión agraria en Cataluña durante la edad media* (Biblioteca de derecho y de ciencias sociales 29; Madrid, 1905), p. 137, exaggerates the extent to which such a distinction was observed in Catalonia generally.

<sup>37</sup> Jaume de Montjuic, *ABL*, fol. 37v; Callis, *ABL*, fol. 47; Marquilles, *Comentaria*, fols. 43, 62v; *Consuetudines diocesis gerundensis*, c. 116.

<sup>38</sup> Marquilles, *Comentaria*, fol. 75; Socarrats, *In tractatum*, pp. 326, 331. On the true origin of the term and its relation to the late Roman census see A. H. M. Jones, 'The Roman Colonate', *Past & Present* 13 (1958) 8. See also Paul R. Hyams, *Kings, Lords, and Peasants in Medieval England. The Common Law of Villeinage in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 269-72.

<sup>39</sup> Marquilles, *Comentaria*, fol. 75; Socarrats, *In tractatum*, pp. 325-26.

<sup>40</sup> On Roman *emphyteusis*: Robert Feenstra, 'L'emphytéose et le problème des droits réels' in *La formazione storica del diritto moderno in Europa* 3 (Florence, 1977), pp. 1297-1304.

<sup>41</sup> On *emphyteusis* in medieval Catalonia, see Antoni Mirambell i Abancó, *L'emfiteusi en el dret civil de Catalunya* (Diss. Faculty of Civil Law, University of Barcelona, 1981).

<sup>42</sup> Early examples of the use of the word are ACS, Cartulari de Solsona (ms. 1), fol. 26v (1189) and ACB, *Liber antiquitatum* I, fol. 117 (1196) (I am grateful to Stephan Bensch for the latter citation). Its first official use was in the constitution 'Car dignament regna' in 1211 (*Cortes*,

was at first limited to legal texts and it is rarely found in actual contracts until the mid-thirteenth century, although long leases of the emphyteutic type had been common since the late eleventh century.<sup>43</sup> The appearance of the word in the thirteenth century split what had previously been an almost infinitely diverse tenurial practice into two major categories: the emphyteutic tenants whose position was near that of unencumbered owners of land, and tenants who might be called *adscripticii*, *rustici*, or simply *homines*, whose freedom of movement was restricted, whose tenurial conditions were increasingly onerous and whose status was hereditary. Legislation of 1283 sealed the bondage of servile tenants by limiting their right to seek refuge on royal land (an enactment known from its first words in the Catalan text as 'En les terres o locs'), while a year later a privilege conceded to Barcelona permitted alienation by an emphyteutic tenant without his lord's consent and limited the lord's share of income from any alienation.<sup>44</sup> The growth of servitude and of emphyteusis are two aspects of the same thirteenth-century effort at classification of tenure and status.

Separated from the privileged emphyteutic tenants, *rustici* were regarded increasingly as serfs, although a diversity of terms persisted. In addition to *homines solidi* and *adscripticii* several other expressions were used. Writing shortly before 1448 Jaume de Marquilles defined seven types of rustics: *bacalarii*, *adscripticii*, *originarii*, *censiti*, *coloni*, *villani* and *pagenses*.<sup>45</sup> About ten years earlier Tomàs Mieres offered the somewhat eccentric taxonomy of *rusticus* as a 'master agriculturalist', *borderius* as a 'baccalaureate or minor master', and *iuvenis homo* as a 'student agriculturalist'.<sup>46</sup> These hierarchies were speculations, unimportant in comparison to the jurists' consensus on peasant status that, once having separated emphyteutic tenants from ordinary *rustici*, tended to refer to the latter indifferently as *pagenses*, *agricultores*, *homines proprii*, or that most obvious term for subjugated peasants, *homines de remença* (or more formally *de redemptione*). They were tied to the land, subject to mistreatment by their lords, and to controls on inheritance and marriage by means of exactions called 'bad customs' (*mals usos*) that by the fifteenth century served as indices of serfdom.<sup>47</sup>

p. 89). Use of 'emphyteusis' became common near the mid-thirteenth century: AHN, Clero, Santas Creus, carpeta 2799, 14 (1248); carp. 2808, 8 (1264); ADB, perg. Santa Anna, carp. 2B, 550 (1267).

<sup>43</sup> *Els castells catalans* 1 (Barcelona, 1967), p. 66.

<sup>44</sup> 'En les terres o locs' in its Latin version is given in *Cortes*, p. 147. The privilege for emphyteutic tenants of Barcelona is part of the constitution 'Recognoverunt proceres', ed. *Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* 43 (Barcelona, 1971), p. 10.

<sup>45</sup> Marquilles, *Comentaria*, fol. 317.

<sup>46</sup> Mieres, *Apparatvs* 1.236.

<sup>47</sup> Socarrats, *In tractatum*, pp. 340, 501-502; Marquilles, *Comentaria*, fol. 293.

As already noted, the peasants, despite all these oppressive obligations, were not considered *servi*. Mieres, in denouncing what was thought to be a right of mistreatment given to lords by the Corts of Cervera in 1202, stated 'rustics are not *servi*.' The more pro-seigneurial Marquilles agreed, noting that *adscripticii* possess rights denied to *servi*.<sup>48</sup> Socarrats said that *adscripticii* in some respects resemble *servi*, in that they are under the power of their lords and can be sold with the land, but *servi* may be sold apart from their land as well, while *adscripticii* possess the ability to buy, sell, marry, and enjoy other rights denied to *servi*.<sup>49</sup> Yet Socarrats admitted that the bad customs paid by *adscripticii* were a type of servitude and a violation of natural liberty.<sup>50</sup> In the Code of Justinian it is noted that really there is no difference between *adscripticii* and *servi*.<sup>51</sup> That opinion was echoed among the canonists and civilians, notably by St. Raymond of Penyafort and Azo of Bologna in the thirteenth century.<sup>52</sup> The Catalan lawyers, without using the tendentious word *servus*, had come to the same conclusion between 1250 and 1450 and had assimilated all peasants save emphyteutic tenants to at least potential servitude.

#### THE NATURE OF SERVILE TENURE

Now that we have described some of the terms used by Catalan jurists in their discussions of serfdom, we can describe what the conditions of servitude were thought to be. At the close of the Middle Ages the *mals usos* would be considered the salient characteristic of servile status. This is apparent in the work of Socarrats, writing in 1476, for whom the *mals usos* were the index of servitude, although in this he was anticipated by the fourteenth-century jurist Bertran de Ceva.<sup>53</sup> The hated exactions were also regarded as symbols of

<sup>48</sup> Mieres, *Apparatvs* 2.514; Marquilles, *ibid.*, fol. 75.

<sup>49</sup> Socarrats, *In tractatum*, p. 330: 'Quaero, an sit differentia inter seruuum & adscriptitium? Et dico quod in aliquibus conueniunt, & in aliquibus disconueniunt. Conueniunt autem sicut seruus est in potestate domini, ita & ascriptitius. Item sicut dominus potest vendere seruuum cum peculio, ita ascriptitium cum terra .... Disconueniunt autem, quia seruus potest vendi cum peculio, & sine peculio ... ascriptitius enim nunquam venderetur sine terra: vt C. de agricol. & censi l.ii .... Item et si seruus habet peculium, potest esse sine eo, & ab eo recedere, ascriptitius autem non potest a terra recedere.'

<sup>50</sup> *ibid.*, p. 503: 'cum tale ius sit seruitus, quae est contra naturalem libertatem.'

<sup>51</sup> Cod. XI.xlvii.21: 'Quae enim differentia est inter servos et adscripticios intellegitur, cum uterque in domini sui positus sit potestate, et possit servum cum peculio manumittere, et adscriptitium cum terra dominio expellere?'

<sup>52</sup> Gilchrist, 'Saint Raymond', 307; Azo, *Summa Institutionum* 1.3 (Pavia, 1484; rpt. Turin, 1966), p. 349.

<sup>53</sup> For Socarrats see above, n. 36. For Bertran de Ceva see the beginning of the passage transcribed below, Appendix 3.

degradation by the rebellious peasants of the late fifteenth century who accomplished the abolition of the *mals usos* by the Sentence of Guadalupe in 1486.<sup>54</sup> The *mals usos* included several levies of which the most important were a fine on a peasant's estate if he died intestate (*intestia*), a fine in the event of death without a direct heir (*exorquia*), or if the wife of a peasant committed adultery and left him (*cugucia*). The fines were supposed to be between one third and one half of the movable property.<sup>55</sup>

Some of the bad customs are found individually as early as the eleventh century, and occasionally they were grouped together as *mals usos* as early as the twelfth century and hence characteristic of servile status. This is especially true for charters granted to towns and villages exempting their inhabitants from the *mals usos*.<sup>56</sup> For most lawyers, however, the *mals usos* were not the significant indication of servitude, and in fact there was no particular set of exactions recognized as proving servile condition.<sup>57</sup> The most common attribute of servitude, which in effect defined it, was the prohibition on leaving the land without payment of a substantial redemption fine. In Pere Albert's *Commemoracions* servitude was defined by restrictions on moving off the land and a levy in the event of marriage. Noting the increasingly evident difference in practice between Old and New Catalonia, Pere Albert observed that in the former:

<sup>54</sup> The Sentence of Guadalupe has been edited several times, including Jaime Vicens Vives, *Historia de los remensas (en el siglo xv)* (Barcelona, 1945; rpt. 1978), pp. 337-35 of reprint.

<sup>55</sup> On the *mals usos*, Bonnassie, *La Catalogne* 2.825-28; Wladimir Piskorski, *El problema de la significación y del origen de los seis 'malos usos' en Cataluña*, trans. Julia Rodríguez Danilevsky (Barcelona, 1929; Russian edition, Kiev, 1899). Marquilles, *Comentaria*, fol. 349v, noted the tendency of lords to extract more than the one-third share for *intestia*. On the other hand lords did not always insist on receiving the one-half share of an adulterous wife's property to which they were entitled; cf. José Coroleu é Inglada, *El feudalismo y la servidumbre de la gleba en Cataluña: ensayo histórico-jurídico* (Girona, 1878), pp. 25-26, referring to Marquilles and Jaume de Montjuic.

<sup>56</sup> *cugucia* is first found in the mid-eleventh century, *exorquia* and *intestia* in the twelfth century (Bonnassie, *La Catalogne* 2.826). Many documents mention *usatiki* but this means seigneurial rights in general, not the particular group of *mals usos*. This is obvious from documents in which *usatiki* are mentioned along with *cugucia*, *exorquia* and *intestia*: ADB, perg. Santa Anna, carpeta 2A, 154 (1234); AHN, Clero, Santas Creus, carp. 2800, 2 (1249); ADV, Cartulari de l'Estany, fol. 16 (1240). *mals usos*, referring to the group of inheritance and marriage exactions, first appear in privileges to Barcelona and Constantí in 1163 and 1164, ed. J. M. Font Rius, *Cartas de población y franquicia de Cataluña* 1 (Madrid-Barcelona, 1969), nos. 120, 125. In these and most clearly in no. 203 (1195) for Solsona exemption from the *mals usos* means immunity from servitude. This is also apparent in later documents that are not urban privileges: ACA, Canc. perg. Jaume I, Apèndix 37 (1254); ACA, Registre 1955, fols. 105v-106 (1388), ed. Monsalvatje, *Notícies històriques* 13 (Olot, 1906), no. 1737.

<sup>57</sup> In judgments over the status of a particular peasant, continuous residence on a manse was sometimes taken as proof of servile condition, e.g.: ACA, Canc. perg. Jaume I, Extrainventario 2814 (1247); ACV calaix 7, 235 (1261), while in at least one case the performance of homage proved servile dependence: APO, B48 (liasse), unnumbered parchment, 19 April 1231.

Non-noble vassals are so tied to their lords that their sons are men of their lords, and they cannot (freely) marry nor leave their manses. If they do leave, they must redeem themselves and, if they marry, the lord has the right to one fourth of the marriage settlement.<sup>58</sup>

A constitution of King Pere II in the Corts of Barcelona of 1283 ('En les terres o locs') stated that peasants from areas in which redemption payments were customary could not henceforth move to royal lands without redeeming themselves.<sup>59</sup> Those fugitives now on royal lands had to redeem themselves unless the prescriptive period of a year, a month and a day had passed.<sup>60</sup> 'En les terres o locs' was seen by later commentators as the legal basis for bondage to the land, although book 11, title 48 of the Codex, 'De agricolis censitis vel colonis', was at times cited for the same purpose.<sup>61</sup> The force of the Catalan legislation was somewhat vitiated by interpreting the prescriptive rights as not only a temporary relaxation but a permanent possibility for freedom. If a peasant moved and was not actively sought by his lord within a year and a day (the month seems to have dropped out), he should be considered free.<sup>62</sup> Despite this loophole, the constitution of 1283 sanctioned the practice of bondage to the land and so provided the foundation for the harsh conditions of the next two centuries.

In legal commentaries, however, the characteristic most often cited to differentiate subjugated peasants and fully free men is liability to the lord's arbitrary demands. An act of the Corts of Cervera in 1202 forbidding rustics from appealing to royal justice against seigneurial mistreatment was thought to

<sup>58</sup> Socarrats, *In tractatum*, p. 338: 'homines solidi, qui non sunt milites, sunt sic astricti dominis suis, quod filii eorum sunt homines dominorum suorum, sic quod non possunt contrahere matrimonia, nec de mansis recedere. Quod si fecerint, oportet quod redimant se. Et si contrahunt matrimonia, domini ipsorum rusticorum habent quartam partem laudimii de sponsalicio.'

<sup>59</sup> Ed. Cortes, p. 147: 'Item quod in terris sive locis ubi homines redimi consueverint non transferant domicilia sua ad loca nostra nisi se redimerint ....'

<sup>60</sup> *ibid.*: 'De hominibus vero dictorum locorum qui nunc sunt in locis nostris ita volumus observari quod, si fuerint de locis illis in quibus redimi se consueverint, se redimant nisi iure aliquo vel prescrizione anni mensis et diei vel ultra poterunt se tueri.'

<sup>61</sup> *Consuetudines diocesis gerundensis*, cc. 116-117; Socarrats, *In tractatum*, pp. 330, 340.

<sup>62</sup> Socarrats, *In tractatum*, pp. 340-41. An anonymous marginal comment in a fifteenth-century manuscript of Pere Albert (Barcelona, Col.legi d'Advocats Vit. I-92, fol. 157) notes that the year and a day prescription, on which Pere Albert and 'En les terres o locs' agree, is a good custom although contrary to a Roman law concerning miners bound to their labor for whom there is no prescriptive right of refuge: 'Not. sit bonam consuetudinem ... concordat C. Curie Barchinone celebrate per dominum Rex Petri quod intro. sit quod in terris, quod est contra l. metallorum C. de metallo et metallis et procuratoribus metallo. l. vii.' The law cited is Cod. XI.vii.7. Servile recognitions by peasants often included a renunciation of the rights of refuge and prescription. Such renunciations were valid, according to another fifteenth-century marginal comment to Pere Albert's *Commemoracions* (ACSU ms. 2045, fol. 30v).

be the basis for a right of mistreatment.<sup>63</sup> The text of that meeting is not reliable and it is difficult to be certain about what was intended. It is evident, however, that by the late thirteenth century the clause 'Ibidem' of the Corts of Cervera was repeatedly cited as giving lords a right to oppress peasants. It was considered the foundation for a legalized injustice imposed on those of servile condition. In the fifteenth-century *Customs of Girona* the legitimization of mistreatment reached the point of permitting a lord to hold his serf in chains or in stocks.<sup>64</sup> Without being quite so graphic most Catalan lawyers of the Middle Ages acknowledged a *ius maltractandi* applicable to dependent peasants with or without cause. Significantly one finds no Roman law cited to parallel what was thought to have been legislated at Cervera. The lawyers exhibit some unease over this flagrantly unfair privilege. In the mid-thirteenth century the standard gloss to the *Usatges* said that, since in Roman law slaves could not be mistreated with impunity, this should hold all the more for rustics who, after all, are free. Yet, the gloss continues, recent legislation (the constitution 'Ibidem') has gone against this.<sup>65</sup> Early in the fourteenth century, Jaume de Montjuic stated that Catalan law upheld the lord's arbitrary rights, although Roman law did not concur. Mistreatment was sanctioned by human custom but was not in accord with the higher justice of the heavens.<sup>66</sup> Guillem de Vallseca said that while it appeared from the *Usatges* that lords could not mistreat peasants, it was 'differently arranged today' by reason of the constitution 'Ibidem' of the Corts of Cervera.<sup>67</sup>

It was not unanimously accepted that legislation could override the *Usatges*. A case between Guilabert de Rajadell, lord of Les Pallargues, and a peasant whose goods and person he had seized turned on whether it was possible to prohibit appeals to royal courts over seignorial mistreatment. The case is

<sup>63</sup> Ed. Cortes, p. 86: 'Ibidem eciam constituit inviolabiliter quod si domini suos rusticos male tractaverint, vel sua eis abstulerint, tam ea que sunt in pace et treuga quam alia nullo modo teneantur Domino Regi in aliquo nisi sint de feudo Domini Regis vel Religiosorum locorum, tunc enim feudatariis non liceat.'

<sup>64</sup> *Consuetudines diocesis gerundensis*, c. 26: 'Item quilibet potest capere suum hominem solidum suum et tenere captum sub tina vel tavega vel in ferris vel in biga.'

<sup>65</sup> *ABL*, fol. 109v: 'Nunquid dominus poterit rusticum suum punire quomodo voluerit videtur quod non, ex eo quod hic dicitur et in glo. hic positus sicut enim non datur licentia dominis in servos proprios seuire, vt eos interficiant vel malis afficiant vt ff. de his qui sunt sui vel alie. iur. l. i. et ii, vel aliquod membrum abscindere siue oculum euellere vt l. got. ti. v. praecedentium, multominus in rusticos qui sunt liberi ... sed quicquid hic dicatur contra statutum ita in constitutionibus nouis, in primis, et in nouis constitutionibus anno domini §. ibidem.'

<sup>66</sup> *ABL*, fol. 37v: 'Imo etiam sine iudicio poterit eum ad libitum tractare et bona eiusdem, vt in curia Ceruariae §. ibidem, et hoc iure fori, non iure poli, hoc autem de iure Cathalonie secus de iure romano....' Cf. Azo, *Summa super Codicem* (Pavia, 1484; rpt. Turin, 1966), p. 382 on rights of lords to punish *serui* with cause.

<sup>67</sup> *ABL*, fol. 109v: 'sed aliter est prouisum hodie (ut §) ibidem Curiae Ceruariae' (ut § supplied from manuscript of Guillem de Vallseca, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 695, fol. 39v).

known through a discussion by the late fourteenth-century jurist Jaume Calbet, who cited as an argument against the legislation of Cervera the inability of constitutions to cancel the *Usatges*.<sup>68</sup> In the fifteenth century Tomàs Mieres was appalled by the *ius maltractandi*, deeming it a violation of divine law. Against those who cited the Corts of Cervera Mieres said that the king, even with his parliament, could not institute a law contrary to the law of God. Moreover, the mistreatment of peasants violated God's command to love one's neighbor, and rustics were not *servi* to be mistreated at will.<sup>69</sup> To answer criticism of this sort and to justify servitude would be an increasingly urgent task for Catalan lawyers as peasant agitation increased in the fourteenth and fifteenth century.

#### JUSTIFICATIONS FOR SERVITUDE

Objections such as those of Mieres received their most thorough response in the work of Joan de Socarrats who wrote during the acute crisis of the civil war. Socarrats admitted that servitude was contrary to natural liberty but argued that it was sanctioned by custom.<sup>70</sup> Regarding the objection that custom could not preempt natural law, he observed that both natural and divine law are subject to modification and limitation without thereby ceasing to be essentially immutable.<sup>71</sup> Even Socarrats, however, admitted that the details of servitude

<sup>68</sup> ACSU ms. 2108, fols. 134-136v. The manuscript is from the fifteenth century. Calbet was a figure of the fourteenth century (Brocà, *Historia*, p. 389). The Rajadell family controlled Les Pallargues in the early fourteenth century (*Els castells catalans* 6.2 [Barcelona, 1979], p. 776). Interestingly enough a member of this family, Pere de Rajadell, was a renowned lawyer of the late fourteenth century (Marina Mitjà Segué, 'Pedro de Rajadell y su biblioteca jurídica', *Estudios históricos y documentos de los Archivos de Protocolos (Colegio Notarial de Barcelona)* 1 [1948] 64-104).

<sup>69</sup> Mieres, *Apparatvs* 2.513: 'Rex etiam cum tota curia non potuit, neque potest facere legem inquam contra legem Dei, quae si facta foret, non valeret; nec esset lex, quia oportet, quod lex sit iusta, & rationabilis....' (p. 514) & *ibid.* Ioan. de Plat. ait esse contra legem Dei, qua praecipitur diligere proximum, & prohibetur sibi fieri malum .... Et auferre res suas rustico, vel homini etiam proprio, & solido sine iusta, & rationabili causa, est committere furtum, & rapinam, quia contractatur res aliena inuito domino ipsius rei, vt ff. de fur. l. I § vlti. quia rustici non sunt serui, imo habeat vtile dominium mansi, & mobilia possident cum plenissimo dominio....' Mieres was also the compiler of the oppressive *Consuetudines diocesis gerundensis*, a paradox noted by Santiago Sobrequès i Vidal, 'Història de la producció del Dret català fins al Decret de Nova Planta' in *Llibre del II Congrés jurídic català* (Barcelona, 1972), p. 112.

<sup>70</sup> Socarrats, *In tractatum*, p. 503: 'Solutio: ista seruitus fuit introducta de iure vsaticorum et consuetudinario, & per istud ius, tanquam posterius fuit derogatum ipsi iuri naturali ....'

<sup>71</sup> *ibid.*: 'Sed contra praedictam solutionem facit, quia iure naturalia immutabilia sunt .... Vel dic quod non potest destrui, sed modificari & declarari, & ex provisione adiuuari .... Et idem dicitur de iure diuino quia licet tolli non possit per legem inferiorem, tamen in casibus singularibus modificatur, declaratur & alteratur. extra de conuer. coniuga. cap. Verum. Vel dic quod ius naturale non mutatur per constitutiones humanas: tamen constitutiones faciunt perinde haberi, ac si esset immutatum ....'

were objectionable. In noting that a lord may not extend the bad customs of *exorquia* and *intestia* to those of his men not previously liable to them, Socarrats observed that especially for 'onerous and odious customs' the rule against spreading local practices to other places must be followed.<sup>72</sup>

It would be in the form of an historical myth about the origins of servitude that the most ingenious and durable justification would be offered. A fifteenth-century Escorial manuscript contains a group of glosses to constitutions of King Pere II. Among them is an anonymous commentary to 'En les terres o locs' from probably the early fourteenth century that begins by admitting that, according to both Catalan and Roman law, all men are presumed free unless proven otherwise (for the text see Appendix 2). Those who, contrary to this norm, must redeem themselves from servitude are descended from Christian peasants who remained on their lands during the Islamic conquest and occupation and who, when summoned by the conquering Christian armies to rise up against the Moslems, failed to do so out of fear. Once the reconquest was realized these cowardly peasants were condemned to servitude. The gloss notes that a slightly different version holds that the sin of the peasants consisted in remaining on their lands at the time of the Islamic invasion and accepting the domination of the infidel. Once the Christian conquest was realized, these collaborators were condemned to make to their new Christian masters the same degrading payments and services they had rendered to the Saracens.

This legend occurs again in the same Escorial manuscript in a collection of feudal customs and comments on them made by the fourteenth-century scholar Bertran de Ceva (see Appendix 3). Here the story has the hallmarks of a venerable truism, complete with attestations from a conveniently unnamed jurist of Barcelona who had read somewhere an account of the peasants' treachery.<sup>73</sup> Bertran elaborated on the earlier story by making Charlemagne the leader of the Christian armies and specifying the *mals usos* (rather than bondage to the land) as the consequence of the failure to aid the reconquest. According to Bertran, Charlemagne was advised simply to kill the cowardly peasants, but he decided instead to have them serve the conquerors by tilling the soil subject to the exactions they had accepted under Islam.

<sup>72</sup> *ibid.*, p. 507: 'Quia consuetudo vnus loci, p̄sertim onerosa & odiosa, non potest, nec debet ad alia loca, vel ad alias personas extendi, iuxta not. per Innocentem in c. dilecto, de offic. archi.'

<sup>73</sup> Bertran attributed the entire legend in its two versions to 'Guillelmus' and 'Henricus'. Guillelmus could be one of the several Guillems de Vallseca, Guillem Puig, Guillem de So, or any of a number of fourteenth-century jurists who are little more than names to us. A certain Enric d'Horta is mentioned by G. de Brocà, 'Juristes y jurisconsults catalans del segles xiv-xvii', *AIEC* 3 (1909-10) 487, but there were doubtless other fourteenth-century jurists named Enric.

A primordial link between bravery and liberty forms the core of many medieval accounts of the origins of nations and peoples. Historical legends would ascribe the formation of national identity to an original act of heroism, and Catalonia developed numerous legends of this sort centered on the Carolingian era.<sup>74</sup> A corollary to this idea is that cowardice was the origin of servitude. The two ideas are found in the French belief, first discernible in 1200 but popular only after 1500, that nobles were descended from the Franks while peasants' ancestors were the often-conquered Gauls.<sup>75</sup>

The Catalan legend of the cowardly peasants probably has its origin in twelfth-century French accounts of Charlemagne's deeds. The *Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin*, written in the first half of the twelfth century, has Charlemagne liberating Frankish serfs willing to follow him against Moslem Spain.<sup>76</sup> In the related collection of Carolingian adventures known as the *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus clavum et coronam Domini a Constantinopoli Aquisgrani detulerit...*, Charlemagne punishes those unwilling to follow him to the East by servitude extending also to their descendants.<sup>77</sup>

The pseudo-Turpin material was well known in Catalonia and it was possible to adapt its moral and historical information to the problem of justifying Catalan servitude. The notion of earlier pusillanimity as the origin of the oppression of peasants appears to have been accepted even outside legal circles by 1400. King Joan I in 1388 ordered his bailiff to make a search of the royal archives for information concerning the length of time in which the servile population of Old Catalonia was to be subjugated. The king said that he understood, 'according to the chronicles', that the era of servitude (specifically

<sup>74</sup> Examples of such tales are found in Ferràn Valls i Taberner, *Matisos d'història i de llegenda* (Barcelona, 1932; rpt. in vol. 4 of the author's *Obras*, Madrid-Barcelona, 1961) and Miquel Coll i Alentorn, 'La llegenda d'Otger Cataló i els nou barons', *Estudis romànics* 1 (1947-48) 1-47.

<sup>75</sup> Susan Reynolds, 'Medieval *Origines gentium* and the Community of the Realm', *History* 68 (1983) 384.

<sup>76</sup> C. Meredith Jones, ed., *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi ou Chronique du Pseudo-Turpin* (Paris, 1936), p. 121: 'Et praecepit mandans per totam Galliam, ut omnes servi qui sub malis consuetudinibus pravorum dominorum religati tenebantur soluta servitute proprii capitis et venditione deposita, cum omni progenie sua praesenti et ventura usque in sempiternum liberi permanerent. Et ne alicui barbarae genti Franci amplius servirent, illi scilicet, qui cum eo in Hyspaniam ad expugnandum gentem perfidam irent, praecepit' (following 'Codex Calixtinus' version).

<sup>77</sup> Included in Gerhard Rauschen, *Die Legende Karls der Grossen im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1890), p. 108: 'Quo audito benignissimus dux unaque rex et imperator illico per totam Francorum regionem edici citissime imperat, quo omnes, qui ad sese defendendum arma possent ferre tam senes quam iuvenes, pariter secum pugnaturi in paganos versus orientales plagas inevitabiliter ire satagant. Alioquin quicumque huius edicta non perageret, ipse in vita sua et filii eius similiter ex regis decreto quattuor nummos de capite quasi servi solverent.'

the *mals usos*) had already expired.<sup>78</sup> The implication of this royal order is that serfdom was commonly acknowledged to be punishment for an historical crime affecting the peasants of Old Catalonia. In this particular version the exactions were supposed to be of limited duration (perhaps 500 years?) and the king was attempting to prove that this period of expiation was completed.

The most complete statement of the cowardly peasants legend was that of Joan de Socarrats, written in 1476 and, for the most part, copied from Bertran de Ceva (see Appendix 4).<sup>79</sup> In commenting on two customs governing *intestia*, Socarrats stated explicitly that Carolingian events explained the predominance of the *remença* peasantry in Old Catalonia and its relative absence from New Catalonia, the anomaly noted earlier by Pere Albert. Old Catalonia, the sphere of the Carolingian reconquest, was subject to the bad customs and other incidents of servile tenure because of the weakness of the medieval serfs' ancestors. New Catalonia was free because it had been settled later by those untainted by history.<sup>80</sup>

This pseudo-historical theory was more elegant in justifying serfdom than were appeals to royal legislation which ran up against the problem of positive versus natural or divine law. It was also preferable to a simple argument based on custom because, as Mieres in another context remarked, an unjust custom does not become legitimate through long usage.<sup>81</sup>

The argument of Socarrats concerning possible limits to natural and divine law may be considered a first, legalistic line of defense against Mieres' critique, but the myth of the cowardly peasants offered a more sweeping and convincing rebuttal. The theory explained why certain places were subject to the bad customs while others were not. It allowed one to admit that the *mals usos*, like

<sup>78</sup> ACA, Registre 1955, fols. 105v-106, ed. Monsalvatje, *Notícies històriques* 13, no. 1737: 'Lo Rey. - Batlle general. E com haïam entes qual temps de la servitut en la qual foren estrets e obligats tots los habitants e habitants de Catalunya la veyla, ço est della Lobregat de pagar exorquia, intestia, cogucia, e a altres drets, segons les Croniques, es ja passat e aço deïa e cer en lo nostre archiu. Manam vos que de continent lo façats cerquar et certificats nos per vostres letres de ço quen trobarets' (Monzón, 18 November 1388).

<sup>79</sup> Socarrats' discussion of the origins of servitude appears in a commentary on two customs concerning *intestia* that were added to Pere Albert's collection. Socarrats, *In tractatum*, pp. 501-502, cites Bertran de Ceva as his source for the two *intestia* customs. The Escorial manuscript of Bertran (d.II.18) contains both the two customs (fol. 119v) and an account of the cowardly peasants (fols. 118-117v), making it almost certain that Socarrats used Bertran directly for both customs and justification.

<sup>80</sup> Socarrats, *In tractatum*, p. 501, does note what he thought an exceptional case of a free peasant community in Old Catalonia, the village of Ridaura: 'Sed in dioecesi Gerundensi apud montaneas est quaedam parochia vocata de Riuidario, quae est exempta a dictis iuribus, ex eo quia, vt audiui, homines de illa parochia fuerunt obedientes dicto regi Carolo, vel non fuerunt conscii in dicta prodicione, nec remanserunt cum infidelibus.'

<sup>81</sup> Mieres, *Apparatus* 1.252: 'quod male adinuentae consuetudines nec ex longo tempore, nec ex longo consuetudine confirmantur ....'

the *ius maltractandi*, were in themselves contrary to the traditions of Catalonia (in one version they were a Moslem invention) but nevertheless justifiable in their historical setting. The legend also served at least to hint at a Roman legal sanction for servitude. Repetition of the word *captivi* to describe the peasants is a reminder that one of the few ways a free person could be degraded according to Roman law was by being captured in battle.<sup>82</sup>

Overall the implication of the legend was that servitude might indeed be unjust, but the circumstances of its origin made it a legitimate penalty. As death and suffering were humanity's price for the Fall, the exactions of the *senyors* could be considered licit punishment for the sins of a primordial Catalan peasantry.

The legend was accepted by many historians from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. Certain variations appear: for example, Louis the Pious rather than Charlemagne as the author of the call to 'the Christian peasants'.<sup>83</sup> Although first questioned in the eighteenth century,<sup>84</sup> the theory persisted even in books sympathetic to the plight of the medieval peasant.<sup>85</sup> In 1899 the Russian historian Piskorski felt it necessary to devote a section of his account of the *mals usos* to the refutation of this legend.<sup>86</sup>

As history or social analysis, it goes without saying, the notion that servitude began as a punishment for cowardice is worthless. It is, among other things, a quintessential example of the impossibility of relying on jurists to explain the causes of social change. Similarly the statements of Pere Albert and Socarrats implying that servitude was universal in Old Catalonia are not true. We are also justified in ridiculing the sociology of scholars like Mieres who described a peasant hierarchy in terms borrowed from the university.<sup>87</sup>

\* \* \*

<sup>82</sup> Each account of the legend transcribed in Appendices 2-4 refers to the peasants under Islam as *Christiani captiui* and so they remained under the new conquerors because of their treachery. Socarrats, *In tractatum*, p. 366, cites Bartolus in holding that captives taken by the pope or emperor are to be considered slaves.

<sup>83</sup> This version is first found in a work written in 1438: Pere Tomich, *Historias e conquestas dels excellentissims e Catholics Reys de Arago e de lurs antecessors los Comtes de Barçelona* (Barcelona, 1534), fol. 18v. Similar accounts appear in Hieronymus Pviades (Geroni Pujades), *Coronica Vniversal del Principat de Cathalunya* (Barcelona, 1609), fols. 359v-360; pseudo-Bernat Boades (actually Joan Gaspar Roig i Jalpi), *Libre de feyts d'armes de Catalunya* 2 (Barcelona, 1934), pp. 52-54; Narciso Feliu de la Peña y Farell, *Anales de Catalunya* 1 (Barcelona, 1709), p. 235.

<sup>84</sup> Bonnassie, *La Catalogne* 2.824.

<sup>85</sup> Luis Cutchet, *Cataluña vindicada* (Barcelona, 1860), pp. 199-201, considered it wrong to have held succeeding generations of peasants responsible for the errors of the Carolingian peasants, but did not doubt the traditional story of collaboration and cowardice.

<sup>86</sup> Piskorski, *El problema*, pp. 45-54.

<sup>87</sup> Socarrats, *In tractatum*, pp. 338, 501; Mieres, *Apparatus* 1.236. Gouron, 'Liberté', 50, quotes the fitting remark of H. Kantorowicz, 'das Leben ging seinen Weg und die Wissenschaft

Did the lawyers have any influence on the growth of servitude from 1200 to 1450, or did they simply supply after-the-fact theories and justifications? <sup>88</sup> In Catalonia lawyers helped order and extend peasant servitude by defining classes and their rights or absence of rights. The impact of such definitions was substantial because previously peasants had simply been tenants under a multiplicity of arrangements in which formal status played no part. Once the question arose over what implications payment of certain dues had on personal status, the way was open to define privileged and enserfed peasants. Some were now considered emphyteutic tenants, while others, whose obligations may originally have been similar, were now *homines proprii* or *adscripticii*. Naturally local conditions and the relative power of peasants and lords determined which peasants ascended and which were degraded. The contribution of the lawyers and of legislation was to categorize and to impose those categories on what had been the vagaries of local practice. In so doing, the jurists helped deprive many peasants and their descendants of liberty.

The significance of legal commentaries and legislation was not that they invented arbitrary seigneurial exactions or the *mals usos*, but that they legitimated them. Similarly, the importance of the recognition charters demanded in the early thirteenth century was not that they radically altered what a peasant owed his lord, but that they defined him and his progeny as the lord's possessions. The introduction of new terms or definitions might not have had an immediate impact on the peasants but the same terms could later serve lords in subjugating their tenants. The simple substitution of a term such as *homo proprius* where before peasants had been known as *rustici* did not in itself mean very much. When the lords were sufficiently powerful, however, they could make legal forms such as charters work in their favor. The growth in the number of redemption charters, the exaction of the *mals usos* and the rebellions of the fifteenth century testify to the uses made of the newly defined servitude.

We should not underestimate the activity of medieval lawyers in their society. They were powerful within the royal administration and also, in a less grand setting, frequently intervened in cases involving peasants.<sup>89</sup> The activity

ihren.' On the uses made of history by medieval lawyers, see Donald R. Kelley, 'Clio and the Lawyers: Forms of Historical Consciousness in Medieval Jurisprudence', *Medievalia et humanistica* N. S. 5 (1974) 25-49.

<sup>88</sup> A question posed by Gilchrist, 'The Medieval Canon Law', 275-76, who cites J. Ambrose Raftis, *Tenure and Mobility: Studies in the Social History of the Mediaeval English Village* (Toronto, 1964), pp. 11-12 and 204 as an example of a dismissive opinion of the influence of legal discussion on social conditions.

<sup>89</sup> Jaume de Montjuic, for example, reported that he and Bernat Guillem de Pinells had separately judged cases of claims that peasants who dwell on a lord's land should be considered men of that lord (*ABL*, fol. 139v). Reference has been made to a manuscript at La Seu d'Urgell

of medieval lawyers should be understood as part of a rationalization of practices and customs, a process clearly visible in the thirteenth century. Roman law alone did not encourage lawyers to define servitude. Catalan customary law offered a way of its own to enserf the peasantry and, as it happens, the most frequently cited seigneurial right, the *ius maltractandi*, owes nothing to Roman law. What the reception of Roman law encouraged, and also symptomized, was the desire for an abstract order and the destruction of what had previously been haphazard, local, and undefined.

#### APPENDIX 1

This is not by any means a definitive list of Catalan legal sources but rather a brief description of sources cited and an indication of some manuscripts.

##### 1. *Usatges of Barcelona*

Manuscripts: see list given in Josep Rovira i Ermengol, ed., *Usatges de Barcelona i Commemoracions de Pere Albert* (Barcelona, 1933), pp. 30-34; and Joan Bastardas, ed., *Usatges de Barcelona: El Codi a mitjan segle XII* (Barcelona, 1984), which includes an evaluation and comparison of important manuscripts.

Editions: Ramon d'Abadal i de Vinyals and Ferràn Valls i Taberner, *Usatges de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1913) (in Latin).

Joseph Gudiol in *AIEC* 1 (1907) 287-318 (Catalan)

Rovira i Ermengol, *Usatges*, pp. 51-137, 207-76 (Catalan)

Bastardas, *Usatges* (Latin and Catalan)

*Cortes*, pp. 10-46 (Latin).

##### 2. Pere Albert, *Commemoracions*. Written c. 1250, according to Rovira i Ermengol, *Usatges*, p. 41.

Manuscripts (Latin): Barcelona, Col·legi d'Advocats Vitr. I-92

—, Biblioteca de Catalunya 485 and 1216

—, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó Cod. Ripoll 32, 38 and 82

Cagliari, Biblioteca Universitaria 6

El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo d. II.12 and d.II.18

Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia II.3.4/12 (damaged)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 4760A and lat. 4761

La Seu d'Urgell, Arxiu Capítular 2045 and 2100

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Ottob. lat. 3058.

(Catalan): Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó Cod. Generalitat 3

El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo z.II.10

(ms. 2108, fols. 134-136v) that resumes arguments made in a case involving the *ius maltractandi* and the degree to which a peasant was prohibited from seeking relief from mistreatment in royal courts.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 10152

Vic, Biblioteca Episcopal 157.

Editions (Latin): Joan de Socarrats, *In tractatum Petri Alberti ...* (Barcelona and Lyons, 1551).

(Catalan): *Constitvions y altres drets de Cathalvnya ...* 1 (Barcelona, 1704; rpt. Barcelona, 1909 and 1979), pp. 325-41.

Joseph Gudiol in *AIEC* 1 (1907) 318-54.

Rovira i Ermengol, *Usatges*, pp. 141-204.

3. Glossa ordinaria to the *Usatges* (Anonymous). Written between 1251 and 1257 according to Julius Ficker, 'Über die Usatici Barchinonae und deren Zusammenhang mit den Exceptiones Legum Romanorum', *Mittheilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband* 2 (1888) 239 (rpt. in Carlrichard Brühl, ed., *Julius Ficker. Ausgewählte Abhandlungen zur Geschichte und Rechtsgeschichte des Mittelalters*, 3 vols. [Aalen, 1981], 3.575-614 [236-75]).

Manuscripts: in many manuscripts of the *Usatges*, including Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó Cod. Ripoll 39; El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo z.I.3; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 4760A and lat. 4761; La Seu d'Urgell, Arxiu Capitular 2045; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Ottob. lat. 3058.

Edition: *Antiqviores Barchinonensivm Leges ...* (Barcelona, 1544) (= *ABL*).

4. Jaume de Montjuic, commentary on *Usatges*, written between 1314 and 1317, according to Ficker, 'Über die Usatici', 239.

Manuscripts: Cagliari, Biblioteca Universitaria 6

El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo d.II.18

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 4760A and lat. 4761

La Seu d'Urgell, Arxiu Capitular 2045.

Edition: *ABL*.

5. Jaume de Vallseca, commentary on *Usatges*, written between 1359 and 1385, according to Ficker, 'Über die Usatici', 239-40.

Edition: *ABL*.

6. Bertran de Ceva. Fourteenth-century figure, according to Guillermo María de Brocà, 'Juristes y jurisconsults catalans del segles xiv-xvii', *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans* 3 (1909-10) 490, and Francisco Elías de Tejada, *Historia del pensamiento político catalán* (Seville, 1963), p. 100.

Commentary on several customs of Catalonia.

Manuscript: El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo d.II.18, fols. 121v-114r (foliation reversed).

7. Guillem de Vallseca. Died c. 1413, according to Antonio García y García, 'El jurista catalán Guillem de Vallseca: datos biográficos y tradición manuscrita de sus obras', *Anuario de estudios medievales* 7 (1970-71) 678, but possibly to be identified with an earlier, late thirteenth-century Guillem de Vallseca,

according to Aquilino Iglesia Ferreirós, 'Dura lex sed servanda', *AHDE* 53 (1983) 543-49.

Biography and list of works and manuscripts: García y García, 'El jurista', 677-708. Commentary on *Usatges*, completed 1393 (according to García y García, 'El jurista', 693), but may have been written considerably earlier.

Manuscripts: El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo v.II.16

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 695.

Edition: *ABL*.

8. Jaume Callís (1364-1434).

Biography and bibliography: Jesús Lalinde Abadía, *La persona y la obra del jurisconsulto vicense "Jaume Callís"* (Vic, 1980).

Works in which serfdom is considered:

Commentary on *Usatges* (written 1401 [Lalinde, *ibid.*, p. 22]).

Manuscript: El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo e.II.4.

Edition: *ABL*.

*De sono emissio* (written 1406 [Lalinde, *ibid.*, p. 115]).

Manuscript: La Seu d'Urgell, Arxiu Capítular 2105.

Edition: see above, n. 34.

9. *Consuetudines diocesis gerundensis*. Compiled from earlier collections by Tomàs Mieres in 1430 and 1439, according to José María Pons Guri, 'Consuetudines diocesis gerundensis', *Nueva enciclopedia jurídica* 5 (Barcelona, 1952), cols. 250-57.

Manuscripts: described in José María Pons Guri, 'El testamento parroquial gerundense en el siglo xiv', *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses* 16 (1963) 186-89.

Editions: Eduardo de Hinojosa, *Costumbres de Gerona* (Barcelona, 1926).

J. Rovira i Ermengol in *AHDE* 5 (1928) 450-84.

Jaime Cots y Gorchs, *Consuetudines diocesis gerundensis* (Barcelona, 1929).

10. Tomàs Mieres, *Apparatvs svper constitvtionibvs cvriarvm generalivm Cathalonie*. Written 1439, according to Mieres' preface (fol. A1 verso).

Manuscript: El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo e.II.12.

Edition: first edition Barcelona, 1533; second edition Barcelona, 1621.

11. Jaume de Marquilles, commentary on *Usatges* completed 1448, according to Marquilles' preface (fol. 1v).

Manuscripts: Barcelona, Museu de l'Història de la Ciutat S.N.

El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo e.II.16 (incomplete).

Edition: *Comentaria Jacobi de Marquilles svper vsaticis Barchinone* (Barcelona, 1505).

12. Joan de Socarrats, commentary on Pere Albert and on other customs of Catalonia, completed 1476, as noted by Socarrats, p. 606.

Edition: *In tractatum Petri Alberti ...* (Barcelona and Lyons, 1551).

## APPENDIX 2

From a collection of anonymous glosses to the Constitutions of King Pere II, a gloss to the Constitution 'Item quod in terris siue locis', enacted at the Courts of Barcelona, 1283. Our excerpt explains the origins of servitude in Catalonia.

El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo d.II.18, fols. 94r-93v (foliation reversed), saec. xv (described in Guillermo Antolín, *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial* 1 [Madrid, 1910], pp. 451-58). The orthography of the manuscript has been preserved; punctuation follows modern practice and angle brackets enclose editorial additions.

(f. 94r) *Item quod in terris consueuerunt....* Dico quod de iure communi presumpcio est quod omnes homines sunt liberi nisi contrarium probetur, item de iure istius terre generaliter vltra et citra flumen Lupricati nisi sit consuetudo quod consueuerunt se redimere vt habes hic in aperto. Unde debes scire quod quando Ispania sit ocupata a Saracenis propter prodicionem comitis Iuliani, et tenebant Christ< i> anos quasi captiuos (f. 93v) et erant (?) se redimi et facere istas seruitutes. Ex post venerunt Christiani et conquistabant istam terram et, cum continue preliabant contra Saracenos, petierunt secrete adiutorium ab istis Christianis captiuis, qui timore Saracenorum nullum sufragium voluerunt dare Christianis. Et Christiani per gratiam Iesu Christi totam terram conquistarunt et aplicarunt fidey Christiane, et multi fuerunt in oppinione quod interficerent Christianos istos sic captiuos ex eo quare tempore conquiste nullum sufragium voluerunt prestare Christianis. Ali< i> tenuerunt quod illesi remanerent et sub Christianis sicuti erant tempore Saracenorum, et quod redimerent se et cultiuarent et alia seruicia facerent Christianis sicuti facere solebant Saracenis et sic fuerunt a morte liberati. Et eo dicunt antiqui quibus est credendum cum dicta antiquorum probant, vt super iura, et in salmo *Deus, auribus nostris audimus*.<sup>1</sup>

## APPENDIX 3

From Bertan de Ceva, *Consuetudines Cathaloniae*, an excerpt containing an account of the Catalan *mals usos*.

El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo d.II.18, fols. 118r-117v (foliation reversed), saec. xv (described in Antolín, *Catálogo* 1.451-58. The editorial principles used for Appendix 2 have been followed here.

(f. 118r) Audiui a quodam iurisper< i>to ciuitatis Barchinonensis quod legerat quod eo in Cathalonia soluitur cugucia, intestia, exorquia et sunt homines de redemptione quia tempore prodicionis comitis Iuliani rema< n>serunt in hac patria alias terra<sup>2</sup> multi Christiani captiui. Et rex Karolus, dum adquirebat terram que est citra flumen Lubricati, indicauit Christianis captiuis quod ipse debet habere bellum cum Sarracenis certa die prefixa, quare rogabat quod insurgerent contra Sarracenos et die

<sup>1</sup> Ps 43:2.

<sup>2</sup> *alias terra* seems to be a gloss.

belli essent cum Christianis. Christiani captiui, dubitantes quis eorum obtineret triumphum, noluerunt prebere auxilium regi Karulo nec Christianis. Deo duce Christiani deuincerunt Saracenos (f. 117v) et hanc terram subdiderunt fidei Catholice. Et, facta subiectione huius patrie, dixerunt Christiani regi ut interficeret Christianos captiuos eo quia cum eo noluerunt debellare pro fide. Rex deliberauit habito consilio, cum ipse tenuit gentes armigeras et non poterant cultiuare, ut sinirent illos captiuos Christianos viuere et ut captiui, sicut antea faciebant<sup>1</sup> apud infideles, viuerent et nunch et in perpetuum apud Christianos, et iura ad que tenebantur facere infidelibus facerent et Christianis, secundum Guillelmum. Alii dicunt quod fuerunt illi qui consenserunt in prodicione comitis Iuliani et remanserunt apud infideles; in conquista fuerunt sicut captiuati, secundum Enricum.

#### APPENDIX 4

Joan de Socarrats, *Ioannis de Socarratis Ivrisconsulti Cathalani in tractatum Petri Alberti canonici Barchinonensis, de consuetudinibus Cathalonie inter Dominos et Vasallos ... doctissima ac locupletissima commentaria* (Barcelona and Lyons, 1551), p. 501:

... cum ista iura intestiae & exorchiae ac etiam cugutiae sint de illis malis vsibus, in quibus homines proprii & solidi, de quibus fit mentio supra in c. habito tenentur eorum dominis, propterea quia isti sunt homines de redemptione, non in toto principatu Cathalonie sed secundum d.c. habito. Et referunt antiqui sapientes quod ex eo dicta iura soluuntur, & fuerunt introducta, ac dicti homines fiunt de redimentia, & eis ipsa seruitus fuit imposita: quia tempore prodicionis Comitis Iuliani remanserunt in hac patria multi Christiani captiui, & Rex Carolus, dum acquirebat terram, quę est citra flumen Lupricati, indicauit Christianis captiuis quod ipse debebat habere bellum cum Saracenis certa die praefixa, quare rogabat eos quod insurgerent contra Saracenos, & die belli essent cum Christianis: Christiani vero captiui dubitantes quis eorum obtineret, noluerunt praebere auxilium Regi Carolo, nec Christianis: Deo duce Christiani deuicerunt Saracenos, & hanc terram subdiderunt fidei orthodoxae, & facta subiectione huius terrae dixerunt Christiani regi vt interficeret Christianos captiuos, eo quia cum eis noluerant debellare pro fide. Rex autem deliberauit habito consilio quod cum ipsi essent gentes armigerae, & non poterant cultiuare, vt sineret illos captiuos Christianos viuere, & sicut vt captiui viuebant apud infideles, ita viuerent & in perpetuum apud Christianos: & iura, ad quae tenebantur facere infidelibus, facerent & Christianis. Alii dicunt quod fuerunt illi, qui consenserunt in prodicione comitis Iuliani, & remanserunt apud infideles, & in conquestia & recuperatione huius patriae fuerunt sic captiuati.

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<sup>1</sup> *sicut antea faciebant*] sint autem faciebat ms.

*ÆPPLEDE GOLD:*  
AN INVESTIGATION OF ITS SEMANTIC FIELD

Pauline A. Thompson

But one October morning, at first drop  
Of appled gold ...  
(R. Browning, 'Red Cotton Night-Cap Country',  
3.21-22)

BROWNING'S use of the words *appled gold* in this little-known poem is probably unique in post-Conquest English literature.<sup>1</sup> In the Old English corpus, the phrase *æp(p)lede gold* occurs only three times: at *Elene* 1259, *The Phoenix* 506 and *Juliana* 688;<sup>2</sup> and the word *æpplede* occurs only in this collocation. The fact that all three works are poems, that the phrase twice (in *Elene* and *Juliana*) occurs in or near the Cynewulfian signature, and that *The Phoenix* is next to *Juliana* in *The Exeter Book* strongly suggests that the three poems are linked in some way, and raises the possibility that *æpplede gold* is the coinage of a particular poet or school.<sup>3</sup>

In *Elene* and *Juliana*, *æpplede gold* is something given out in the winehall, parallel in the poetic structure to *maðmas* 'treasures' (*Elene*) and *beagas* 'rings' (*Juliana*); in *The Phoenix* it is consumed in the fires of the Last Judgment, parallel to *æhtgestreon* 'possessions' and *frætwe* 'treasures'. The phrase has long perplexed students of Old English and there is still no consensus as to its meaning. The difficulty, of course, lies with the word *æpplede* and interpreters usually opt for one of four possibilities: that the phrase means (a) golden apple-

<sup>1</sup> A check of approximately thirty concordances to major English and American poets turned up no further occurrences of the phrase *appled gold* and only two occurrences of the word *appled* alone: Browning, 'Aristophanes' Apology: Heracles', 1. 3971 and Yeats, 'Island of Statues', I.ii.60.

<sup>2</sup> All three poems are in the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records (ASPR), two (*The Phoenix* and *Juliana*) in vol. 3, ed. G. P. Krapp and E. V. K. Dobbie (New York, 1936), pp. 94-133, and the third (*Elene*) in vol. 2, ed. G. P. Krapp (New York, 1932), pp. 66-102. Other editions are referred to below.

<sup>3</sup> For this and other helpful suggestions I am grateful to Dr. Ashley Crandell Amos. Dr. Antonette diPaolo Healey also offered helpful advice which was much appreciated.

shaped objects, e.g., a pomander;<sup>4</sup> (b) embossed gold, or gold bosses;<sup>5</sup> (c) gold rings or coins;<sup>6</sup> or (d) golden objects having a dappled or streaky appearance.<sup>7</sup> The first three derive from stressing the shape of an apple; the fourth derives partly from the concept of an apple's shape and partly from the color and texture of its surface appearance.<sup>8</sup>

This article offers a new interpretation of this troublesome phrase: it rejects the idea that *æpplede* is primarily a term referring to shape; it supports Blake's contention that '*æpplede* is more likely to refer to the colour or texture of the gold', but rejects his suggestion that it might mean "'dappled gold, gold with streaks in it'".<sup>9</sup> It supports a suggestion offered but not pursued by R. Woolf (whose preferred interpretation is that *æpplede* means 'round' because of its parallelism with *beagas* in *Juliana*) that *æpplede gold* is the metaphorical equivalent of the common literal phrase *read gold* 'red gold'.<sup>10</sup> The article further suggests that the heart of the metaphor may well lie not in the fruit which we commonly term 'apple' today, but in the *mala punica* 'pomegranate', the only referent in our extant corpus for OE *read æppel*.

There are several areas of study which should ideally play a part in solving the riddle of *æpplede gold*: historical arboriculture, Anglo-Saxon metallurgy, archaeology and anthropology can provide us with helpful information on, respectively, species of apple trees, alloying of gold with silver and copper, golden artifacts recovered from the period and Anglo-Saxon color perception and labelling. But we can also gain much vital information from examining the semantic fields in Old English of the words *æppel* and *gold*, and this article limits itself to just such an investigation. Since the publication of *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English*, this type of study can be more conclusive than ever before. All the collocations of *æppel* and *gold* in their various forms and compounds, with a few exceptions outlined below, are examined. To my knowledge nothing so far discovered in the fields of study just mentioned contradicts the conclusion reached in this investigation. On the contrary, there

<sup>4</sup> See A. S. Cook, ed., *The Old English Elene, Phoenix and Physiologus* (New Haven, 1919), pp. 99-100; supported by Krapp and Dobbie, eds., *The Exeter Book* (ASPR 3.279, note to l. 506 of *The Phoenix*).

<sup>5</sup> See Krapp, ed., *The Vercelli Book* (ASPR 2.151, note to l. 1259 of *Elene*); F. Holthausen, *Altenglisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1934), s.v. *æppled(e)*; and J. Bosworth and T. N. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford, 1898), s.v. *æpplede*.

<sup>6</sup> See P. O. E. Gradon, ed., *Cynewulf's 'Elene'* (Exeter, 1977), pp. 72-73.

<sup>7</sup> See N. F. Blake, ed., *The Phoenix* (Manchester, 1964), p. 82.

<sup>8</sup> For a good summary of the whole controversy, see R. Woolf, ed., *Juliana*, 2nd edition (Exeter, 1966), p. 88.

<sup>9</sup> Blake, *The Phoenix*, p. 82.

<sup>10</sup> Woolf, *Juliana*, p. 88.

is much evidence to support it, some of which will be discussed below. First, however, the statistical information from the *Concordance* is presented.

# I

The following restrictions were imposed on the investigation. The nouns *æppel* and *gold* have been noted if they are modified by an adjective. Of particular interest are adjectives of appearance (especially hue, brightness and intensity) and shape, but all modifiers have been noted. Phrases which contain the key words unmodified, such as 'payment in silver and gold', have not been listed. Also noted are phrases in which other words are qualified by the key nouns (e.g., *wos æples* 'juice of apples', *gefrætword golde* 'ornamented with gold'). In addition, all compounds of *æppel* and *gold* are listed, except compounds of *æppel* which are place-names. Finally, occurrences of the adjectives *æpplede* and *gylden*, including compounds of the latter, are noted.

Since the *Concordance* is unlemmatized, the study of all the collocations and compounds of *æppel* and *gold* involves searching for every possible spelling and inflection, but because neither the spelling nor morphology is of primary interest in this study, the reporting of data has been simplified by using the spellings *æppel*, *gold* and *gylden* for the simplex form and in all compounds. Variant spellings can be located under *apel*, *apil*, *apl*, *apol*, *appel*, *appil*, *apul*, *æpel*, *æpl*, *æppyl*, *eapl*, *eapol*, *eappul*, *eapul*, *eapyl*, *epel*, *epl*, *epyl*, *golde* and *gilden*. The number of occurrences of collocations and compounds, except for the phrase *read gold* which stood out because of its unusual frequency, has not been noted. One citation is given for every reference; others, if they exist, can easily be located in the *Concordance*. The abbreviation system for texts is that used by the *Concordance* and can be decoded from its accompanying manual.<sup>11</sup> The reader should note that the line numbers given refer to the line at which the sentence containing the cited word or phrase begins, not to the actual line containing the key word.

## (i) The word *æppel* and its modifiers

### (a) Adjectives relating to species of 'apple' (apple = fruit)

affricanisc	pomegranate	ClG1 1 (Stryker) 4039
brembel	blackberry	Lch II 64.1.2

<sup>11</sup> A. diPaolo Healey and R. L. Venezky, *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English. The List of Texts and Index of Editions* (Toronto, 1980). The short titles were originally devised by Bruce Mitchell, Christopher Ball and Angus Cameron and published in *Anglo-Saxon England* 4 (1975) 207-21, with addenda and corrigenda in 8 (1979) 331-33.

gecyrnlod	pomegranate	AldV 1 (Goossens) 3733
milisc	dates	ClG1 1 (Stryker) 4287

## (b) Adjectives relating to taste

liðe	sweet	ÆGram 274.12
sur	sour	Lch II(1) 61.1.10
surmelsc	sour-sweet	Lch II(2) 1.1.17
swete	sweet	Lch II(2) 1.1.17

## (c) Miscellaneous adjectives

gebræded	roasted	Lch II(1) 61.1.9
forbodene	forbidden	Phoen 400
unsæлга	bringing misery	GenA,B 636
lef	weak, damaged (eye)	Bo 38.121.8

## (d) Adjectives of color

grene	green	Lch II(2) 22.1.15
hwit	white, unripe	Med 1.1 (de Vriend) 90
read	reddish yellow	CP 15.95.4
swegle	bright, shiny	Lch II(2) 65.5.12

## (e) Adjectives of material and/or color

gylden	of gold, golden	Mart 5 (Herzfeld-Binz) 1854 (AU29/A/18)
iren	iron	MSol 25

(f) Phrases containing the word *æppel*

gor æpples	pulp?	MCharm 2 66
hordera æppla	custody	PsGIJ (Oess) 78.1
hyrdnesse æpplena	custody	PsGII (Lindeloef) 78.1
æppel lef	violet	OccG1 84 (Gough) 9
palmtreowa æppla	dates	LS 23 (Mary of Egypt) 2.126
æppel screada	parings	AntG1 2 (Kindschi) 488
seawe æpples	sauce	Med 1.1 (deVriend) 417
wos æpples	juice	Med 3 (Gratton-Singer) 82.1
wudu æppla	crab apples	Lch II(2) 12.1.9

(ii) The word *æppel* as the first element of a compound

æppelbearu	orchard	PPs 78.2
æppelbere	apple-bearing	ClG1 1 (Stryker) 3851
æppelcyn	kind of apple	Lch II(2) 2.2.1
æppelcyrnel	pip	ClG1 1 (Stryker) 3849
æppelder	apple tree	AntG1 4 (Kindschi) 226
æppeldertun	orchard	ClG1 2 (Quinn) 440

æppelfæt (-fæc)	dish	Abbo 1 (Zupitza) 423, 401
æppelfealu	bay, chestnut	Beo 2163
æppelsceal	pithy film separating the seeds in a pome- granate	CIgI 1 (Stryker) 1186
æppeltreow	apple tree	CIgI 1 (Stryker) 2919
æppeltun	orchard	PsGIC (Wildhagen) 78.1
æppelwin	cider	CIgI 1 (Stryker) 3481

(iii) The word *æppel* as the second element of a compound

ciseræppel (ciris-)	cherry	CIgI 1 (Stryker) 1027
codæppel (go[o]d-)	quince	CIgI 1 (Stryker) 2762
cornæppel	pomegranate	AldV 1 (Goossens) 3732
eordæppel	cucumber	Num 11.5
fiscæppel (fisc-)	fig	CIgI 1 (Stryker) 1457
fingeræppel	date	AldV 1 (Goossens) 3734
hunigæppel	round cake made with honey	CIgI 1 (Stryker) 4817
milscheæppel	date	CollG1 25 206
palmæppel	date	CIgI 1 (Stryker) 1837
weaxæppel	ball of wax	Sol II 89
wudusuræppel	crab apple	MCharm 2 64

(iv) The word *æppel* in adjective form

æpplede gold	?	Phoen 503, EI 1256, Jul 683
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(v) The word *gold* and its modifiers

## (a) Adjectives relating to appearance

adeorcad	darkened	CP 18.133.10
asueartod	blackened	CP 18.133.20
aðrawenan	twisted	HIG1 (Oliphant) 537
beorht	bright	PPS 67.13
read	reddish yellow	GenA,B 2405 + 19 other references
readestan	superlative form of <i>read</i>	HomS 7.128
scinende	shining	ÆLS (Pr Moses) 322
scir	shining	Beo 1694
wunden	twisted	Beo 1192

## (b) Adjectives relating to refinement, production and purity

agoten	cast, melted	ÆCHom II 38, 286.220
asoden	refined	LawAGu 2

clæne	pure	ÆCHom I 4, 64.8
fædan (fættan, fæted)	beaten	Husb 35
hluttrestan	purest	HomS 33 (Foerst) 176
smæte	pure	Wid 90

## (c) Adjectives relating to value and quantity

æðelan	valuable	Rid 597
brad	ample	Beo 3101
deorwurðan	costly	LS 29 (Nicholas) 468
dyre	precious	Rid 49.4
icge	rich? shining? native?	Beo 1107
selost	best	Gen 2.12
unrime	unlimited	Beo 3010

## (d) Other

arabie	Arabian	PsGIE (Harsley) 71.15
aroden	prepared	Ch 355 (Birch 581) 1
forhydde	hidden	CP 49.377.6
hæðen	pagan	Beo 2275
eorðan	of (or in) the earth	ÆHom 1 247

(vi) Phrases containing *goldes*

## (a) Appearance

blacunge goldes	pallor, hue?	PsGII (Lindeloef) 67.14
hiwe goldes	hue, appearance	Lch I (Herb) 182.2.1

## (b) Weight

gewihtes goldes	weight	ApT 6.16
yndsanes goldes	ounce	Or 4 10 196.16

(vii) Phrases containing *golde*

## (a) Use and/or appearance

awriten golde	written	GDPref and 4(C)27.299.19
befong golde	encased	CP 22.171.14
beweorcean golde	adorned	El 1022
bunden golde	bound	Beo 1900
fah golde	ornamented	Beo 925
fættan golde	ornamented	Beo 2101
gefrætewod golde	ornamented	Jud 171
gegiered golde	adorned	Rid 26.11

glædra golde	brighter	MSol 487
geglenged golde	adorned	El 88
gyrlan of golde	apparel	ÆLS (Agatha) 35
gehroden golde	adorned	Beo 303
gehyrsted golde	adorned	El 329
gerenod mid golde	adorned	CP 14.83.22
gescrið mid golde	clothed	ChronE (Plummer) 1086.55
siowode golde	trimmed	CIGl 3 (Quinn) 1960
getuode golde	bedecked	Ps 44.11
gewefen myð golde	woven	VSaI 1 (Ass 16) 249
gewelgode golde	enriched	Alex 565
geweorðod golde	enriched	Ex 580
geworhton golde	adorned	ÆHom 21 41
yre golde	coin	Rec 2.3 (Earle) 15.1

## (b) Other

bereafod golde	deprived	Beo 3014
forgyldan golde	rewarded	Beo 1050

(viii) Nominal compounds with *gold* as first element

## (a) General

goldæht	wealth in gold	Beo 2747
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## (b) Plants and animals

goldfinc	goldfinch	AntGl 2 (Kindschi) 1000
goldweard	guardian of gold (dragon)	Beo 3079
goldwyrð	heliotrope, marigold	AldÆ 2 (Nap) 36

## (c) Persons

goldbloma	gold-bloom = marigold? golden mass? (meta- phor for Christ)	HomS 40.2 (BIHom 9) 10
goldgiefa	giver of gold	Sea 80
goldsmið	goldsmith	Ch 1497 (Whitelock-Ker) 50
goldðeof	thief of gold	LawAf 1 9.2
goldwine	a liberal prince	El 198

## (d) Places

goldburh	a rich city? a town in which gold is distrib- uted? a town orna- mented with gold?	And 1654
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goldhord	treasury	ÆCHom I, 4 62.1, AntGl 6 (Kindschi) 655 (for ms. <i>goldhold</i> )
goldsele	a hall in which gold is distributed? a hall adorned with gold?	Beo 714

## (e) Materials

goldfæt	gold setting	Phoen 301
goldfel	gold leaf	CI Gl 1 (Stryker) 680
goldfrætwe	gold ornaments	ChristA,B,C 994
goldhoma	gold-adorned coat of mail	El 990
goldlæfer	gold leaf	HomS 7 134
goldmaðm	gold treasure	Beo 2413
goldmæstling	brass	ÆGl 8.98
goldora	gold ore	AldV 1 (Goossens) 1794
goldwecg	mass of gold	AldV 13.1 (Nap) 451 (for ms. <i>goldwecd</i> )
goldwlencu	golden ornament	HomS 14 (BIHom 4) 247
goldweorc	goldwork	Mart 2.1 (Herzfeld-Kotzor) 404

## (f) Other

goldfinger	ring finger	Law Abt 54.5
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(ix) Adjectival compounds with *gold* as first element

goldbeorht	bright with gold	Ruin 31
goldbleo[h]	gold-colored	AntGl 4 (Kindschi) 300
goldfah	adorned with gold	Beo 1799
goldfyld	covered with gold	CI Gl 3 (Quinn) 1498
goldhilted	with a golden hilt	Rid 55 7
goldhladen	adorned with gold	Finn 13
goldhroden	adorned with gold	Beo 639
goldhwæte	gold-abounding? greedy for gold? gold-bestowing?	Beo 3069
goldspedig	wealthy in gold	Jul 38
goldtorht	bright with gold	OrW 76
goldgewefen	woven with gold	AldV 13.1 (Nap) 4297
goldgewenum (?)	woven with gold	AldV 1 (Goossens) 4173
goldgerefe (?)		
goldwlanc	splendidly adorned with gold	Beo 1880
goldwrecen	inlaid with gold	Ch 1537 (Whitelock 27) 6

(x) The word *gold* as the second element of a compound

cynegold	crown	Phoen 605
fætgold	beaten gold	Beo 1920
heafodgold	crown	HomS 40.1 (Nap 49) 66
halsberigold	gold neck ornament	OccGl 77.2 (Riehle) 1
readgoldlæfer	red gold leaf	AldV 13.1 (Nap) 1070
smætegold	pure gold	CorpGl 2 (Hessels) 13.24

(xi) Words qualified by the adjective *gylden*

N.B. Words marked + in sections (xi) and (xii) are golden in color rather than material; words marked ++ are metaphorically golden.

anlicnes	idol	ÆLS (Julian and Basilissa) 163
æppel	apple	Mart 5 (Herzfeld-Binz) 1854 (AU29/A/18)
bænd	band, crown	Ch 1511 (Whitelock 11) 13
beag	ring	HomS 40.3 (McCabeVercHom 10) 75
beard+	beard	LS 16 (Margaret Herbst) 151
bed	bed	ÆHomM 14 (Ass 8) 15
bieme	trumpet	Sol II 97
bul	brooch, earring	DurRitGl 1 (Thomp-Lind) 3.5
burh	castle, town	ChronE (Plummer) 1066.35
byrne	corselet	Sol II 16
calic	chalice	ÆLet 1 (Wulfsige T) 58
candelsticca	candlestick	LS 29 (Nicholas) 468
cæg	key	ÆCHom I, 26 368.34
cealf	calf	Ex 32.8
clað	cloth, covering	CiGl 1 (Stryker) 4435
cleowen	ball	Mart 1 (Herzfeld-Kotzor) 14 (DE25/A/17)
columne	column	Alex 101
cræt	chariot	ÆCHom I, 29 434.3
cwide++	speech	MSol 63
cynehelm	crown	ÆCHom I, 10 162.13
cynestol	throne	HomU 38 (Nap 47) 53
dalc	bracelet, brooch	Josh 7.20
dun	hill	HomU 15 (Robinson) 58
earhring	earring	Ex 32.2
earn	eagle	Sol II 23
earspinl	earring	OccGl 49 (Zupitza) 25.13
fana	banner	Sol II 104
fæs (fnæs)	border	PsGl J (Oess) 44.14
fæt	vessel	VSaI 1 (Ass 16) 251

feoh	pledge	AntGl 2 (Kindschi) 386
fetels	vessel	Ch 1503 (Whitelock 20) 14
finger	finger	Sol II 71
fyðerhama	wing-covering	ÆLS (Cecilia) 72
gad	goad, point	MSol 90
geat	gate	ChristA,B,C 249
gielð	idol	Dan 200
gierela	garments	ÆLS (Agnes) 252
gimm	gem	Sat 647
god	god	Ex 32.31
godgeld	idol	Mart 5 (Herzfeld-Binz) 1416 (JY19/A/5)
grima	mask, helmet	El 125
gyrd	staff	ÆCHom I 4 68.16
gyrdel	girdle	ÆLet 2 (Wulfstan 1) 31
heafod	head	Sol II 46
heafodbeag	headband, crown	HomS 24 (VercHom 1) 198
healsmyne	necklace	Gen 41.42
hilt	hilt	Beo 1677
hiltswæord	swordhilt	Bo 37.111.15
hnæpp	bowl	LS 29 (Nicholas) 468
hors	horse	Mart 2.1 (Herzfeld-Kotzor) 400 (DE21/A/22)
hrace	throat	Sol II 60
hrægl	raiment	Mart 5 (Herzfeld-Binz) 1596 (AU02/B/8)
hring	ring	Or 5.10 234.8
lac	lake	ÆHom 22.259
læfr	leaf	AntGl 4 (Kindschi) 571
leaf	leaf	Alex 111
leoht <sup>+</sup>	light	HyGl 3 (Gneuss) 24.1
leon	lion	Ex 319
leohtfato	lantern	Alex 366
loccas <sup>+</sup>	hair	LS 16 (Margaret Herbst) 151
maðm	treasure	Met 21.20
maðmfatu	costly vessel	ÆCHom II, 33 253.136
mæl	crucifix	Bede 2 16.150.11
mor	mountain	HomS 4 (FoerstVercHom 9) 164
muð <sup>++</sup>	mouth	GDPref and 3(C) 179.1
mynet	coin	Mart 5 (Herzfeld-Binz) 1990 (SE14/B/16)
mys	mice	ÆHom 22.271
organ	organ	Sol II 97
pænig	penny	ApT 51.20

racenteah	fetter	Sol II 25
rap	rope	Bede 4 11.288.18
ræcelc	censer	DurRitGl 1 (Thomp-Lind) 91.10
geræd <sup>++</sup>	counsel	ÆCHom I, 14.1 210.14
rod	cross	Ch 1503 (Whitelock 20) 46
sceatt	treasure, wealth	LS 34 (SevenSleepers) 1.198
scield	shield	Or 6.25 276.13
sciell	shell	Alex 378
scridwæn	chariot	BoHead 27
scrin	shrine	ChronE (Plummer) 1070.29
scryd	chariot	Mart 2.1 (Herzfeld-Kotzor) 400 (DE21/A/22)
segen	ensign	Beo 1020
sester	pitcher	Alex 125
sigila	brooch	Bede 4 21.322.15
stan	stone	HomS 4 (FoerstVercHom 9) 169
stæf	staff	HomU 47 (Nap 58) 87
steorra	star	Lap 5
styðu	column	Alex 118
sunna <sup>+</sup>	sun	Nic (A) 459
sweor	column	LibScEcc 26.23
sweord	sword	Sol II 73
swurbeah	neckband, collar	ÆCHom II, 33 254.145
tange	tongs	ByrM 1 (Crawford) 148.15
tungel	star	HyGl 3 (Gneuss) 109.1
ðel	plate	ClGl 1 (Stryker) 780
ðræd	thread	ClGl 1 (Stryker) 746
vigbede	altar	DurRitGl 1 (Thomp-Lind) 91.10
weall	wall	MSol 255
wecg	lump	ÆLS (Sebastian) 183
wedd	pledge	AntGl 2 (Kindschi) 386
weofodsceat	altarcloth	Ch 1448 (Rob 39) 3
weorc	work	PsGl E (Harsley) 113.12
wingearð	vineyard	Marv 24.1
gewrite	writing	ÆLS (Cecilia) 56

(xii) The adjective *gylden* as part of a compound

## (a) Nouns

gyldenbend	crown	Lev 8.9
gyldenmelle	cup? dish?	Ch 812 (Birch 1187) 16
gyldenwecg	gold mine	HiGl (Oliphant) 5131
gyldsester	gold vessel	Rec 27.1 (Thorpe) 28

## (b) Adjectives

gyldenfeax <sup>+</sup>	golden-haired	CIGl 1 (Stryker) 338
gyldenhilte	golden-hilted	Ch 1515 (HarmD 21) 1
gyldenhwiwe <sup>+</sup>	golden-hued	OccGl 80 (Nap) 5
gyldenmuða <sup>++</sup>	golden-mouthed	GDPref 2(C) 94.24

## II

Before we make use of this material to discuss the most likely meaning of the phrase *æpplede gold*, some cautions (and some justifications) are in order. First, we know that the extant corpus of Old English represents a biased sample, so that any analysis of occurrences of words or phrases also has an inevitable bias. The bias is, of course, to religious works and certain secular works (like charters and medical recipes) likely to be preserved in monasteries. To some types of semantic investigation, e.g., the terminology of pagan worship, this might be a real handicap. In this case, however, there is sufficient variety in the contexts for each of the concepts being investigated, and a sufficiently large number of occurrences (e.g., ninety pages of concorded references to the word *gold* and its compounds alone), that the bias is probably not a serious disadvantage. Second, the corpus provides many more collocations for *gold* and *gylden* than it does for *æppel*; nevertheless, fifty different phrases containing a form of the word *æppel* is a significant number. It should be noted that, in order to minimize the problems of bias and imbalance, all collocations, not just a selected sample, are considered in this study. Third, these collocations are drawn from a wide variety of sources: prose and poetry; originals and translations (including glosses); works religious and secular, medical and legal, literary and historical. The broad base and significant size of the study might be thought to weight the evidence unacceptably because the phrase *æpplede gold* appears only in poetry. However, *æppel* and *gold* are not specifically poetic words. Indeed, if we can judge from the number of times they occur in the extant corpus, they were no doubt part of common parlance, and the many different collocations in which they appear should throw light on this specialized poetic usage. In addition, the three contexts of the phrase *æpplede gold* point to the widely-held belief that gold was precious, lovely to receive and distressing to lose, a belief likely to be expressed in any genre. For these reasons, an examination of other contexts in which *gold* is mentioned is sure to be worthwhile. In spite of the dangers, it is well worth looking at the accumulated evidence; this evidence may not lead to utter certainty about the meaning of *æpplede gold*, but it can point the way to highly probable conclusions.

What conclusions, then, can be drawn from this material? Since three of the four previously suggested interpretations favor the idea that *æpplede* refers to the shape in which the gold was formed, evidence for this should be examined. Sections (i) (a) and (iii) suggest that when *æppel* means fruit in a generic sense, the fruit is usually, but not always, round (dates and cucumbers are exceptions).<sup>12</sup> Section (i) (e) also indicates that *æppel* means something round: the *irenum aplum* are iron balls.<sup>13</sup> A sentence from the *Leechdoms* (Lch I [Herb] 134.2.1) provides further evidence that the idea of forming things into apple shapes was quite familiar to the Anglo-Saxons: it instructs one to take certain herbs, 'cnuca tosomne þam gelice þe þu anne æppel wyrce, syle picgean þam untruman' ('pound them together as if you were making a ball, give to the invalid to eat'). In section (i) (e) is the only reference to golden apples in the corpus: Herod delivered the head of John the Baptist to Salome on a dish, 'forðæm þe wæs kyninga dohtra þeaw, þonne hi plegodon mid gyldenum applum on selfrenum disce' ('because it was the custom of kings' daughters that they played with golden apples on silver dishes').<sup>14</sup> Whether the golden apples are to be understood as apples made out of gold (as in the Greek myths) or as apples the color of gold (as in 'Golden Delicious') is not clear. It is very unlikely, because of the analogy between apples and John the Baptist's head, that the phrase means 'embossed apples'.

In sections (v) to (x) there is no evidence for any spherical gold object. In fact, in these six sections only nine words (*wunden*, *yre*, *goldfæt*, *goldfel*, *goldlæfer*, *goldhilted*, *cynegold*, *heafodgold* and *halsberigold*) give any idea of the shapes into which gold was formed. Section (xi), which contains 103 words modified by the adjective *gylden*, yields only three spherical shapes: *æppel* (see above), *cleowen* 'ball' and *heafod* 'head'. It seems likely that the *heofod* (of *Pater Noster* in Sol II 46) is of gold material, but whether the *gilden cleowen* which the Romans saw (Mart I [Herzfeld-Kotzor] 14 [DE25/A/17]) were of gold metal or of gold color is not easy to deduce. On analogy with the *firen cleowen* 'balls of fire' in the same sentence, they could be balls made out of gold, but in either case they do not appear to have been man-made.

It is clear from this analysis that the corpus contains the concept of 'golden apple' and that of forming ball-shaped objects, metal and otherwise. What is not

<sup>12</sup> OED, s.v. *apple* states that apple can refer to any fruit, and has been used 'from the earliest period ... with the greatest latitude'. It is conceivable, even if unlikely, that if *æpplede gold* means 'gold in the shape of an apple' the gold could be cucumber-shaped!

<sup>13</sup> These are presumably cast iron; the word *agoten* (section [v]) is the Old English word for 'cast', but no examples of its being used in a context of forming apple shapes are recorded. (Horses, gods, a chariot and a sword are *agoten*.)

<sup>14</sup> This is possibly a reference to Pr 25:11: 'mala aurea in lectis argenteis' ('golden apples on silver beds'), but there is no mention there of a custom that kings' daughters played with them.

clear is whether the word 'golden' refers to color or material; further, if it does refer to material, the contexts give no clues that the Anglo-Saxons themselves made balls out of gold: the golden balls and golden apples mentioned are both in *An Old English Martyrology* and form part of anecdotes set in first-century Palestine, far removed from anything Anglo-Saxon.<sup>15</sup>

Evidence in the literature for *æpplede gold* meaning 'embossed gold' is slight. Sections (v) (b) and (x) contain the only words to describe the process of refining and working in gold. *Asoden*, *clæne*, *smæte* and *hluttur* all mean 'refined'; *fæted* means 'hammered' or 'beaten' into gold leaf. There is nothing to suggest that any of these words means *æpplede* in Holthausen's sense of embossed into apple shapes.<sup>16</sup>

The third possibility is that *æpplede gold* means golden objects of circular shape, like rings or coins. What evidence is there for this? Section (vii) (a) contains *yre gold*; *goldfinger* (viii) (f), *cynegold* (x), *heafodgold* (x) and *halsberigold* (x) are all ring-shaped. Section (xi) adds to this *bænd*, *beag*, *bul*, *cynehelm*, *dalc*, *earhring*, *earspinl*, *gyrdel*, *heafodbeag*, *healsmyne*, *hring*, *mynet*, *pænig*, *sigila* and *swurbeah*; and section (xii) (a) provides the compound *gyldenbend*. There are, then, twenty-one words indicating that gold was made into ring or coin shapes (assuming the brooches are all round like the Kentish Sarre brooch). Several denote items of personal adornment such as one might expect to be handed out in the wine hall. This significant number of words lends some support for the hypothesis that *æpplede gold* might mean coin- or ring-shaped gold, and the fact that one of the three occurrences of the collocation is structurally parallel to *beagas* in *Juliana* lends added weight.

The chief difficulty in accepting this interpretation is that, apart from *Juliana* 688, we have no basis in Old English for connecting any form of the word *æppel* with anything that is merely circular rather than spherical. Of all the apple-shapes listed in sections (i) to (iii), only dates and cucumbers are not spherical – and they are not circular either. The possibility that *æpplede* might mean 'circular' is based on the supposition that *æpplede* is in some way related to Teutonic, French and Russian forms of †*apple-grey*, rendered in ModE as 'dapple-grey'.<sup>17</sup> There are several problems here: the connection between *dapple-grey* (which is first recorded c. 1400) and the Teutonic forms of †*apple-*

<sup>15</sup> 'The idea of a golden apple-shaped object is completely alien to Anglo-Saxon, and indeed Germanic, archeology', according to Blake, *The Phoenix*, p. 82.

<sup>16</sup> Gradon cites the Sutton Hoo helmet as an example of embossed work. But this helmet is Swedish sheet-iron work overlaid with bronze leaf and only a small amount of gilding. It is decorated with patterning from Swedish dyes. See R. Bruce-Mitford, *Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Archeology. Sutton Hoo and Other Discoveries* (London, 1974), pp. 198-99.

<sup>17</sup> See OED for details of cognate forms. Onions claims that *apple-grey* has no standing as a compound in English, although it is in the OED as an obsolete form. See *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*, ed. C. T. Onions (Oxford, 1966), s.v. *dappled*.

grey is not, for want of data, established; nor is there any equivalent for them in Old English.<sup>18</sup> Further, the compounds of *apple* in all the languages referred to above have a strong association not only with horses but with the color grey.<sup>19</sup> They, like the OE color terms *fealu*, *blanca*, *dunn* and *græg*, form part of what Nigel Barley refers to as a 'lexical sub-set' of words 'originally restricted to horses'.<sup>20</sup> The appearance of OE *æpplede* uncompounded, always with the word *gold* and never in a context of horses, suggests that there is little, if any, connection between the Continental developments and the use of *æpplede* in Old English.

The last possibility to be investigated is that *æpplede gold* is a phrase indicating color or texture rather than shape. This is the interpretation favored by N. F. Blake and is also partly based on the assumed analogy between *æpplede gold* and ModE *apple-green*, *apple-grey*, ON *apal-grár*. Now it has been argued already that this connection is so uncertain that it is risky to suggest that *æpplede* means 'circular' on the basis of it; it is equally problematic to suggest, as does Blake, that *æpplede* means 'dappled' or 'streaky' from the same evidence.<sup>21</sup> However, there still remains the option that *æpplede* might refer to color without its having to mean 'dappled'. It is for this possibility that the corpus provides the most evidence.

The color term which we are most likely to apply to gold is 'yellow', but OE *geolu* is not once used to describe gold. The only color term applied is *read* and it occurs more than twenty times in our extant corpus. Although Mead suggested that the adjective *read* was used of gold because their gold was darker

<sup>18</sup> Woolf comments: 'Some association with the later "dapple-grey" seems inescapable, but the meaning of the latter is so uncertain ("streaked like an apple", "spotted like a pool"...) and its relation to ON *apalgrár*, OHG *aphelgra* etc. so unclear, that it does not elucidate the OE meaning' (*Juliana*, p. 88).

<sup>19</sup> R. Barnes argues that the word *æppelfealu*, applied to horses in Beo 2163, means 'dappled dun'. He assumes the *apple/dapple* connection to have existed in OE, and that the different color in the second half of the compound (*fealu*, not *græg*) is insignificant. See his 'Horse Colors in Anglo-Saxon Poetry', *Philological Quarterly* 39 (1960) 510-12.

<sup>20</sup> N. F. Barley, 'Old English Colour Classification: Where Do Matters Stand?', *Anglo-Saxon England* 3 (1974) 21.

<sup>21</sup> It is worth noting that although the use of the word 'dappled' to describe gold is classed under texture and appearance rather than shape, the idea has its root in the concept of shape, for 'dappled gold' would presumably be gold with apple-shaped markings in its surface texture. The move from 'dappled gold' to 'gold with streaks in it' (Blake), an idea Blake may have picked up from Vigfusson (see OED, s.v. *dapple-grey*), is apparently rooted in the concept of color rather than shape, though the precise meaning of Vigfusson's *apalgrár*, viz., 'dapple-grey, i.e. apple-grey, having the streaky colour of an apple', is hard to fathom: apples are never grey (the 'grey' of 'dapple-grey' comes from horse, not apple), and the link between 'apple-grey' and 'the streaky colour of an apple' is far from clear. If, however, the idea of 'gold with streaks in it' is intended to be rooted in the concepts of both color and shape, it is difficult to see what the connection between 'streaky' and 'dappled' is: streaks are linear markings, not circular. It is also difficult to see how 'gold with streaks in it' could be a laudatory description.

in color than ours and 'contained a considerable alloy of copper', this is not true of all, or even most, of the Anglo-Saxon gold which survives.<sup>22</sup> The explanation for the epithet *read* is more likely to be that suggested by Barley, that OE *read* is not our 'red' but fits half-way between red and yellow on the Modern English hue axis.<sup>23</sup>

But OE *read* when applied to gold is not simply a color term: the word is also a term of the highest praise used to describe the purest gold. A few illustrations will make this clear. Compare the following two glosses:

obrizum, i. aurum optimi coloris / smæte gold, platum (AldV 13.1 [Nap] 3534)  
aurum obrizum / read gold (AntGl 4 [Kindschi] 570).

The implication is clear: gold 'of the best color' is 'pure' gold; 'pure' gold is *read*. In Met 19.5 'gold ðæt read' renders what in the original Latin of Boethius is simply *aurum*; the context, in which it is parallel to 'wlitige gimmas' ('shining gems'), suggests that the Old English translator added 'ðæt read' to heighten the literary effect of his rhetorical question.<sup>24</sup> One final example occurs in an

<sup>22</sup> W. F. Mead, 'Color in Old English Poetry', *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 14 (1899) 195. Recent analysis of Anglo-Saxon jewellery shows, in fact, a very low copper content, usually under 3 per cent. The silver content in the Sutton Hoo jewellery ranges from just under 2 per cent up to almost 21 per cent; silver is therefore the chief alloying metal. The sword-pommel in that find is 97 per cent pure gold. See R. Bruce-Mitford, *The Sutton Hoo Ship-Burial* 2 (London, 1978), chap. 10, sect. 8.

<sup>23</sup> Barley, 'Old English Colour Classification', 19. The compound *æppelfealu* used of horses in *Beowulf* 2163 is interesting in this regard. Although Barnes, 'Horse Colors in Anglo-Saxon Poetry', argues that it means 'dappled dun', the more widely accepted meaning for the compound is 'bay' or 'chestnut'. This definition seems to have arisen from combining the meaning 'reddish-yellow' for *æppel* and 'tawny', 'glossy brownish-yellow' for *fealu*.

Actually, the word *red* to describe reddish-yellow objects is by no means limited to the Old English period. Even at the end of the twentieth century we still speak of *redheads* and *red cheddar* and mean something reddish-yellow. Nor is the use of the term *red* to describe gold limited to the English language. In addition to its frequent use in Icelandic poetry, it turns up in less likely places. For example, the late twelfth-century French writer, Petrus Riga, claims: 'Omne quod est rubeum nomen non impetrat auri' ('not everything red achieves the name of gold') (*Aurora. Petri Rigae Biblia versificata*, ed. P. E. Beichner, 2 vols. [Notre Dame, Ind., 1965], 1.360: 'Liber Danielis', 1. 457). A century later, a Danish writer who taught in France, Johannes Dacus, states: '... verbi gratia in cognitionem auri deuenimus per notiora sicut per sensibilia, puta per pondus, per colorem rubeum, etc.' ('for example we obtain knowledge of the meaning of gold through more familiar things, say, through things which can be perceived by the senses, e.g., by its weight, by its red color') (*Johannis Daci Opera*, ed. A. Otto, 1.1 [Copenhagen, 1955], 'Summa gramatica', p. 69.7-9). My thanks to Professors A. G. Rigg and David L. Mosher for these references.

<sup>24</sup> The speaker asks 'hwæper ge willen on wudu secan gold þæt reade on grenum triowum' ('whether you would look in a wood for gold that is "red" on green trees'). He continues, 'Ic wat swa þeah ðæt hit nan witen a ðider ne seceþ, forþæm hit ðær ne werþ, ne on wingearðum wlitige gimmas' ('I know, however, that no wise man would seek it there, for it would not be there, nor would glittering gems be in vineyards').

Ælfrician homily: 'ealle þas goldsmiðas secgað þæt hi næfre ær swa clæne gold ne swa read ne gesawon' ('all the goldsmiths say that they have never seen such pure nor such "red" gold') (ÆCHom I 4, 64.8). In all these examples, *read gold*, far from being alloyed with a high percentage of copper, is specifically or by implication the equivalent of pure gold.

A curious interchange of two superlative adjectives in two related Old English homilies leads to a further deduction about the meaning of *read*: not only is it the purest gold, but it is also gold with a brilliant sheen. In one homily is the phrase 'readestan godwebbe and ... beorhtestan golde' ("reddest" fabric and ... brightest gold') (HomS 40.1 [Nap 49] 265) and in the other 'readestan golde and ... beorhtestan godwebbe' (HomS 7 128). If these adjectives are truly interchangeable in this context, we learn that *read*, when applied to gold or fine clothing, carries a connotation of brilliance. This is further illustrated in another homily: the phoenix who, as king of all birds, is always described in extravagant terms, 'gliten[ap] swa read gold' ('glitens like "red" gold') (HomU 17.1 [Kluge] E 48). Should any doubt remain that the concept of brilliance is implicit in the word *read*, three glosses to Aldhelm's *De virginitate* put the case beyond doubt: *rubentis micantis* 'reddish gleaming', *flaventis fulgentis rubentis* 'golden yellow glittering reddish' and, most telling of all, *rubentis i. micantis* 'reddish, that is, gleaming' are all glossed simply by *reades* (AldV 1 [Goossens] 539, 1795; AldV 13.1 [Nap] 454).

I have spent some time outlining the importance of the term *read* as applied to gold because I am convinced that it is this term which provides us with the clue to the meaning of *æpplede gold*. For this word *read* is also applied to the word *æppel* (from which the adjective *æpplede* is probably derived).<sup>25</sup> *Read* is applied to *æppel* four times in the extant corpus.<sup>26</sup> The collocation occurs twice in King Alfred's Old English translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care* (CP 15.95.1 and 15.95.4) and twice in glosses to Aldhelm's *De virginitate* (AldV 1 [Goossens] 547 and AldV 13.1 [Nap] 463).<sup>27</sup> What makes this a clue of surprising interest is that in none of these instances does the word *æppel* refer to the fruit which we commonly designate by the term 'apple' – 'the round firm fleshy fruit of a Rosaceous tree (*Pyrus Malus*)' (OED). The *reade appla* of the *Pastoral Care* and the *De virginitate* are pomegranates: *mala punica*. In the

<sup>25</sup> See J. Wright and E. M. Wright, *Old English Grammar*, 3rd edition (Oxford, 1925), sect. 624. This hypothesis saves having to posit a verb \**æplian*.

<sup>26</sup> Once in a medical recipe a leech is instructed to 'nim ... hwitne æppel þe þonne gyt ne readige' ('take a white "apple" that is not yet ripe') (Med 1.1 [de Vriend] 90). In this case the *æppel* is a mulberry or blackberry.

<sup>27</sup> Both of the manuscripts which contain these glosses were from Abingdon originally, the glosses in Oxford, Bodleian Library Digby 146 (edited by Napier) being copied from those in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 1650 (Van den Gheyn 1520) (edited by Goossens).

*Pastoral Care* the *reade appla* are pomegranates embroidered around the hem of the high priest's robe. The *mala punica*, glossed *reade appla*, of the *De virginitate* occur in the introductory section of the work (chap. 9), in a passage which compares silver with gold, marble with a red gem, wool with taffeta and silk, and pomegranates with dates. (Actually, Aldhelm prefers dates to pomegranates because they are sweeter, but the Latin glossator of the manuscript, now Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 1650 [Van den Gheyn 1520] pronounces them *dulce multum* and adds that they are 'magnum quasi duas pugnas aliquotiens' ['sometimes as big as two fists'].)

Because the occurrences of *reade appla* that have come down to us always mean 'pomegranates', it is possible that the pomegranate is the fruit which lies at the heart of the metaphor *æpplede gold*. There are some cautions necessary in accepting this interpretation, but there are also some good reasons for doing so. One drawback is that four occurrences of a term is not a large number from which to draw conclusions. We cannot be certain that the fruit *Pyrus Malus* was not also, at least in some variety, fit to be called *read*. On the other hand, the terms *mala granata*, *mala punica* and the gloss *genus pomorum* suggest that the ancient world thought apples and pomegranates belonged to the same family; that the Anglo-Saxons used the term *read* as equivalent to *punica* suggests that *read* would distinguish a pomegranate from an ordinary apple.

A second objection might claim that Anglo-Saxons would probably have had no immediate knowledge of pomegranates, since they are a tropical fruit. This is an interesting but ultimately unimportant objection. Both Aldhelm and Alfred travelled to Rome and may have seen pomegranates on their travels; the glossators, who term them also *affricanisc*, *gecyrnlode* and *corn* as well as *reade appla*, also seem to be familiar with them, but both Aldhelm and Alfred (following Gregory) give a detailed description of the fruit, and the glossators' knowledge might be book-learned.<sup>28</sup> Whether the knowledge of pomegranates is first- or secondhand, it spans a period of about 400 years, from the late seventh to the late eleventh centuries, from Aldhelm to the latest glossator, with Alfred's translation of the *Pastoral Care* at the midpoint. If the pomegranate lies at the heart of the metaphor *æpplede gold*, it matters not whether its creator had ever seen the original fruit: a pomegranate of the imagination is as useful a source for metaphor as one held in the hand. With either the *De virginitate* or the *Pastoral Care* to hand, a not unlikely eventuality, a poet would have had adequate stimulation for his creative imagination.

There are other arguments in favor of this interpretation. First, although to our way of thinking pomegranates are frequently 'redder' than gold, the Anglo-

<sup>28</sup> There is also a description of pomegranates in Isidore, *Etymologiae* 17.7.6.

Saxons did not hesitate to class them in the same color category, and there is no doubt that they share a considerable similarity in appearance, in sheen and in shading. Perhaps no other fruit could so easily be mistaken for a 'golden apple'.

Second, the contexts in the *De virginitate* and *Pastoral Care* in which pomegranates are mentioned have an exotic flavor. In the former they belong with precious metals and jewels, royal purple taffeta and silken robes. In the latter they are embroidered in purple and crimson threads at the hem of the high priest's robe, alternating with bells of pure gold; the garment is worn with an ephod and pectoral of the same rich colors interwoven with gold strips and adorned with precious stones set in gold mesh (Exod 39). The association of pomegranates with gold and other luxuries suggests that the fruit is as romantic as gold itself and a metaphor which links the two is well suited to the exotic tenor of *Juliana*, *Elene* and *The Phoenix*.

There is one further reason why an interpretation of *æpplede gold* which stresses surface appearance rather than shape is preferable. Although in *Juliana* *æpplede gold* is parallel to *beagas*, the immediate contexts of the other two poems in which it occurs place it parallel to *maþmas* (*Elene* 1259) and to *æhtgestreon* and *frætwe* (*Phoenix* 506). These three words are non-specific words meaning 'treasures' or 'possessions'. For this reason, an interpretation of *æpplede gold* which stresses the luxurious appearance of the finest possible gold, no matter what its shape, is preferable. What are given out over the *beorsetle* 'beer bench' in the *winsele* 'wine hall' (*Juliana*) and *medohealle* 'mead hall' (*Elene*) are the lord's choicest riches, whose actual shapes are far less significant than the nature and quality of the materials with which they are made;<sup>29</sup> what the flame destroys at the Last Judgment (*Phoenix*) are all man's earthly possessions, even the most precious.

It is perhaps unfortunate that the only person known to have made use of the phrase in the last millennium was so steeped in classical imagery that he used it to mean 'golden apple'. It is probable that Browning's phrase is an independent coinage; it is also probable that the *appled gold* of 'Red Cotton Night-Cap Country' is as far removed in meaning as it is in time from its puzzling ancestor.

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<sup>29</sup> Section (xi) notes many different shapes into which gold might be formed, but it is important to realize that what dictated the manufacture in gold of all these different objects was not so much the shape into or on to which the gold could be worked, but the desire to make any object, no matter what its shape, into an *objet d'art*. Thus, although the form of a golden brooch, calf or thread is important, it is the color and brilliance of their appearance that give them their ultimate value and significance.

CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY AND THE RENEWAL OF  
PHILOSOPHICAL AND SCIENTIFIC STUDIES  
IN THE EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY:  
THE *CAPITA 150* OF GREGORY PALAMAS

*Robert E. Sinkewicz, C.S.B.*

THE *Capita 150* are well known to students of Byzantine theology for their summary statement of the doctrinal teaching of Gregory Palamas on the question of the divine substance and the uncreated energies; and for many years this was one of the very few published works of the great hesychast doctor.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, a large section from the early part of the work has been almost universally ignored.

In mediaeval studies generally and in Byzantine studies particularly, there has been a tendency to relegate theology to the narrowly restricted domain of a specialty. Byzantinists have indeed begun to appreciate the value of saints' lives for the understanding of Byzantine culture, although the current sociological and anthropological reading of these texts often fails to recognize that these are, first and foremost, theological documents. Few Byzantinists ever take the trouble to read works of what might be called 'high theology' and fewer still have shown any enthusiasm for wading through the many weighty tomes written by the Palamite and anti-Palamite theologians. The blame for this state of affairs should be placed largely on the shoulders of the theological specialists who have not communicated and interpreted the importance of their specialty to the larger community of Byzantinists. Confessional concerns have been too much of a preoccupation, to the detriment of the discipline of theology.

The *Capita 150* of Gregory Palamas is a good example of this situation. The focus of scholarly interest has been concentrated on the final two thirds of the work (c. 64-150) where the principal concern was the controversial issue of the

<sup>1</sup> The best printed edition of the *Capita 150* remains that found in PG 150.1117-1226. As the chapters are sufficiently brief, only their numbering will be cited. Abbreviations for periodical names are the standard ones as they are found, e.g., in H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 2 vols. (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 12/5.1-2; Munich, 1978), 1.xiii-xxii.

ineffable distinction between the divine substance and the uncreated energies. The early chapters were passed over by theologians because their subject matter was natural science and philosophy or non-controversial theological discussion. Byzantinists have paid little attention to the *Capita 150* because it is a theological work and the early chapters appeared to show no intrinsic scientific or philosophical merit.

In the area of theology the result has been a failure to appreciate the key role played by theological anthropology in Palamite doctrine, especially in its mature form in the *Capita 150*.<sup>2</sup> On the other side, Byzantinists have missed an opportunity to observe and analyze the interaction between Christian theology and the renewed interest in the Hellenic science and philosophy of antiquity. The general monastic reaction against this profane wisdom has long been acknowledged by Byzantinists. Unfortunately, this monkish reaction has become a cliché, rather than a phenomenon worthy of further exploration.

Palamas opened his discussion of profane wisdom on the occasion of his controversy with Barlaam the Calabrian.<sup>3</sup> However, both in the *Triads in Defence of the Holy Hesychasts*, written at that time,<sup>4</sup> and, later, in the *Capita 150* Palamas was replying not only to Barlaam's use of the profane sciences but also to the more widespread contemporary interest in Hellenic wisdom. To some extent, Barlaam was merely an example of how seriously one could go wrong. Nor was Gregory's response an absolute rejection of the secular sciences; he did in fact allow them a place, albeit a limited one. Finally, Palamas had something very positive to say about man and the human endeavour. Palamism cannot justly be qualified as anti-humanist.

This paper proposes to analyze in detail the most important features of the first twenty-nine chapters of the *Capita 150* in order to determine the specific Hellenic theories Palamas objected to, the nature of his response, his own use of Aristotelian philosophy, and his understanding of the limits of natural knowledge and the superiority of spiritual gnosis. Gregory's attention was ultimately directed towards the pseudo-sciences of astrology and Chaldean philosophy which were currently major interests of Nikephoros Gregoras. Finally, a short text of Nikolaos Kabasilas offers an opportunity for comparison of the views of two major fourteenth-century Byzantine theologians on the subject of profane learning.

<sup>2</sup> I have treated this subject in some detail in a forthcoming article.

<sup>3</sup> See R. E. Sinkewicz, 'The Doctrine of the Knowledge of God in the Early Writings of Barlaam the Calabrian', *Mediaeval Studies* 44 (1982) 181-242.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. J. Meyendorff, *Grégoire Palamas. Défense des saints hésychastes. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes* (Spicilegium sacrum lovaniense, Études et documents 30-31; Louvain, 1959; rpt. with revisions, 1973).

The early part of the *Capita 150* presents two *De mundo* accounts, the Hellenic version and the Christian one. The treatment of subjects follows the old definition of cosmos as 'a system composed of heaven and earth and the natures contained in them'.<sup>5</sup> Thus, Palamas covered the areas of the celestial sphere, then the terrestrial sphere, and finally, the topic of rational nature. The first two chapters serve as a sort of preface where Palamas affirmed that the world had a beginning, depends on a First Cause, and also will have an end, or rather, a transformation. In his discussion of the celestial sphere (c. 3-7) Palamas was primarily concerned with the issue of the World Soul. According to the Hellenes (whom the text does not identify), the heaven revolves by the nature of the World Soul.<sup>6</sup> This soul serves as the creator, guide and controller of the entire sensible world, of our souls, and indeed of all souls. It has its generation from Mind, which in turn is distinct from the Highest One or God.<sup>7</sup>

In his refutation, Gregory evoked Aristotelian tenets to demonstrate the absurdity of the Hellene position and himself proposed a more or less Aristotelian account as an acceptable alternative. His principal sources were Aristotle's *De caelo* and the *De anima*. For example, Palamas quoted the commonplace definition for the soul: 'The soul is the actuality of a body possessed of organs and having the potentiality for life.'<sup>8</sup> He then pointed out that neither the heaven, nor the earth, nor the elements in them are possessed of organs. And if they were, that would make them composite, whereas Aristotle asserted that the elements (and heaven itself, according to Palamas) are simple bodies.<sup>9</sup> Since the heaven has no member or part to serve as an organ, it can have no potentiality for life and therefore does not possess a soul.

Although the celestial body could not be moved by the nature of some mythical World Soul, Palamas did allow that it was moved by its own nature. It is the highest<sup>10</sup> and lightest body, encompassing all other bodies and leaving only the void beyond itself.<sup>11</sup> The celestial body thus turns back upon itself in a revolving motion and does so by its own nature.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Pseudo-Aristotle, *De mundo* 2.2 (391b9); Cleomedes, *De motu circulari corporum caelestium* 1.1.9-10, ed. H. Ziegler (Leipzig, 1891); further references in R. Goulet, *Cléomède, Théorie élémentaire* (Histoire des doctrines de l'antiquité classique 3; Paris, 1980), p. 178 n. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Palamas referred to the World Soul with the terms *κοσμική ψυχή*, *οὐράνιος ἢ παγκόσμιος ψυχή*, and once as *κοσμική ψυχή καὶ ἀστροφόρος*.

<sup>7</sup> Palamas must be referring here to the primal triad of Neoplatonic philosophy. Cf. Plotinus, *Enn.* 5.1.

<sup>8</sup> This is based on Aristotle, *De anima* 2.1 (412a27-28 and 412b5-6).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 1.2 (268b26-29), 3.1 (298a29-31), 3.8 (306b9-11).

<sup>10</sup> Aristotle, *De caelo* 1.3 (270b20-25).

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.* 1.9 (278b8-279a12).

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.* 2.3 (268a11-13).

Behind this there is of course a theological concern: 'The only rational soul is the human one, which is not celestial but supercelestial, not because of its location but by its own nature, inasmuch as it is an intelligent substance' (c. 4).<sup>13</sup>

In chapters 8-14 Palamas turned to the topic of the terrestrial sphere. After a transitional chapter on the winds in which he reiterated his denial of the World Soul (c. 8), Gregory launched an attack on the Hellenic theory regarding the habitable zones of the earth. According to this theory there are two temperate zones and, when each of these is divided in half, the result is four habitable zones on earth and four races of men. Gregory's description of the earth sphere is close to the classical one, although there is some confusion of terminology. It is the notion of four distinct and separated races of men which offended Palamas. The problem would seem to lie with his sense of the uniqueness of man and of God's plan of salvation.

At this point, however, Palamas did not resort to theological arguments. Instead, he produced a rather unusual cosmography of his own. His starting point was a quotation from the pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *De mundo*: 'There are five elements, located in five spherical regions, the lesser element always being encompassed by the greater, earth by water, water by air, air by fire, fire by aether, and this constitutes the world.'<sup>14</sup> Because of their different densities, the spheres enclose one another with earth at the centre and then water, air, fire and aether, as one moves outwards. Since the water sphere is larger than the earth sphere, they both cannot have the same centre, or else the entire surface of the earth would be covered with water, which is obviously not the case. The centre of the sphere of water must in fact lie below that of the earth.

Palamas then proceeded to determine the exact mathematical relationship of the two spheres. The one habitable region on earth occupies one tenth of its surface: that is, the earth has five zones and half of one of these is habitable. If the water sphere, then, is fitted around the earth onto this tenth part of the surface, the diameter of the exterior sphere will be twice that of the interior sphere, and the exterior sphere will be eight times the size of the interior one and will have its centre at the lowest extremity of the interior sphere. This is aptly illustrated by the diagram that Palamas included in his text for the convenience of his readers.<sup>15</sup> In reference to this diagram he indicated that the diameter of the outer circle (or sphere) is twice that of the inner one. Palamas then explained that there are mathematical proofs to show that the sphere with twice the diameter is eight times the size of the sphere with half the diameter. It

<sup>13</sup> i.e., *νοετὰ οὐσία*.

<sup>14</sup> *De mundo* 3 (393a1-4). Palamas altered the text slightly.

<sup>15</sup> PG 150.1129.

follows then that an eighth part of the water sphere is merged with the earth sphere, thus explaining the existence of springs, rivers, seas and marshes.

Although it is difficult to be certain about the source for Gregory's mathematical proof, one need look no further than Euclid's *Elements* 12.18 for one possibility.<sup>16</sup> Euclidean geometry was a standard subject in Byzantine schools and was taught as part of the *quadrivium*.

Palamas, therefore, concluded that 'besides the world-region we live in there is no other' (c. 14). From this conclusion he moved on to treat rational nature, focusing at first on man's faculties of knowing (c. 15-20). Behind this, Gregory's purpose was to underscore the inadequacies of the means of natural knowledge at man's disposal and the corresponding potentiality for error in any purely human science. Here lies the real problem of the Hellenic *De mundo* speculations.

Bodies in the material world are intimately associated with their forms and these in turn produce impressions or images in the five senses. At this point the impressions are still inseparable from the corporeal forms, but the imaginative faculty receives these images and separates them from the material order. These images can then remain in the imagination even when bodies are no longer present. Finally, the mind ponders the images present in the imagination and formulates thoughts. However, because of the presence of the passions, error is an almost ineluctable possibility.

But there is yet a further problem with the knowledge attained through the ordinary human faculties. Even if such knowledge succeeds in avoiding error, it has serious limitations: it is purely natural and cannot attain the things of the Spirit. To illustrate his point Gregory presented the Christian version of the *De mundo* account in chapters 21 to 29. Denying the Hellenic belief in the pre-existence of matter, Palamas asserted the doctrine of an *ex nihilo* creation in six days. But in reference to the opening words of Genesis ('In the beginning God created heaven and earth') he explained that all things were created *at once* (*ἀθρόον*).<sup>17</sup> Heaven and earth were created as 'a sort of all-containing receptacle of matter, bearing all things in potency' (c. 21).<sup>18</sup> The work of creation was then

<sup>16</sup> *Euclidis Elementa* 12.18, ed. J. L. Heiberg and E. S. Stamatis, 2nd rev. edition, 4 (Leipzig, 1973), pp. 134-36.

<sup>17</sup> Gen 1:1. For *ἀθρόον* see Basil, *Hexaemeron* 1.6 (PG 29.16c-17A) (SC 26bis): ἡ τάχα διὰ τὸ ἀκαριαῖον καὶ ἄχρονον τῆς δημιουργίας εἴρηται τό, 'Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν, ἐπειδὴ ἡμέρες τι καὶ ἀδιάστατον ἡ ἀρχή... ἵνα τοῖνυν διδασκώμεν ὁμοῦ τῇ βουλῇσει τοῦ θεοῦ ἀχρόνως συνυφεστάναι τὸν κόσμον, εἴρηται τό, 'Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν... 'Ἐν κεφαλαίῳ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός, τουτέστιν, ἀθρόως καὶ ἐν ὀλίγῳ. In this last sentence Basil quotes Aquila's version of Gen 1:1. Compare Gregory of Nyssa, *Hexaemeron* (PG 44.72AB).

<sup>18</sup> In *Ti*. 51A-B, Plato describes the Receptacle (*ὑποδοχή*) as ἀνόρατον εἶδος τι καὶ ἄμορφον, πανδεχές. Cf. Palamas, *Homily* 43.3 (ed. S. K. Oikonomos, *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρός ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης τοῦ Παλαμᾶ 'Ομιλίας κβ'* [Athens, 1861], p. 135.20-21): πᾶσαν γὰρ ἰδέαν αἰσθητῶν τε καὶ αἰσθητικῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐμφυτεύσας ὁ θεός τῇ γῇ.

one of ordering and adorning the universe: '[God] established these things and their proportion to one another in due order so that the all may truly be called the cosmos' (c. 23).

The superiority of spiritual gnosis in the *De mundo* doctrine becomes most evident when rational creation comes under consideration. It was a key concern of Palamas in the first sixty-three chapters of the *Capita 150* to reaffirm the high dignity of man and the privilege of his place before God. According to c. 24, the entire sensible world was created for the sake of man and to him was given the stewardship over all creatures. As body and soul, man belongs not just to this material world but also to the spiritual realm. Created in the image of the triune God, man is capable of both knowing and receiving God. So high is the dignity of human nature that it was deemed worthy of being united to God in a single hypostasis in the Incarnation (c. 24). Chapters 24 and 30-63 are devoted, first of all, to a lengthy and very significant elaboration of the doctrine of the dignity of man and its foundation in the divine image in which he was created, and secondly, to man's quest for healing and for the rediscovery of his dignity together with the restoration of the likeness of God in the soul.

Gregory's valuation of natural intellectual pursuits was by no means entirely negative, even though he insisted that the Christian was obliged to recognize these as purely natural attainments. Among the various subjects of τὰ φυσικά discussed in the *Capita 150* Palamas allotted a certain prominence to astronomical phenomena. For example, in chapter 19 he described the process of natural knowledge in terms of the investigation of certain phenomena related to the sun and the moon:

On the basis of sense perception, imagination and intellection you could arrive at an understanding that the moon gets its light from the sun, and that the moon's orbit is quite near the earth and is much below that of the sun: that is, if you should gaze with your senses at the moon which follows upon the setting sun and which is illuminated in that small part which is turned towards the sun and which then recedes little by little in the following days and is illuminated to a greater extent until the process becomes reversed, and in turn, as the moon little by little draws near the other part, it gradually diminishes in its light and moves away from the place where it originally received illumination.

In the following chapter (c. 20) he listed other astronomical phenomena that can be investigated through natural gnosis:

We know not only the phenomena of the moon but also those of the sun, both the solar eclipses and their nodes, the parallaxes of the other celestial planets and the distances separating them and the manifold configurations formed thereby, and the phenomena of the heavens in general.

Such detailed references to astronomical science are found not only in the *Capita 150* but elsewhere.<sup>19</sup>

Although Palamas attributed no evil *per se* to the study of natural science and astronomy, he hastened to point out that the Hellenes failed to discern the true order of the universe and so fell into error. Not only have they denied the supreme sovereignty of the Creator, but they dishonoured our nature by their refusal to recognize man's high place in the order of creation. They have endowed the insensate stars with intelligence and worship them as superior and inferior gods, entrusting them with dominion over the universe (c. 26). In chapter 28 Palamas went still further:

But natural scientists, astronomers, and those who boast of knowing everything have been unable to understand any of the things just mentioned on the basis of their philosophy and have considered the ruler of the intelligible darkness and all the rebellious powers under him not only superior to themselves but even gods and they honoured them with temples, offered them sacrifices, and submitted themselves to their most destructive oracles by which they were fittingly much deluded through unholy holy things and defiling purifications, through those who inspire abominable presumption and through prophets and prophetesses who lead them very far astray from the real truth.

In chapter 29, when he wished once again to emphasize the superiority of spiritual gnosis and saving knowledge, Gregory yet again referred to astronomical studies as a primary preoccupation of the Hellenes. Knowing our weakness and searching for healing stands far superior to all their investigations into the magnitudes of the stars, the reasons for natural phenomena, the origins of things below, the circuits of things above, their changes and risings, their fixed positions and retrograde motions, their disjunctions and conjunctions.

Why did astronomy figure so prominently in the backdrop of the discussions of the early part of the *Capita 150*? First of all, the study of Ptolemaic astronomy was enjoying an important revival almost from the beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>20</sup> The prime mover in this enterprise was the Great Logothete, Theodore Metochites, aided and abetted by his devoted student, Nikephoros Gregoras. Barlaam, of anti-Palamite fame, also spent time on astronomical subjects in rivalry with Gregoras, the first of his many enemies. For some three years Metochites poured over the difficulties of Ptolemy's *Almagest* and in 1316 produced an updated handbook of Ptolemaic astronomy,

<sup>19</sup> *Ep 1 Akindynos 11* (Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ Συγγράμματα 1, ed. P. K. Chrestou [Thessalonica, 1962], pp. 215.21-216.6); *Homily 17* (PG 151.224<sup>BC</sup>).

<sup>20</sup> See A. Tihon, 'L'astronomie byzantine (du v<sup>e</sup> au xv<sup>e</sup> siècle)', *Byzantion* 51 (1981) 603-24. For a general discussion of the Palaeologan cultural revival see most recently, I. Ševčenko, 'The Palaeologan Renaissance' in *Renaissances before the Renaissance. Cultural Revivals of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. W. Treadgold (Stanford, 1984), pp. 144-71.

the *Στοιχείωσις ἀστρονομική*. Following in his mentor's footsteps, Gregoras made some important contributions of his own: viz., in regard to the prediction of solar and lunar eclipses, the calculation of the date of Easter, and the construction of the astrolabe. Whatever Gregoras could do, Barlaam thought he could do better. The Calabrian made his own calculations for predicting eclipses and for determining the date of Easter.<sup>21</sup>

On another, more lowly plain, astronomy continued to have its part in the *quadrivium* whenever this was taught. The ever popular *Anonymi logica et quadrivium* written in 1008 appears to have been widely copied and read in the fourteenth century.<sup>22</sup> Towards the end of the thirteenth century George Pachymeres (1242-ca. 1310) composed his own *quadrivium* textbook, the *Σύνταγμα τῶν τεσσάρων μαθημάτων*. In the mid-1330s Gregoras himself opened a school where he taught the traditional *quadrivium* of the sciences.<sup>23</sup>

Gregory Palamas was born into an aristocratic family with close connections to the imperial palace. When Gregory's father died, the emperor, Andronikos II, undertook to oversee the young man's education. From the biographical *Encomium* of Palamas by Philotheos Kokkinos, it appears that Gregory excelled in his secular studies, easily mastering grammar, rhetoric, physics, logic and all the subjects treated by Aristotle. He was much admired by all the teachers and masters of oratory. When he was seventeen years old (ca. 1313), Palamas, at the emperor's invitation, gave a public display of his expertise in Aristotelian logic. This merited him high praise from Theodore Metochites.<sup>24</sup>

Palamas received his education within the milieu of the great Byzantine literati of his day and there is every likelihood that he took instruction from

<sup>21</sup> On Metochites see I. Ševčenko, *Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos* (Corpus bruxellense historiae byzantinae, Subsidia 3; Brussels, 1962), pp. 68-87, 109-17. For Gregoras see H. van Dieten, *Nikephoros Gregoras, Rhomäische Geschichte I* (Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur 4; Stuttgart, 1973), pp. 50-52. A list of Barlaam's scientific treatises can be found in R. E. Sinkewicz, 'The Solutions Addressed to George Lapithes by Barlaam the Calabrian and Their Philosophical Context', *Mediaeval Studies* 43 (1981) 185-86. Palamas was well aware of Barlaam's interest in astronomy for he quoted the Calabrian as saying, 'Not only do we busy ourselves with the mysteries of nature and measure the vault of heaven and explore the opposing movements of the stars together with their conjunctions, phases and risings, but we pursue the consequences that follow therefrom and we are proud of it' (*Triad* 1.1.q [5.21-26], ed. Meyendorff, *Défense*).

<sup>22</sup> J. L. Heiberg, ed., *Anonymi Logica et quadrivium* (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab., Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser 15.1; Copenhagen, 1929). Heiberg lists six manuscripts from the fourteenth century, but his list is seriously incomplete.

<sup>23</sup> *διὰ τοι τοῦτο καὶ διδασκαλεῖον αὐτὸς ἀνέωξα* (P. A. M. Leone, ed., *Nicephori Gregorae Epistulae*, 2 vols. [Matino, 1982-83], Ep 114.62-63). Cf. R. Guillard, *Nicéphore Grégoras. Correspondance* (Paris, 1927; rpt. 1967), Ep 51.94-95.

<sup>24</sup> PG 151.559D-560A. Cf. J. Meyendorff, *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas* (Patristica sorbonensia 3; Paris, 1959), pp. 46-47.

Metochites himself. It is not surprising then that Palamas had some acquaintance with astronomical science.

This alone, however, does not fully explain the background of the early chapters of the *Capita* 150. The other important factor was the close association, or perhaps better, the confusion between astronomy and astrology. Gregoras was well aware of this problem. Several of his letters dating from the 1330s refer to the circulation of outrageous astrological predictions which gave a convenient pretext to those who wished to denigrate the science of astronomy. Some of these curious prophecies were apparently western in origin. The conjunction of Kronos and Ares under the same sign, preceded by a solar eclipse, presaged the unleashing of the winds and a terrible destruction to follow. Gregoras inveighed against the silliness of such predictions and their total lack of any veracity. In contrast, his own predictions of solar and lunar eclipses stood on the solid foundation of Ptolemaic astronomy.<sup>25</sup> Beyond this strictly scientific level, Gregoras allowed that the prediction of future events was indeed possible, but only under the influence of divine inspiration (*ἐπιπνοία θεία*).<sup>26</sup>

Although there were occasions when Gregoras came out clearly against astrology, he may not have been entirely free from some of the opinions associated with that pseudo-science. In a letter to an unknown addressee Gregoras spoke of the relation between celestial and terrestrial phenomena as a *κοινωνίαν εὐφυῶς τῶν ἄνω καὶ κάτω*. The influence of astral phenomena on earthly events is a fundamental tenet of astrology based on the notion that a universal sympathy exists between heaven and earth. However, the actual examples given by Gregoras are limited to phenomena which he would have considered as empirically observable, 'scientific' relationships: e.g., the influence of the sun on the seasons, on fruits, changes in the moon having a good or bad influence on sickness or causing the destruction of seeds and plants, and sailors' observations that the moon effects changes of temperature and changes in the winds.

But there are also less innocent examples. In the section of his *History* devoted to the reign of Michael VIII Palaeologus, Gregoras recounted the following incident:<sup>27</sup>

At this time the moon overshadowed the sun, just as it was passing beyond the fourth part of the Twins, about the third hour before noon on the 25th of May in the year 6775 [A.D. 1267]. Thus the full eclipse was approximately twelve

<sup>25</sup> See especially Leone, Ep 40 (Pepagomenos) 2:134-39.

<sup>26</sup> Leone, Ep 53 (Chrysoloras) 2:164-69 (especially 168-69). In Ep 105 (the Protosebastos) 2:270-76, Gregoras was defending astronomy against its detractors.

<sup>27</sup> *Hist.* 4.8(2) (Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae 19; Bonn, 1829), 1.108-109.

digits.<sup>28</sup> During the time of the eclipse darkness covered the earth for so long that many of the stars appeared.<sup>29</sup> This was a portent of the most dire and destructive misfortunes which the Romans were to suffer at the hands of the Turks, for the oppression of the people which began from that time on has not found an end, but has been continuously mounting towards a crisis little by little. That such occurrences among the celestial lights foretell the manifestation of earthly sufferings, I think no one at all would doubt, unless someone insisted on being vainly and excessively disputatious. And if one were to attempt to persuade this man with arguments, when events occurring at one time or another on the stage of this world were unable to persuade him, he would be foolish and quite tiresome for his attempt to instill understanding in those who are thoroughly hard-headed. What would hold true for the body of an individual man would also hold for the entire body of the world. For the world is a single cohesive body, like man, made up of parts and members. Just as suffering in the head or neck shoots out distress to the leg and ankle, so too in the body of the world the changes that occur in the celestial lights have an impact on the earth and display their effect.

In the text there is no indication that Gregoras was reporting a popular, commonly accepted interpretation of the event, distinct from his own. His brief explanation of the astrological doctrine of sympathy seems to be offered as an acceptable opinion.

In his commentary on the *De insomniis* of Synesius, Gregoras went one step further. Synesius had made the following statement:<sup>30</sup>

Let the foregoing be proof that divinations are amongst the best of the vocations of man; and if all things are signs appearing through all things, inasmuch as they are brothers in a single living creature, the cosmos, so also they are written characters of every kind, just as of those in a book some are Phoenician, some Egyptian, and others Assyrian.

This was the text that Gregoras commented on:<sup>31</sup>

As he too is a Hellene in his opinions, Synesius expounds the same doctrines as they do and claims that the world possesses a soul (*κόσμον ἐμψυχον*). He says: 'Each

<sup>28</sup> i.e., it was a near total eclipse. A digit is a twelfth part of the apparent diameter of the sun or the moon. Cf. Cleomedes, *De motu* 2.3.1 (172) and the commentary by Goulet, p. 218 n. 311.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Marinus, *Vita Procli* 37, in V. Cousin, ed., *Procli philosophi platonici Opera inedita* (Paris, 1864), p. 64.30-34.

<sup>30</sup> *De insomniis* 2.131D-132A, ed. Terzaghi. The commentary was probably completed by 1328. Work on the *History* was begun ca. 1328/29. Cf. H.-V. Beyer, 'Eine Chronologie der Lebensgeschichte des Nikephoros Gregoras', *JÖB* 27 (1978) 133, item no. 21; idem, 'Nikephoros Gregoras als Theologe und sein erstes Auftreten gegen die Hesychasten', *JÖB* 20 (1971) 171. But see I. Ševčenko, 'Some Autographs of Nicephorus Gregoras', *Zbornik Radova Vizantoloshkog Instituta* 8 (1964) 439-42 [= *Society and Intellectual Life in Late Byzantium* (London, 1981), XII].

<sup>31</sup> PG 149.534B-535A.

living being in the world is composed of parts and members which share a commonality and affinity (*κοινωνίαν καὶ συγγένειαν*) with one another. In like manner, the world which is made up of heaven and earth and what lies between them is a living being possessed of a soul (*ζῶον ἐμψυχον*), sharing activities and experiences similar to those of each living being. And as its parts possess an affinity and fraternal relationship with one another through one another to a greater or lesser degree they all give indications of future events.<sup>32</sup>

To be fair, it must be said that Gregoras was ascribing opinions to Synesius without making any commitment to them on his own part. However, the similarity of terminology and ideas between this text and that from the *History* quoted above suggests that Gregoras may have been taking these doctrines seriously.

The link now established between astronomy, astrology and the doctrine of the World Soul goes a long way towards explaining the concerns of Gregory Palamas in the *Capita 150*.<sup>33</sup> But there is yet another link to be added to the chain. Gregoras held to the view that 'it was not right for a wise and learned man to refrain from the examination and exploration of the reasons for all deeds, words and practices to the greatest extent possible.'<sup>34</sup> In this spirit, Gregoras took up the work of commenting on the *De insomniis* of Synesius. In the course of this enterprise he took a special interest in what Synesius had to say about the *Chaldean Oracles*. Throughout his research and the resulting commentary Gregoras made extensive use of the writings of Michael Psellus on the *Chaldean Oracles*.<sup>35</sup> Such a contemporary interest in the *Oracles* and the theurgic practices associated with them would explain many of the references to occult beliefs and rites in the early part of the *Capita 150*. Theurgy is based, in part at least, on the notion of a sympathetic relationship between particular animals, plants, minerals, etc. and their corresponding gods.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>32</sup> This is not a direct quotation from Synesius. Gregoras was putting words into his mouth.

<sup>33</sup> Note the terms that Gregory used for the World Soul in c. 3 and 4: viz. *κοσμική ψυχή καὶ ἀστροφόρος* (c. 3) and *οὐράνιος ἢ παγκόσμιος ψυχή* (c. 4). Both expressions suggest that Palamas was well aware of the connection between astrology and the doctrine of the World Soul.

<sup>34</sup> PG 149.524B-525A. Although Gregoras was here speaking of Synesius, there can be little question that this Palaeologan scholar shared the same attitudes. Cf. H.-V. Beyer, *Nikephoros Gregoras, Antirrhetika I* (Wiener byzantinistische Studien 12; Vienna, 1976), pp. 27-28.

<sup>35</sup> Many passages in the commentary are little more than paraphrases of Psellus' *Ἐξήγησις τῶν χαλδαίων ῥητῶν*. E.g., the following passages in Gregoras have exact parallels in Psellus: Gregoras, PG 149.584AB, 619B, 619B, 540AB, 540BC; the corresponding passages in Psellus are PG 122.1124B, 1141B, 1144D-45A, 1148C, 1133A [É. Des Places, ed., *Oracles chaldaïques* (Paris, 1971), pp. 161-86]. It is worth noting that of the 6 manuscripts that Des Places used for his edition 2 are from the thirteenth century and 3 from the fourteenth. L. G. Westerink noted the dependency of Gregoras on Psellus some years ago: 'Proclus, Procopius, Psellus', *Mnemosyne*, 3rd Ser., 10 (1942) 280 [= *Texts and Studies in Neoplatonism and Byzantine Literature* (Amsterdam, 1980), I].

<sup>36</sup> See the classic essay on theurgy by E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley,

In chapter 3 of the *Capita 150* Palamas questioned the Hellenes who held the belief that the World Soul extended its presence into the sphere of the earth and the regions immediately surrounding it. This belief enabled them to consider as animate any stone or metal and also the four elements themselves, namely, earth, water, air and fire. The universal presence of the World Soul was another way of explaining the sympathy between the heavenly and earthly spheres which allowed for astrological predictions or magical manipulations.

Chapter 28 contains some even more obvious references to theurgic practices. There Palamas had spoken of pagan temples, sacrificial offerings, demonic oracles, unholy rites, defiling purifications, and the false guidance offered by prophets and prophetesses. One of these phrases, *καθαρμῶν μολυνόντων*, can be associated with a reference made by Palamas some years earlier to *καθαρμοῖς χαλδαϊκοῖς*.<sup>37</sup> This indicates that Palamas was referring to a contemporary interest in the *Chaldean Oracles*.

These references in the *Capita 150* have a close parallel in a passage of the *Triads* where Palamas railed against the reputed wisdom of the Hellenes:<sup>38</sup>

And so, caught up with that senseless and foolish wisdom and untutored learning, they maligned both God and nature, raising the latter to lordship and deposing the former from lordship, at least as far as they were concerned. They bestowed the divine name on demons, but they were so far from discovering the knowledge of beings, which was important to them and the object of their zeal, that they referred to inanimate things as animate and claimed that these participated in a soul superior to ours. They called irrational things rational, since they were capable of receiving a human soul. They said the demons are superior to us and – o, the impiety of it! – our creators. They claimed as coeternal with God and uncreated and without beginning, not only matter but also what they call the soul of the entire world and the intelligent beings not clothed with the thickness of the body and also our own souls.

Although the polemic against profane learning both in the early writings of Palamas and in the *Capita 150* had Barlaam as its ostensible object, it seems that there was also an underlying agenda. In the early fourteenth century these

1951), pp. 283-311 [p. 292: 'Each god has his sympathetic representative in the animal, the vegetable, and the mineral world, which is, or contains, a *σύμβολον* of its divine cause and is thus *en rapport* with the latter']. Byzantine superstition traditionally associated the magic of stones and plants with the planets. Cf. A. Delatte, 'Le traité des plantes planétaires d'un manuscrit de Leningrad' in *Mélanges Henri Grégoire* (Annales de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves de l'université de Bruxelles 9; Brussels, 1949), pp. 145-77.

<sup>37</sup> *Ep 1 Barlaam* 47 (*PS* 1:253.7). In the same paragraph Palamas quoted from the *Life of Proclus* by Marinus of Neapolis.

<sup>38</sup> *Triad* 1.1.18 (51.24-53.11).

allusions, which might readily escape us today, were undoubtedly quite transparent to Gregory's contemporaries. In a work probably very close in date to the *Capita 150* Nikolaos Kabasilas remembered very clearly the interests of Nikephoros Gregoras in the *Chaldean Oracles* and in the occult theories of Late Antiquity.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, the *Capita 150* were written about 1349-50,<sup>40</sup> just at the time when Gregoras was assuming the leadership of the anti-Palamite cause.<sup>41</sup> Therefore, it may not be unreasonable to suggest that Gregory Palamas was already launching an anonymous counter-attack against Gregoras in his *Capita 150* just as he had done against Barlaam in his first *Triad*.

In roughly the same period that saw the publication of the *Capita 150* Nikolaos Kabasilas was himself confronted with the problem of the compatibility between Christian holiness and the pursuit of profane learning. By the time of the final phase of the controversy Kabasilas had sided with the cause of the Palamites, although he wrote only one rather brief work on their behalf, against Nikephoros Gregoras.<sup>42</sup> However, he seems at first to have been reluctant to commit himself.<sup>43</sup>

Nikolaos Kabasilas was both a learned theologian and a man of profound piety, and yet he had no hesitation about engaging in philosophical and scientific studies. He wrote commentaries on the third book of Ptolemy's *Almagest* and on a portion of Aristotle's *Physics*.<sup>44</sup> He even had some acquaintance with Sceptic philosophy.<sup>45</sup> By far the majority of his writings, how-

<sup>39</sup> καὶ γὰρ καὶ χρησμολόγος τις εἶναι βούλεται δοκεῖν καὶ χαλδαϊκά τινα συνεῖρει καὶ μύθους καὶ ἐπιρροὰς πανταχοῦ καταχεῖ τῶν λόγων (A. Garzya, 'Un opusculé inédit de Nicolas Cabasilas', *Byzantion* 24 [1954] 528, ll. 110-112).

<sup>40</sup> The complex question of dating has been treated in detail in my forthcoming book on the *Capita 150*.

<sup>41</sup> See Beyer, 'Chronologie', *JÖB* 27 (1978) 136-38.

<sup>42</sup> Κατὰ τῶν τοῦ Γρηγοῦρα ληρημάτων λόγος, ed. Garzya, *Byzantion* 24 (1954) 524-32.

<sup>43</sup> David Disypatos had addressed a discourse to him earlier in an attempt to win him over. See D. Tsames, ed., *Δαβὶδ Δισυπάτου Λόγος κατὰ Βαρλαάμ καὶ Ἀκινδύνου πρὸς Νικόλαον Καβάσιλαν* (Βυζαντινὰ κείμενα καὶ μελέται 10; Thessalonica, 1973).

<sup>44</sup> For the commentary on Ptolemy there is only a sixteenth-century edition: ed. S. Grynaeus, *Claudii Ptolemaei Magnae constructionis, id est perfectae coelestium motuum pertractationis, lib. xiii. Theonis Alexandrini in eosdem commentariorum lib. xi* (Basel, 1538), pp. 131-94. The following manuscripts are known: Vaticanus gr. 198, fols. 318-340; Ottobonianus gr. 26, pp. 183 ff.; Marcianus gr. (Thesaurus antiquus) 310, 311, and 313; Monacensis gr. 482, fols. 91-92; Parisinus gr. 2398, fols. 78r-139v; Noremburgensis (Stadtbibliothek) gr. Cent. V, App. 8, fols. 189-215. There is only one manuscript for the Aristotle commentary: *Meteora, Μονὴ Βαρλαάμ* 202, fols. 62v-64r.

<sup>45</sup> The short treatise on the criterion of truth was published by L. Radermacher, 'Nicolai Cabasilae, Κατὰ τῶν λεγομένων περὶ τοῦ κριτηρίου τῆς ἀληθείας εἰ ἐστὶ παρὰ Πύρρονος τοῦ καταράτου' in *Natalicia Regis ... Guilelmi II... indicant universitatis rector et senatus* (Bonn, 1899), pp. 6-12. Radermacher used only ms. Paris. gr. 1213, fols. 285r-286v, but the text can also be found in Vindobonensis Theol. gr. 262, fols. 387v-389r.

ever, are religious in character. Although he was associated at various times in his career with hesychast theologians and, of course, their imperial champion, John Kantakouzenos, his own religious and theological writings bear a distinctive and original cast which cannot be completely assimilated to the hesychast model.<sup>46</sup> Because he was a layman for most of his career and because of his originality, his views on profane learning are worth considering in relation to those held by Gregory Palamas.<sup>47</sup>

Sometime between 1347 and 1349 Synadenos, a prelate (ὁσιτάριος) of the metropolitan church of Thessalonica, wrote to his friend Nikolaos Kabasilas in Constantinople. There had apparently been some discussion about the real merit of profane wisdom in relation to Christian holiness and Synadenos wanted his friend's opinion on the subject. Kabasilas replied:<sup>48</sup>

You asked how those who pursue virtue while neglecting reason are perfect. This is self-evident, for they are imperfect in that they are not also wise. Even though they are holy, nevertheless, they are lacking in the present life a certain human good which they were capable of acquiring, for anything is imperfect whenever the actuality is not realized for some good for which there was a potentiality. Men are in potentiality with respect to wisdom to the extent that they have a capacity for intelligence and understanding, unless perhaps they should receive wisdom and instruction through grace as was the case with the apostles. Men such as these are no longer imperfect. But men who have not received wisdom in this way are holy, on the one hand, for they have disciplined the passionate part of the soul, but, on the other hand, they are not yet wise and are in this respect imperfect so that they seek to learn what is necessary from the wise saints. St. Amphilochios, although he was ordained by angels and as far as regards his holiness he was inferior to no one, nevertheless, asked Basil the Great about what necessary actions to take, and Basil gave him instruction, setting out for him canons and laws.<sup>49</sup> But teaching is nothing other than the perfecting of the one taught, and perfecting applies to those who are still imperfect. Teaching is both a light and a guide, and a man who requires a guide and the eyes of others is blind in that respect. Though he sees in another part he possesses only one eye, and if

<sup>46</sup> There is of course no serious conflict or incompatibility between the theology of Kabasilas and that of the fourteenth-century Palamite hesychasts, but it is important to recognize and explore more thoroughly the distinctive characteristics of Kabasilas' work.

<sup>47</sup> A good summary of the life of Kabasilas with detailed references can be found in G. T. Dennis, ed., *The Letters of Manuel Palaeologus* (Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae 8; Washington, D.C., 1977), pp. xxx-xxxiv.

<sup>48</sup> P. Enepekides, ed., 'Der Briefwechsel des Mystikers Nikolaos Kabasilas, kommentierte Textausgabe', *BZ* 46 (1953) 35-36. For the dating of this letter see R.-J. Loenertz, 'Chronologie de Nicolas Cabasilas, 1345-1354', *OCP* 21 (1955) 214-15.

<sup>49</sup> *Vita Amphilochii ep. Iconiensis*, *BHG*<sup>3</sup> 1:72, auctore Symeone Metaphrasta, no. 3, PG 116.957A-960A (ordained by angels); no. 2, PG 116.956B (submitted questions on ecclesiastical problems to Basil); cf. *Vita antiqua*, *BHG*<sup>3</sup> 1:73, no. 1, PG 39.16A-17A (ordained by angels).

he should not have someone to guide him he becomes a complete laughingstock and a disgrace. Thus, they are apparently imperfect and indistinguishable from people with only one eye.

Apparently, Nikolaos thought that the subject deserved further elaboration, for he composed a short treatise on the same topic. As this work is little known, I give the translation in full.<sup>50</sup>

ARGUMENTS OF THOSE WHO WOULD PROVE THAT THE WISDOM ASSOCIATED WITH REASON  
IS FOLLY

1. Reason can lead towards the end proper to man. Without reason man can attain his proper and natural end, namely, God, and with reason it is possible not to attain it. Therefore, it contributes nothing to man with regard to his proper end. What makes no contribution towards the proper end for the one using it is folly. Reason, therefore, is folly.

2. Further, many have in this way become worse off and have not attained their end. Such a thing is evil and evil serves no purpose. Thus, it is folly. Reason, therefore, is folly.

3. Further, those who seek their proper and natural end have considered a life wasted on reason as worthy of lamentation. It is therefore folly.

4. Further, those who have made use of reason have not obtained perfect knowledge of beings through reason. Therefore, there is error involved in reason. It does not then produce what it promises. Thus, it does not proceed towards the proper end. It is therefore folly.

5. Further, for those who spend their time on reason alone without something else in addition either bad or good, there is no advancement towards the proposed end. It is therefore folly.

RESOLUTION OF THESE ARGUMENTS

1. Not everything with or without which man can possibly achieve perfection is unprofitable towards the end proper to man, as, for example, virginity or piety, which are far from being follies.

2. Now, on the one hand, reason has been a cause of perdition for some, not in itself but accidentally. But, on the other hand, our concern is with reason itself. If we consider as evil what is accidentally the cause of evil, many absurdities will follow. For example, the law and the commandment concerning God were for those who rejected them cause of death, accidentally but not in themselves, and it is absurd to consider them as evil. For he says, 'When the commandment came, sin revived and I died' (Rom 7:9).

<sup>50</sup> A. Angelopoulos, *Νικόλαος Καβάσιλας Χαμαετός, 'Η ζωή και τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ* ('*Ἀνάλεκτα Βλατάδων* 5; Thessalonica, 1970), pp. 111-13. On p. 112, ll. 33 and 63 the editor has incorrectly read *οἷς* instead of *οἷον*.

3. Not everything which does not of its own lead to the end is folly. For while there are two things which bring nature to perfection, good works and faith (Jac 2:22), if one devotes his time to either one alone, he will live a life worthy of lamentation. But on this account neither faith nor works is folly by its own nature. For Paul says, 'Our faith is not in vain nor is our preaching futile' (1 Cor 15:17, 14). Those who completely malign reason because some people have misused its power are, first of all, ignorant of the original hypothesis, for the sages and their way of life are not in question but rather the concern is with their statements. And, then, they are acting ridiculously, attacking one man but hitting another like madmen – as if someone, wanting to slander Socrates said nothing about him but pointed out that Xerxes was poor at naval warfare. There is a great difference between the proposition, the subject of their enquiry, and their conclusion. For reason is the subject under enquiry, but when they show that those who have pursued it became evil, they think that they have proved reason to be evil. And so their syllogism proceeds in this way. Those who follow the pursuit of reason have not used it for its proper end. Such people are foolish. And as it is necessary to connect the [minor] extreme term with the major, they conclude by saying, 'Those who follow the pursuit of reason are foolish.' Then by taking part of the [minor] extreme, reason, and joining it to the major extreme, they conclude, 'Reason is therefore folly.' It is a simple matter to draw any conclusion in this fashion. For example, he who hates the impious man is a friend of God. Such a man is good. The impious man is therefore good. Thus, one must not take part of the [minor] extreme term into the conclusion. And if anyone thinks it absurd to take it so in this case and in others, but thinks there is no objection with regard to the case of reason, he is begging the question.

4. If error is present in reason it is not on account of itself nor on account of its nature, for its nature is knowledge of beings as they truly are. Error occurs with the deception of the senses when there is a deficiency of reason. One who maligns the deficiency cannot put the blame on the faculty. The opposite then is true, for one who discredits evil has praised the good by discrediting the former. Or else we will malign sight because of blindness and chastity because of licentiousness. And how is that not absurd?

5. Since reason is knowledge of beings as they truly are and since there is no knowledge which does not concern beings, practical wisdom is either itself knowledge of beings or subordinate to it, for it cannot be more universal. Now the rational part of the soul is superior to the passionate part, for the latter we share with the irrational animals, but by the former we are the superior. Such is the case with practical wisdom or knowledge of beings or reason, for they bear the same relation to the rational part as do chastity and courage to the passionate part. Conversely, therefore, as the rational part is to the passionate part, so is reason to chastity and courage. It thus has a purpose and is not folly, and from this it is clear that it is superior to the virtues, for the rational part is superior to the passionate part.

Kabasilas cited five arguments produced by those who claim that reason is devoid of any value. The nature of these arguments leads almost inevitably to the identification of this anonymous group with the hesychast monks and the

supporters of the Palamite cause. According to his first *Triad* Palamas himself would certainly have considered a life devoted entirely to secular studies lamentable.<sup>51</sup> Both in the *Capita 150* and in the *Triads* he demonstrated how error enters the process of natural knowledge or reasoning.<sup>52</sup> And with little doubt, Palamas would not have considered imperfect someone who had abandoned natural wisdom for the sake of pursuing holiness. Finally, if the hesychast doctor had been aware of the counter-arguments and the syllogistic style employed by Kabasilas, they would surely have reminded him of the logical demonstrations that someone else had once used to bolster the value of profane wisdom.

The position of Palamas was not, however, so completely negative as the five arguments cited by Kabasilas. Gregory was quite careful to avoid claiming that reason is evil in itself.<sup>53</sup> Nor did he forbid profane education absolutely, except to monks. Secular studies are certainly good to the extent that they contribute to sharp-sightedness of soul, but one should spend only a short time in this pursuit and then move on to better things.<sup>54</sup> Palamas was also quite insistent that the wisdom of God in creation can be contemplated without taking the risks of philosophical studies. 'An unworried life lived in the hope of God naturally moves the soul to a comprehension of the creatures of God.'<sup>55</sup>

While it would be unjust to set the positions of Palamas and Kabasilas in any kind of absolute opposition to one another, there does seem to be some disagreement. In the *Triads* Gregory was dealing with Barlaam who had gone to the extreme of exalting knowledge over the direct experience of God in grace. In common with other Byzantine writers, Palamas indulged in a certain amount of polemical hyperbole: at times he overstated his case. On the other hand, if his writings are any indication, Nikolaos Kabasilas engaged most of his efforts in the pursuit of the knowledge and love of God. Only a very small percentage of his works treat non-religious subjects. In the case of his letter to Synadenos and the little treatise that followed, he may have been attempting to mitigate an extreme position advocated by some overly enthusiastic hesychast

<sup>51</sup> Cf. *Triad* 1.1.6 (21.23-24): παραμένειν δ' ἄχρι γήρωσ ταύτῃ προσανέχοντα πονηρόν. *Triad* 1.1.3 (15.1-3): πρὸς γὰρ τὴν ἐπιστήμην τῶν τοιούτων βλέποντας πᾶσαν ἀπευθύνειν σπουδὴν τε καὶ ζήτησιν αἰρεσίς ἐστιν ἑλληνική.

<sup>52</sup> *Capita 150*, c. 15-20; sin, ignorance and the revolt of the passions hinder and corrupt the process of knowing (*Triad* 1.1.3 [13.3-10]).

<sup>53</sup> 'Nothing evil is evil in itself, but only in that it has fallen away from its proper and fitting activity and the goal of that activity' (*Triad* 1.1.19 [57.1-3]). In the case of profane wisdom the proper goal is *θεογνωσία*. With the proper precautions Hellenic philosophy can become an *ὄργανον πρὸς τι καλόν*, but even so, it is not genuinely a gift of God and spiritual inasmuch as it is natural and not sent down from above (*Triad* 1.1.21 [59-61]).

<sup>54</sup> *Triad* 1.1.6 and 1.1.12.

<sup>55</sup> *Triad* 1.1.20 (59.5-7).

monks. In the lay, aristocratic society in which Kabasilas moved there were many learned men who were also pious and orthodox Christians. He may have thought it necessary to defend them against unjust criticism.

However, this still leaves two issues where there would certainly have been disagreement between the two theologians. In Kabasilas' fifth response he states that there is no knowledge other than knowledge of beings. Such an unguarded statement could too easily lead to the conclusion that there can be no knowledge of God because God is not a being but rather beyond beings; or, God must be placed on the level of beings and thereby ceases to be God. Kabasilas would never have allowed such conclusions and so his statement must simply be taken as unguarded and insufficiently qualified. Secondly, in the same paragraph, Kabasilas restricted the virtues (he cites courage and chastity as his examples) to the passionate or affective part of the soul. Then, he concluded that, since the rational part of the soul is superior to the affective part, reason must be superior to the virtues. Palamas would have wasted no time in correcting such a wayward notion. At the time he wrote this work, Nikolaos was probably still under thirty years of age and so any theological improprieties might be attributed to the inexperience of youth.

The Christian response to the renewal of philosophical and scientific studies in the first half of the fourteenth century was a complex one which cannot be described as absolutely negative or entirely unenlightened. The Christians who responded were themselves influenced by this renewal and saw nothing wrong with it as long as it remained within certain bounds. The goal of the human endeavour is life with God and as long as philosophy and science serve this end, or at least do not oppose it, they can be considered as good. Palamas was not an obscurantist. Knowledge of God and knowledge of beings, both joined to love, are the proper pursuit of man. Knowledge, however, can be abused. The empirical evidence of history offers too many examples. When knowledge is perverted from its proper end, the dignity of man suffers and the humanist enterprise itself is thwarted. Man starts to serve knowledge, rather than knowledge serving man in the search for his true goal. Created in the triadic image of God and called to grow once again into his likeness, man occupies a unique place in the universe, serving only the Creator but never debasing himself to the level of serving creation. In his advocacy of the high dignity of man, Gregory Palamas must certainly be considered one of the great humanists of the Palaeologan renaissance.

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# THE FORTUNES OF A LOLLARD SERMON-CYCLE IN THE LATER FIFTEENTH CENTURY

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## I

### INTRODUCTION

It is well known that the Lollards were in the habit of expropriating orthodox writings into which they would insinuate their own invidious opinions. Examples of the reverse process whereby the more conservative – or more cautious – attempted to ‘decontaminate’ Lollard texts are harder to seek<sup>1</sup> and are consequently of particular interest when they may be found. It is likewise well known that, after Archbishop Arundel’s repressive legislation of 1407, vernacular religious writing (and secular literature too on occasion) was viewed with suspicion by the authorities. The effect of this legislation and this suspicion on the writing of the later fifteenth century, when the initial furore engendered by the active persecution of leading Lollards might be expected to have somewhat abated, has been little studied. I propose to examine here the manuscript tradition of a collection of Lollard sermons which exemplifies both these virtues: the text was copied and selectively expurgated in the second half of the century. The nature of the expurgations provides a case history which illustrates both what was still thought to be offensive and what still merited comment. Furthermore the textual tradition gives an intriguing, not to say puzzling, insight into the way in which some sermon compilers might adapt for their own purposes the vernacular resources available to them. For recourse to translation in the extant English Sunday sermons<sup>2</sup> and internal borrowing

<sup>1</sup> See A. Hudson, ‘The Expurgation of a Lollard Sermon-Cycle’, *Journal of Theological Studies* N.S. 22 (1971) 451-65. On Lollard use of the vernacular see A. Hudson, ‘Lollardy: The English Heresy?’, *Studies in Church History* 18 (1982) 261-83.

<sup>2</sup> For example the anonymous translation of Robert of Gretham’s *Miroir* or *Evangiles des Domnées* described by T. G. Duncan, ‘The Middle English *Mirror* and Its Manuscripts’ in *Middle English Studies Presented to Norman Davis*, ed. D. Gray and E. G. Stanley (Oxford, 1983), pp. 115-26, and see also N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 3 vols. (Oxford,

between collections<sup>3</sup> together suggest first that compilers were reluctant to produce original sermons and secondly that compendious scriptural commentary in the vernacular was in short supply. Need might outweigh fastidiousness, especially when it is remembered that the Wycliffites as a group had attempted to imitate the comprehensiveness of the Latin theological writings in English.<sup>4</sup> Moreover the demand for biblical knowledge was not confined to Lollards, nor was it extinguished by Arundel's legislation or assuaged by Nicholas Love's authorised translation of Pseudo-Bonaventure's gospel harmony.<sup>5</sup>

Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College 74, a manuscript of s. xiv-xv, has already attracted attention as a derivative of the Sunday gospel section of the enormous vernacular sermon-cycle which forms so conspicuous a part of the Wycliffite output.<sup>6</sup> Accordingly we need do no more than recapitulate the points most salient to the present discussion. The collection is a complete Sunday series, beginning at Whitsun, with some ancillary material in the form of treatises, Wimbledon's *Sermon* and a Nativity sermon,<sup>7</sup> and also a group of seven further supplementary sermons which will be more adequately described in the

1969-83), 3.418-20, 532. See also A. J. Fletcher and S. Powell, 'The Origins of a Fifteenth-Century Sermon Collection: mss. Harley 2247 and Royal 18 B. xxv', *Leeds Studies in English* N.S. 10 (1978) 74-96. See also H. L. Spencer, 'A Fifteenth-Century Translation of a Late Twelfth-Century Sermon Collection', *Review of English Studies* N.S. 28 (1977) 257-67, and further examples announced in my *English Vernacular Sunday Preaching in the Late Fourteenth Century and Fifteenth Century, with Illustrative Texts* (D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1982).

<sup>3</sup> See *English Wycliffite Sermons*, ed. A. Hudson, 1 (Oxford, 1983), pp. 98-123.

<sup>4</sup> See A. Hudson, 'A Lollard Sermon-Cycle and Its Implications', *Medium Ævum* 40 (1971) 142-56, 'A Lollard Compilation and the Dissemination of Wycliffite Thought', *Journal of Theological Studies* N.S. 23 (1972) 65-81, and 'Contributions to a Bibliography of Wycliffite Writings', *Notes and Queries* 218 (1973) 443-53. See also *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings*, ed. A. Hudson (Cambridge, 1978). See further *The Middle English Translation of the Rosarium Theologie*, ed. C. von Nolcken (Middle English Texts 10; Heidelberg, 1979), and H. Hargreaves, 'Popularising Biblical Scholarship: The Role of the Wycliffite *Glossed Gospels*' in *The Bible and Medieval Culture*, ed. W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst (*Mediaevalia lovaniensia* 1.7; Louvain, 1979), pp. 171-89.

<sup>5</sup> *The Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ*, ed. L. F. Powell (London, 1908). The primary discussion of the demand for biblical translation is still M. Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible and Other Medieval Biblical Versions* (Cambridge, 1920). See further A. Hudson and H. L. Spencer, 'Old Author, New Work: The Sermons of ms. Longleat 4', *Medium Ævum* 53 (1984) 220-38.

<sup>6</sup> E. W. Talbert, 'A Fifteenth-Century Lollard Sermon Cycle', *University of Texas Studies in English* [19] (1939) 5-30. The collection has most recently been described by Hudson, *English Wycliffite Sermons* 1.70-72, 115-23.

<sup>7</sup> The Nativity sermon, on *Puer natus est nobis* (Is 9:6), occupies fols. 191v-192v. It may have been added after the completion of the manuscript: Hudson, *English Wycliffite Sermons* 1.72. For discussion of ms. Sidney Sussex 74 in connection with Wimbledon's *Sermon* see *Wimbledon's Sermon, Redde Rationem Villicationis Tue*, ed. I. K. Knight (Pittsburgh, 1967); N. H. Owen, 'Thomas Wimbledon's Sermon: "Redde Racionem Villicacionis Tue"', *Mediaeval Studies* 28 (1966) 176-97; and E. P. Wilson, *A Critical Text with Commentary of ms. English Theology f. 39 in the Bodleian Library* (B.Litt. thesis, Oxford, 1968), pp. 49-50.

ensuing section of this study. The compiler of the main Sunday series was evidently compendious in intention: he added two sections to each of the Wycliffite Sunday gospel sermons in order that the whole duty of a preacher be contained in one handy volume. In their recorded form the Wycliffite Sunday gospel sermons are rather brief; accordingly the compiler used them as prothemes before he proceeded to commentary on the Sunday epistles and on various pastoral subjects. This epistle and pastoral commentary owes nothing to the Wycliffite Sermons. There are but two exceptions to this pattern: in the sermon for Trinity 6, and almost certainly in the preceding sermon for Trinity 5, the compiler substituted a gospel commentary other than the one found in the corresponding Wycliffite sermon to serve as his protheme. At first the disposition of material in this sermon collection is a trifle bewildering since the theme which heads each sermon is taken from the relevant epistle, but the commentary which follows it without any preamble concerns the gospel:

#### Epiphany 2

*Benedicite et nolite maledicere, ad Romanos xij<sup>o</sup> [14] Þe gospel [Jo 2:1-11] telleþ today of þe firste miracle þat Crist dude in presence of hise disciples (91r).*

The gospel is often, but by no means invariably, located in a marginal reference. After the Wycliffite gospel protheme, the epistle theme is repeated and its incidence is noted by the regular marginal entry 'Iteracio thematis'. The third part, the pastoral scheme, is not marked out in any special way: the syllabus consists of the Gifts of the Spirit, Sins, Precepts and Commandments,<sup>8</sup> Wits and Cardinal and Theological Virtues. The pastoral instruction is often continued serially from week to week; the commentary on Faith, for example, gives rise to a commentary on the Creed which lasts for five weeks, from Lent 4

<sup>8</sup> The numbering and ordering of the Commandments is eccentric. The numbers assigned to them in Sidney Sussex 74 may be collated with the standard Catholic enumeration as follows:

Commandment	1	Sidney Sussex 74	1
	2		4
	3		3
	4		2
	5		6
	6		8
	7		5
	8		7
	9		9
	10		10.

The gospel precepts are included in the commentary on Commandment 1. A fifteenth-century reader of the manuscript observed in a marginal note that what was called Commandment 4 was in fact the second Commandment of the first table 'et ideo caue' (74v).

to Easter 1 inclusive. Thus the pastoral scheme pursues a largely independent course: there is little if any attempt to make any connection between it and the preceding gospel and epistle commentaries. Indeed the compiler may deliberately pass over invitations provided by the lections for pastoral teaching because they conflict with his own predetermined scheme:

Trinity 4

*Spe enim salui facti sumus* [Rom 8:24]... In þat heuenly leche vs oweþ to hope þat al monkynde haþ sauýd ... Þerfore rede I þat þou do as þe prophet conseillet, *Spera in Domino et fac bonitatem, et cetera* [Ps 36(37):3]: 'Hope in God and do goodnesse', and þenne þou hopest rigt. Of hope haue I spoken mucche her byfore and perfore wul I tellen zou forth of þe fyue wittus. Twayen I lafte vntold, þe wuche ben syzhte and touchyng. And, zef we kepe wel þuse fyue, oure hope is wel þe bettur (13v).

Although the epistle and pastoral commentaries are unrelated to the Wycliffite sermons, they nonetheless contain Wycliffite sentiments.<sup>9</sup> The Pater and Ave are noteworthy omissions from the pastoral scheme and the deficiency is repaired by the two additional treatises;<sup>10</sup> there is also a discourse on the Decalogue in two parts in addition to the lengthy exposition within the sermon-cycle.<sup>11</sup>

Sidney Sussex 74 has suffered considerable mutilation. The Reformed view of the collection was that:

Although there be som thinge not altogether agreable to the great light which it hath pleased God to reveale vnto vs at this present tyme, yet let vs not altogether condemne the author, who hath bestowed his talent <a>cordinge to the measure <whi>ch he \hath/ receved.<sup>12</sup>

Accordingly references to purgatory and pilgrimages have been obliterated; naturally the funeral sermon, which has much to say of the afterlife, suffered

<sup>9</sup> *English Wycliffite Sermons* 1.120-23.

<sup>10</sup> The Pater Noster commentary occupies fols. 143r-166v; see P. S. Jolliffe, *A Check-List of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance* (Toronto, 1974), M3(b), O9(b). The text is edited by F. G. A. M. Aarts, *Pe Pater Noster of Richard Ermyte* (The Hague, 1967). The commentary on the Ave occupies fols. 189v-191v. The Pater and Ave were also omitted from Thoresby's syllabus, although they were added in the Wycliffite adaptation in London, Lambeth Palace Library ms. 408: see *The Lay Folks' Catechism*, ed. T. F. Simmons and H. E. Nolloth (EETS OS 118; London, 1901).

<sup>11</sup> *Incipit* 'Cristene childur in God, seþen þe seruyse and þe wurcheþ of God is so nedful to vs' (181r-184v, 184v-189v).

<sup>12</sup> From the seventeenth-century description on fol. iii<sup>r</sup>. The book was donated to Sidney Sussex College by Samuel Ward, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity and Master of the College, in 1643.

most from these attentions.<sup>13</sup> More serious damage was caused by the excision of many leaves, which often coincide with the beginning and end of the sermons.<sup>14</sup>

One other copy of the dominical cycle survives, now Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Bodley 95 (S.C. 1905). This manuscript also contains a commentary on the Sixteen Conditions of Charity (fols. 111r-113r) which is not found in Sidney Sussex 74. The Sunday cycle is complete save in two respects: the Wycliffite gospel commentaries were in most of the sermons reduced to a single sentence and the group of sermons from Sexagesima to Lent 3 inclusive were omitted in their entirety. Since no leaves are missing, this gap in the sequence cannot be a simple mechanical loss, but the omission is hard to explain: the corresponding sermons in Sidney Sussex 74 are not notably extreme, the gap affects Lent when most preachers were most busy, and moreover the omission disrupts the sequence of pastoral teaching. Possibly the antecedent of ms. Bodley 95 was defective. Nonetheless, despite these deficiencies, Bodley 95 tells us much about the fortunes of the sermon collection later in the fifteenth century. Because of its particular interest, and because it has attracted little public notice hitherto, it merits a full description here.

For the purpose of my argument it is essential to date the manuscript with some care, the more so since the *Summary Catalogue* assigns it to the 'early fifteenth century'. Yet, in view of the script and the paper used, a date of s. xv<sup>2</sup> seems more satisfactory. The book is, then, paper, with medieval parchment endleaves: i + 113 + ii; the leaves measure 208 mm. (8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>') by 142 mm. (5<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>') and the written space is approximately 164 mm. (6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>') by 116 mm. (4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>'). The paper exhibits a single watermark (the letter p) which resembles Briquet no. 8527;<sup>15</sup> this would suggest German provenance of the 1460s or 1470s.

The first parchment flyleaf was originally a pastedown and it is the sole survivor of a quire of six flyleaves: five stubs follow it, of which the centre bifolium was paper. The second bifolium consisted of parchment re-used from an older book, although its contents cannot now be ascertained. The quires of the text regularly have a centre bifoliate stub to support the sewing: if we discount these the collation is as follows:

<sup>13</sup> References to purgatory are erased on fol. 202r-v. References to pilgrimages are erased and replaced by 'Journey' on fol. 89r in the sermon for Epiphany 1, for which the gospel is Lc 2:42-52, the finding of Jesus in the Temple, a text often utilised by preachers for discussion of pilgrimages.

<sup>14</sup> The excisions are discussed in *English Wycliffite Sermons* 1.70-71. Since it was not always correct, the medieval foliation is not always a wholly reliable guide to the extent of the damage, but it is nonetheless a useful indication.

<sup>15</sup> C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes*, ed. J. S. G. Simmons, 4 vols. (Amsterdam, 1968).

i<sup>6</sup> lacks ii-vi, 1-5<sup>12</sup> (fols. 1-60), 6<sup>4</sup> (fols. 61-64), 7-9<sup>12</sup> (fols. 65-100), 10<sup>14</sup> lacks 14 (fols. 101-113), ii (fols. 114-115).

There is a disruption in the order of the text in the second half of quire 4; the rubricator has elucidated the correct sequence by a series of crosses. Instead of the order 1-12, we find 1-8, 11, 12, 9, 10: because the disturbance has not affected the first half of the quire, it would seem that the mistakes occurred in copying rather than in binding. Quire signatures appear in the book (arabic numerals, except for quire 6 which is small, roman), but there are no catchwords or leaf signatures. The foliation is ink and modern.

No traces of ruling or pricking are visible: the text is written in a variable number of long lines from 26 to 37. Two scribes were responsible for the book: Scribe B on average fitted more lines of text onto the page than his partner. The scribes' stints corresponded to the quire: Scribe B wrote quires 2 and 5 only. In both cases the script is a small Anglicana with many Secretary features: the proportions of Scribe B's hand are more upright and square. Scribe A may also have been the rubricator, at least of those quires which he wrote, since the rubricator's tag on fol. 113r is in his hand:

Nunc feci finem, pro Christo da \mihi/ vinum;  
Nunc feci totum, pro Christo da mihi potum.

Rough, red, two-line initials head each sermon and capitals within the text are touched with red. Latin quotations were boxed in with red (many were overlooked).

The *Summary Catalogue* makes mention of a reed bookmarker between fols. 30v and 31r; if this was indeed its purpose, then the survival of a pressed grass stalk between fols. 50v and 51r is perhaps not wholly insignificant.<sup>16</sup>

The binding is late fifteenth-century, English work, blind-stamped on bevelled oak boards. The design consists of a rectangular frame of stamps contained within crudely-made intersecting fillets; the central space is filled with two vertical rows of stamps, surrounded by more fillets. A clasp has been lost, while two holes bored in the top right-hand corner of the front cover indicate that it was once chained.<sup>17</sup> The stamps depict an agnus Dei, a stag couchant and

<sup>16</sup> On the use of pieces of grass and straw as bookmarkers (a practice castigated by Richard of Bury in the *Philobiblon*) see R. A. B. Mynors, 'Some Book-Markers at Peterhouse' in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, ed. R. W. Hunt, W. A. Pantin and R. W. Southern (Oxford, 1948), pp. 465-68, especially p. 465.

<sup>17</sup> For discussion of the chained books kept in parish churches see W. A. Pantin, 'Instructions for a Devout and Literate Layman' in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976), pp. 398-422. See also J. C. Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts from the Fourteenth Century to the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1913). It is also possible that the book was chained after

a two-headed eagle: the first two of these resemble Oldham pl. XI, nos. 89 and 91, while the eagle resembles no. 92, except that it is smaller and set within a square stamp rather than a lozenge. Oldham styles the artisan who used these stamps the 'Heavy Binder', a Cambridge man who worked from c. 1485-1505.<sup>18</sup> The dies may however have had a wider currency.

Because the medieval binding has been preserved, together with a number of the original flyleaves and the memoranda they attracted, we fortunately have a good many indications of the book's use and provenance. Several of the notes concern parish business: the book seems to have been in clerical ownership until at least 1530, a date recorded on the inner flap of the back binding, along with the information that 'þe Sunday after Relycke Sunday there were 87<sup>o</sup>', perhaps a note of attendance figures? This annotating hand was also responsible for accounts, perhaps tithe accounts, on this endflap: 'Item, a marke owyng me of one Pole. Item, att Weyuer Remane (?) in yarne ix li.', and on fol. i<sup>v</sup> (the pastedown) he remarks that 'Bryan. owyth to me \ /<sup>19</sup> to pownde off wolle and D. for \ a / cawffe wyte and a cawffe wych he solle.' More significantly, this hand has also noted on fol. 113v the location of certain topics of pastoral instruction discussed in the sermons, for instance 'The *commawmentis* byne reheryd in \ the 18 / Sunday', information which was repeated on fol. 115v. Also noted on fol. 113v is the incidence of commentary on love, wrath, envy and gluttony. Presumably then these sermons were still seen as a quarry for preaching material; indeed it is clear that medieval sermons were still being read and used in preaching down to the Reformation. If it were not so, Bishop Bonner would not have bothered to forbid the practice.<sup>20</sup>

Notes in other hands strengthen this assumption that ms. Bodley 95 was owned by working parish clergy in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. A record of a marriage licence is written lengthwise on fol. 115v in a hand of s. xv ex. There are furthermore what appear to be sermon notes on fol. 113v written in an early sixteenth-century hand in English, changing into Latin towards the end and composed in an altogether more ambitious style than the workaday prose of the sermon-cycle itself.<sup>21</sup>

its acquisition by the Bodleian Library; see *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* 1 (Oxford, 1953; rpt. 1980), p. ix.

<sup>18</sup> J. B. Oldham, *English Blind-Stamped Bindings* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 18.

<sup>19</sup> 'For' erased.

<sup>20</sup> The prohibition appears in Bonner's 1542 Injunctions, 'All priests shall take this order when they preach; first that they shall rehearse no sermons made by other men within this two or three hundred years' (*Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, ed. D. Wilkins, 4 vols. [London, 1737], 3.866).

<sup>21</sup> *Incipit* 'And castinge ony eie vppon the diall or vewe of commen wrounges'.

Two names and a place feature among this welter of memorabilia. On fol. 113r we are told in a late fifteenth-century note that 'iste liber constat Domino Iohanni Ieffys',<sup>22</sup> and on fol. 113v a later hand records that 'Robart Wallar d\w/yelles in SSanford'.<sup>23</sup> Local provenance seemed a possibility and indeed, although Robart Wallar remains untraced, a John Jeffys was vicar of Sandford St. Martin, Oxfordshire, between 1485 and 1491 when he resigned the living.<sup>24</sup> Unlike a number of Sandford's other fifteenth-century incumbents, he had not been at university. Unfortunately Sandford's parish records survive only from the late seventeenth century, so it is now difficult to ascertain whether Remane, Pole or Wallar were local family names,<sup>25</sup> but it may not be wholly gratuitous to note that wool and flax were Sandford's main produce in the late Middle Ages.<sup>26</sup>

It is likely that the book was passed on from one clerical owner to his successors in the office. Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Bodley 110 (S.C. 1963), another collection of preaching material suitable for parish use, may be cited as a parallel case: it was bequeathed by the rector of Cliffe, Kent, one William Cleve, to 'Domino Willelmo Camyl', chantry chaplain at the same place and to his successors in this office (fol. 182v).

The significance of other scribbles in Bodley 95 is obscure. Scrutiny of an extensive erasure on fol. 115r with the aid of ultra violet light reveals nothing of more moment than the opening lines of Ps 8 in Latin. On the same leaf in a different hand occurs the remark 'Y trow 3e be sory pat ye ha < . > gaue me so moche lyberdy; Y pray you, be nat sory', a tantalising piece of historical jetsam of which the meaning will probably never be recovered.

The history of the book in the later sixteenth century is unknown. It was acquired by the Bodleian Library about 1620.

<sup>22</sup> Misread in the S.C. as 'Iessye'.

<sup>23</sup> Misread in the S.C. as 'Fairford'.

<sup>24</sup> See *Lists of Medieval Incumbents of Oxfordshire Parishes Compiled for the Oxfordshire Victoria County History* (Bodleian Library ms. Top. Oxon. D. 460, p. 188), where the name is said to be 'John Jeff.'. However consultation of Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives Office Episcopal Register 22, fol. 229d (new foliation) shows the name to be 'Domini Iohannis Ieffis'. 'St. Martin' is a modern addition to distinguish this Sandford from Dry Sandford and Sandford on Thames, also in Oxfordshire.

<sup>25</sup> The Waller family held half of the advowson in the seventeenth century: *The Victoria History of the County of Oxford*, 11 vols. (London, 1939-83), 11.178. Another Waller held a demyship at Magdalen College between 1485-86: A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500* (Oxford, 1957-67). The names are not listed in a fourteenth-century inventory of Oxfordshire wool producers: *Calendar of the Close Rolls 1341-43*, p. 334.

<sup>26</sup> *VCH Oxford* 11.175.

## II

## TEXTUAL AFFILIATIONS

The sermon-cycle witnessed by mss. Sidney Sussex 74 and Bodley 95, and the material which it shares with four otherwise independent collections, have been authoritatively described by Anne Hudson in her edition of the Wycliffite Sunday gospel and epistle sermons.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, since these derivative sermons were not, as she acknowledged, her primary concern in that edition, her account may here be amplified and in a few respects supplemented. For the present discussion we may permit ourselves the convenience of mnemonic sigla; Dr. Hudson was concerned with a large number of manuscripts and some of her necessarily arbitrary or two-letter sigla are unsuitable here. Accordingly ms. Sidney Sussex 74 is designated 'S' (Hudson 'N') and ms. Bodley 95 is called 'B' (Hudson 'By'). The four remaining manuscripts are Manchester, John Rylands University Library English 109 ('R'; Hudson 'Ry');<sup>28</sup> Cambridge, University Library Gg.6.16 ('C'; Hudson 'Gg');<sup>29</sup> London, British Library Royal 18.B.xxiii ('Ross');<sup>30</sup> and London, British Library Additional 37677.<sup>31</sup>

The overlap between the last-named book and our sermons is the most straightforward and may be described first. Additional 37677 shares two items with S but with none of the other manuscripts. The recurrence of the first item, Wimbledon's *Sermon*, is likely to be fortuitous: its editors judge S and Addi-

<sup>27</sup> *English Wycliffite Sermons* 1.115-23.

<sup>28</sup> A manuscript of the Middle English translation of Robert of Gretham's *Miroir* and accordingly described by Duncan, 'The Middle English *Mirror*' as well as by Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts* 3.418-19.

<sup>29</sup> Described by A. J. Fletcher, *A Critical Edition of Selected Sermons from an Unpublished Fifteenth-Century de Tempore Sermon Cycle* (B.Litt. thesis, Oxford, 1978), pp. vii-xi.

In transcription from these vernacular manuscripts I have supplied modern punctuation, word-spacing and capitalisation. Initial *ff* has been interpreted as a capital *F* and has therefore been accorded the same treatment as the other manuscript capitals. Abbreviations are expanded and italicised, except for the common forms *and*, *pat*, *pe*, *wip*, *pou*, which I have adopted as a standard in quotations from a number of manuscripts which vary considerably in date and dialect. I am however aware that in single editions of these texts the following forms might prove preferable: *ande* in C; *that*, *the*, *with* or *wyth* in B; *whit* or *with* in S. Similarly, marks which may or may not indicate the abbreviation of final *-e* have been ignored, although they clearly are not wholly negligible, especially in the earlier manuscripts.

Variant readings from manuscripts other than the one cited in quotations are given only when they seem significantly to illustrate that the compilers or the scribes have made small expurgations, or have modernised the text or if the variants provide further substantial evidence of the sermons' textual history.

<sup>30</sup> *Middle English Sermons Edited from British Museum ms. Royal 18 B. xxiii* by W. O. Ross (EETS OS 209; London, 1940).

<sup>31</sup> Since the manuscript contains Wimbledon's *Sermon*, it has been described by Owen, Knight and Wilson (n. 7 above).

tional 37677 to be independent witnesses; moreover it was a popular, much-copied text. The coincidence of the other text, a sermon on *Ememus panes* [Jo 6:5] (Additional ms., fol. 98v; S 204v-207v), is more arresting.<sup>32</sup> In both copies this sermon is incomplete.

The interrelationships between R, C and the Ross sermons with S and B concern a group of eight sermons: the three sermons for Trinity 5-7 in the main dominical series and five other, supplementary sermons. These five additional texts appear, moreover in the same order, in S, R and C, whereas B contains only one of them, a funeral sermon on the theme *Mortuus uiuet*. The little post-Trinity group is found in R and Ross, while in S the scribe started to copy out Trinity 5 as a member of the supplementary set (204r-v), but desisted with the comment 'Alius sermo' (204v) when he realised that this text was merely duplicating the Trinity 5 sermon (now lost by excision) from the main series. Thus, whereas only R now contains all eight members of the group, it is a fair presumption to say that the scribe at work in this part of S also had access to a copy text in which all eight were present. Three provisional deductions follow: since S breaks off part way through Trinity 5, R is unlikely to have copied the set directly from S (unless by some mysterious instinct he knew that Trinity 6 and 7, as well as 5, were germane to his material and that other preaching texts in S were not, or alternatively that he decided on his own initiative to include Trinity 6 and 7). Palaeographic considerations make the possibility that this section of S might have been copied from R itself unlikely. The main section of R (Gretham's *Mirror* in English) is dated 1432, and the list of contents in a hand of s. xv<sup>1</sup> which begins the book shows at least that the initial group of sermons was not bound in later than this. Even while the date and the list of contents do not in themselves conclusively prove that the preceding sermons are also s. xv<sup>1</sup>, the script of S looks to be somewhat older. Accordingly there seems to have been a genuine manuscript tradition in which all eight sermons travelled together: the combination is unlikely to have occurred at hazard in R.

Before we proceed to more detailed assessment of the texts' interdependence, the reader may find it helpful to see the correspondences between the manuscripts set out in tabular form. Folio references in R allude to the modern pencil foliation at the foot of each leaf.

- i. *Diliges Dominum Deum tuum*, Mt. xxij<sup>o</sup> capitulo [:37]. Þe helpe and þe grace of God ... Gode men, zee schul vndurstonde þat euer vche mon in þis worlde is seruauant to sumwat.

<sup>32</sup> A. I. Doyle, *A Survey of the Origins and Circulation of Theological Writings in English in the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries, with Special Consideration of the Part of the Clergy Therein*, 2 vols. (Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1953), 2.13.

- S 194r-196r  
 R 4ra-vb (acephalous)  
 C 8r-12r (ascribed to Trinity 13 and 18).
- ii. *Estote prudentes et vigilate in orationibus* [1 Pet 4:7]. Þe helpe and þe grace ...  
 euervche cristen mon is holden to here Goddes worde.  
 S 196r-198r  
 R 4vb-6rb (ascribed to Rogations and Sunday within the Octave of  
 Ascension)<sup>33</sup>  
 C 12r-15v.
- iii. *Sana, Domine, animam meam, quia peccaui tibi, Psalmo xl<sup>o</sup>* [(41):5]. Gode  
 cristen men and wymmen, thre causes mouen me forto prech vnto zowe.  
 S 198r-200r  
 R 6rb-8ra (ascribed to Rogations)  
 C 15v-18v.
- iv. *Hodie oportet me in domo tua manere, Luc. xix<sup>o</sup> capitulo* [:5]. Þe helpe and þe  
 grace etc. At þe begynnynge, wyth Goddes grace, I purpose me to teche zowe  
 þe byddyng of God.  
 S 200r-202r  
 R 8ra-9vb (ascribed to Advent 1)  
 C 18v-21v.
- v. *Mortuus uiuet, Ioh. xj<sup>o</sup>* [:25]. Dere frendes in God, as Seynt Anselme sayth in  
 his sentence, of alle thynges þat men mowe do for þe dede, þe first and þe  
 pryncypal is to preye for hem.  
 S 202r-204r  
 R 9vb-12ra (ascribed to the sixth Sunday after Pentecost)  
 C 22r-26r  
 B 107r-111r.
- vi. *Christum sanctificate in cordibus vestris, prima Petri iij<sup>o</sup> capitulo* [:15]. Þe  
 gospel of þis day \ / telleth when þat muche puple schulde wende vnto  
 Ihesu [Lc 5:1-11]  
 2 telleth] tel rep.  
 S 204r-v (incomplete; also 17r-18r [acephalous] and B 55v-60r)  
 R 12ra-14ra (ascribed to the seventh Sunday after the Octave of  
 Pentecost)  
 Ross, Sermon 44, pp. 288-97.
- vii. *In nouitate vite ambulemus, ad Romanos vj<sup>o</sup>* [:4], *Euangelium Mt. v<sup>o</sup>* [:20-24].  
 Cryste in þo gospell of þis dayelles how we schulden be ryghtwis.

<sup>33</sup> This ascription in R (together with the others listed below) was made in a s. xv hand different from that of the main text.

R 14ra-15vb (ascribed to the nineteenth and sixth Sundays after Pentecost)

Ross, Sermon 45, pp. 297-301

(S 18r-20v; B 60r-62v).

- viii. *Exhibete membra vestra seruire iusticie, ad Romanos vj<sup>o</sup> [19]. Euangelium: 'Cum turba multa', Mc. viii<sup>o</sup> [1-9]. Þis gospels todaye telles howe Criste did a myracle.*

2 did] dyed *eras. and corr.* R

R 16ra-17rb (incomplete)

Ross, Sermon 46, pp. 301-306

(S 20v-22v [incomplete]; B 62v-65v).

Now, although our eight sermons seem – at least in one branch of their textual history – to have travelled together, it is clear that they naturally fall into two groups: the three post-Trinity sermons form a liturgical series whereas the other five do not; indeed leaving aside the funeral sermon, the occasions on which they might have been preached are far from clear. Nor is this all, since sermons i-v do not resemble vi-viii in structure either. Unlike vi-viii and the rest of the S-B main set, which are homiletic in structure, their form is predominantly modern; moreover three of them (items i, ii and iv) share a characteristic opening invocation not otherwise used in S-B.<sup>34</sup> One suspects then that the same author may not be responsible. *Mortuus uiuet*, which, it will be remembered, was the only item of the set i-v to be included in B, does bear a striking likeness to the other S-B sermons in its extensive use of lists of authorities. Whoever compiled this sermon (or S-B for that matter) probably had access to a theological dictionary.

Quite why the three sermons for Trinity 5-7 should have become associated with the other five is unclear. Either they have become detached from S-B, or the S-B compiler adopted them to fill a gap in his own series. If the latter, then it must be said that they follow the structural pattern of the rest of the main series with remarkable consistency, and must therefore have been considerably adapted. However in practice the two hypotheses are not mutually exclusive: it seems likely both that the compiler made some extensive substitutions in two of the sermons and that the three may subsequently have become detached from the rest. One could cite a number of manuscripts in which it is evident that, for whatever reason, a section of a larger liturgical series has become detached.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> 'Þe helpe and þe grace of God pat is almyghty helpe vs alle at þis tyme and worlde wythouten ende. Amen' (S 194r). The manuscripts often abbreviate this to 'þe helpe and þe grace et cetera' (S 196r).

<sup>35</sup> See for example groups of sermons taken from John Mirk's *Festial*, described by A. J. Fletcher, 'Unnoticed Sermons from John Mirk's *Festial*', *Speculum* 55 (1980) 514-22.

The activity, although it raises questions about the regularity of *de tempore* Sunday preaching in some – perhaps many – pulpits, is by no means uncommon. The substitutions affect Trinity 5 and 6 in which gospel commentary is included which was not taken from the corresponding Wycliffite sermons. Because the commentary in these two corresponding Wycliffite sermons is not notably extreme, Dr. Hudson suggested that the copy of the Wycliffite sermons available to our compiler may have had a lacuna at this point, thus compelling him to have recourse to alternative resources.<sup>36</sup> It may well be so. Almost certainly these substitutions were not made by the person who thought that Trinity 5-7 would make an appropriate pendant to the other five sermons: B's text of the three post-Trinity sermons in his copy of the main series likewise contains these substituted gospel commentaries in Trinity 5 and 6, while the scribe of S, who started to copy Trinity 5 but broke off when he realised that the sermon was the same as one in the main series, got no further than the gospel commentary. Clearly it was the gospel commentary that he recognised.

Three of the eight sermons are concerned with such serviceable material as penance, prayers and vigils and the keeping of the Commandments, while the utility of a funeral sermon to a working priest would seem indisputable, even if only as an all-purpose meditation on mortality.<sup>37</sup> There is furthermore a shared preoccupation in several of the eight with the office of preaching. Sermons for Trinity 5 by long custom devoted some space to this subject; the day's gospel (Lc 5:1-11), which told of the miraculous draught of fishes, was naturally treated as an allegory of evangelism. This Trinity 5 sermon is no exception, while Trinity 7 likewise dwells on the matter. Of the other set of five, item ii was adjudged sufficiently evangelistic by a later reader of C to be given the appellation 'Exortacio ad audiendum verbum Dei' and the following sermon, too, opens with a preaching apologia: 'thre causes mouen me forto prech vnto zowe'. Such a bias in the content may have been a conscious choice in anthologising the sermons or it may simply be a passive reflection of the frequency with which the subject was canvassed in preaching at the time. Especially after Archbishop Arundel's restrictions of preaching, it is scarcely surprising to find that preachers were touchy about their duties.

One possibility concerning the sermons' textual history may straightway be disposed of: it has been clearly demonstrated that B cannot represent something approximating to the original state of the sermon-cycle before the S compiler insinuated his invidious opinions into it.<sup>38</sup> B's lack of the sermons for Sexa-

<sup>36</sup> *English Wycliffite Sermons* 1.119.

<sup>37</sup> On funeral sermons see S. Powell and A. J. Fletcher, "'In Die Sepulture seu Trigintali': The Late Medieval Funeral and Memorial Sermon", *Leeds Studies in English* N.S. 12 (1981) 195-228.

<sup>38</sup> *English Wycliffite Sermons* 1.120-21.

gesima to Lent 3 shows this and furthermore B has altered the series to begin with Advent, although, from the evidence of the pastoral material, the more unusual Whit opening in S is manifestly earlier in the textual history. It would require uncommon intuition for a scribe beginning at Advent 1 to realise that this was wrong: he would need to tabulate the pastoral material in the third part of each sermon to ascertain from internal evidence that the series' natural opening is at Whitsun.<sup>39</sup> And collation of S and B soon shows that B must have had something resembling S in front of him rather than the other way about. This is the best way of accounting for the abrupt transitions of thought and dislocations of syntax that occur in B: the compiler has made an *ad hoc* decision to abridge material in the process of copying it out. A good example occurs in Advent 3, in which B's text ends:

Sotell theues byn ther \ / that scilyly robben men wip mony colered wordes, as wip fals behestis, the whiche leue we þat we may come to the blis, to the whiche he brynge vs þat died for vs (6r).

l ther] iij *add. and eras.* B

Since a consideration of 'subtle thieves' has been promised as the final section of a tripartite account of thievery, this somewhat breathless halt would in itself lead one to wonder if the text had not been curtailed. Inspection of S soon reveals why this was. The self-interest of these beguilers of the people, better known as pardoners and friars, is denounced in no uncertain terms.<sup>40</sup> B's compiler evidently glanced through the passage and decided it would never do. As it happens, this part of this sermon also turns up independently in one of the Advent sermons in the Ross collection, a consideration to which we must return in this section. But for the present we may note that the Ross compiler liked the commentary on thieves no better. By dint of leaving out intemperate sentences here and there he got a little further than B, but he finally gave up with the comment 'Et cetera, ad placitum. Non post hec'.<sup>41</sup>

If it be accepted that S was not derived from an antecedent of B, could it be that B was put together by someone who actually had S in front of him? This is harder to determine, but I am inclined to think not. There are indications that B's readings seem on occasion more likely to be right than those of S. For B not

<sup>39</sup> This was the only occasion when a day of recognised liturgical importance coincided with the beginning of a pastoral subject (the Gifts of the Spirit). Beginning the cycle with Advent 1 interrupts the commentary on the Commandments which was carried over from the weeks after Trinity.

<sup>40</sup> fols. 80v-81r. Pardoners hire out their letters and pardons as others would cows or horses. They do not dare to resort to lords, who are better able to perceive their wiles, they only rob the poor. False preachers preach merely for gain. They seduce children with small gifts to recruit them into their Orders. Such thieves will be hanged in hell.

<sup>41</sup> Ross, p. 125.10-21.

infrequently gives the correct source of an authority where S is wrong, or continues a quotation beyond its length in S. Examples are:

- S 78r: 'for Salomon seiþ ... "Vir duplex" ....'  
 B 4r: 'for Iames seythe ... "Vir duplex" ...' (Jac 1:8).
- S 83r: 'þerfore seiþ Seynt Iohn ... "Ve illis qui in via Caym" ....'  
 B 7v: 'therfor seyþe Seynt Iude ... "Ve" ...' (Judae 11).
- S 78r: 'Nolite iurare per celum neque per terram, et cetera.'  
 B 4r: 'Nolite ... terram neque per creaturam aliquam, sed sit sermo vester "est, est" \et/ "non, non"; quod amplius est a malo est' (cf. Mt 5:34-37).
- S 79v: 'Non secundum visionem oculorum neque secundum auditum aurium iudicabit sed iudicabit in iusticia et arguet in equitate, et cetera.'  
 B 5r: 'Non ... oculorum iudicabit neque ... aurium arguet sed iudicabit in iusticia pauperes et arguet in equitate, et cetera' (cf. Is 11:3).
- S 92v: 'Benediccio eorum vertetur in malediccionem et oracio in peccatum, attestante Domino per prophetam, "Maledicam", inquit "benediccionibus vestris".'  
 B 15r: *adds* 'hostie eorum abhom(i)nabiles Domino' (cf. Mal 2:2).

It is possible, though it would argue for unusual diligence on the B compiler's part, that he could have checked scriptural references as he came to them in a concordance, and from time to time have added to them. There are, however, other instances in the main text which seem to show that B has preserved a more authentic reading:

- B 7v: 'all thez menscleers falleþe in the same chapter that azen charite scleeþe eny men in *procurynge*.'  
 1 chapter] synne S (83r)
- B 10r: 'Y sey for non euyll, but forto saue myne othe.'  
 othe] soule S (86r)
- B 14r: 'Tho that stelyn *monnus* chyl dren, and namelyche whyle that they byn yong, to put hem to howses of relygyon azen the wyl of fadyr and modyr....'  
 2 howses of relygyon] vse S (90v).

In the first of these examples B has the *lectio difficilior*: 'chapter' may refer to part of a source text, or possibly signify 'assembly'. In the other two examples particular abuses, familiar from other texts, are being alluded to. A number of commentaries on the Second Commandment include the excuses made by habitual swearers; one is that a man's bare word is no longer a sufficient surety:

it must needs be supported by an oath.<sup>42</sup> This appears to be the idea referred to in B. The somewhat awkward expression perhaps invited the substitution by copyists of the more familiar, but inappropriate, formula 'save my soul'. Again, it is a commonplace of anti-Mendicant literature that the friars had recourse to near-kidnapping in order to restock their Orders.<sup>43</sup> Although the culprits are not named, the reference in B is clear, too clear seemingly: 'vse' in S has the appearance of an expurgation, at a point where (contrary to the usual pattern) B, rather than S, has preserved the more polemical version.

Furthermore B, on two occasions at least, includes Latin which was not taken from scripture: a reviser is unlikely therefore in these cases to have had independent knowledge. The examples are:

B 13r: "Concupiscencia carnis, concupiscencia oculorum et superbia vite",  
 þat ys to sey "desyre of flesche, desyre of \ / yeyen or els pride of  
 lyfe".

1-2 concupiscencia<sup>1</sup> ... to sey *om.* S (90r) 2 of<sup>2</sup>] *yyn add. and eras.* B

B 29v: 'Quid est fides? Fides est credere.'

Quid est fides *om.* S (123v).

Again both examples, especially the latter, suggest that a collection of *distinctiones* was being drawn upon.

If we turn to consider the evidence supplied by the other related manuscripts, it begins to appear that no extant manuscript in the group can be a direct copy of any of the others. We have already provisionally excluded the possibility that R was copied from S, unless he borrowed from it piecemeal; this supposition is strengthened by examination of the Trinity 7 sermon in which we find that S and B on three occasions lack Latin authorities found in both R and Ross.<sup>44</sup> This sermon concludes with a commentary on wrath, of which B has the longest version. S has lost a leaf, possibly because the exciser took exception to the incendiary gospel commentary of the following sermon for Trinity 8.<sup>45</sup> For no

<sup>42</sup> See for example *Dives and Pauper*, ed. P. H. Barnum (EETS OS 275, 280; London, 1976-80), 1.227-29.

<sup>43</sup> See *Jack Upland, Friar Daw's Reply and Upland's Rejoinder*, ed. P. L. Heyworth (London, 1968), p. 63.209-11 and Heyworth's note on these lines (p. 126).

<sup>44</sup> 'Loke the prophete for this mater, Prouerbiorum x<sup>o</sup> et xj<sup>o</sup>' (Ross, p. 302.15-16, R 16vb; cf. S 22r, B 63r). 'Vnde Psalmus [90(91):15]: "Cum ipso sum in tribulacione; eripiam eum et glorificabo eum - with hym I am in tribulacion; I shall deliuer and glorifye hym"' (Ross, p. 303.2-4, R 17ra; cf. S 22r, B 63v). R and Ross both give Ecclus 23 as the source of the quotation 'Fili, prebe michi cor tuum' [Pr 23:26], whereas neither S nor B do (Ross, p. 302.28-29, R 17ra; cf. S 22r, B 63v). The text of R is unfortunately incomplete, but Ross's complete text has other material not found in S or B: 'Ad Ephesios, iij<sup>o</sup> [29], "Omnis sermo malus ... procedat" ... And also ad Ephesios, v<sup>o</sup> capitulo [3-4]: "Fornicacio ... graciaram accio - lechery ... gyfyng of thankes"' (Ross, p. 304.25-37; cf. S 22v, B 64v).

<sup>45</sup> See the text of the Trinity 8 sermon as printed in *English Wycliffite Sermons* 1.252-55.

discernible reason R's scribe stopped mid-sentence, midway down the page. Ross preserves more of the text, but this version likewise comes to an abrupt halt; seemingly this compiler decided independently that he had had enough.<sup>46</sup> Because Ross has more of the text than R, it cannot consequently be a copy of R.

The Trinity 6 sermon also shows that S omits material found in R.<sup>47</sup> S contains independent error,<sup>48</sup> and a reading peculiar to itself.<sup>49</sup> We also find that S and B agree in error;<sup>50</sup> as do R and Ross,<sup>51</sup> which furthermore share material

<sup>46</sup> The sermon ends 'For when an irus man oft tymes hym wrathes, his hert swelles a-non for tene' (Ross, p. 306.7-8). The editor notes (*ibid.*) that the lower half of the folio and the recto facing have been left blank. Seemingly paper was allowed for the completion of the sermon, but an *ad hoc* decision was made not to finish it.

<sup>47</sup> Only S and R include the entire gospel commentary, but its evidence shows independence between them. Compare S, 'Hire riȝtwisnesse was also hire frendes forto loue and forto haten hire enemy, bote oures mot passe þis þat we louen not only oure frend/yn God bote also oure enemy for þe loue of God, and so byddeþ Crist hymself in þe gospel vbi sic dicit, "Diligite ..." [Lc 6:27, Mt 5:44] (18r-v). R reads at this point 'For he þat hates his broþer is a mansleer: 1<sup>a</sup> Ioh. iii<sup>o</sup> [:15] "Qui odit fratrem suum homicida est" ... and þerfor byddes Criste in his holye gospell ... "Diligite..." (14rb). R also has other short passages in the gospel commentary which have no counterpart in S (cf. S 18r-v; R 14r-v).

<sup>48</sup> R reads (15rb):

For Cryste hymselfe is þis weye, both lyfe and trewth: Ioh. xiiij<sup>o</sup> [:6] 'Ego sum via, veritas et vita': 'I am weye – veritas et vita – treuth and lyfe', and he þat entres in by hym fode schall he fynde of al comforges and dayntes þat mannes herte may zerne, for Criste in þo gospell says þus hymselfe: Ioh. x<sup>o</sup> [:9] 'Si quis per me introierit'.

2 treuth] *rep. and eras.*

This is also substantially the text of Ross (p. 299.15-22) and B (61v). S however reads (19v):

For Crist hymself is þis wey, boþe lyfe and trouþe, for he þat entreþ in by hym fode he schal fynde of alle coumfortes and deyntees þat monnes herte may zerne. For Crist in þe gospel seith þus hymselfe 'Ego sum via, veritas et vita. Si quis per me introierit.'

S has thus misplaced the first authority and conflated it with the second. S also has the peculiar error 'þe dygnyte of þe deuell' (19r) where R (14vb), Ross (p. 297.20) and B (61r) read correctly 'þo dynte of þe deuell'.

<sup>49</sup> S alone reads (20r) 'Bote enuye þat regneþ now in þis world letteþ men to walke in þis newenesse of lyfe, and þis enuye is a foul synne of þe fend'. R (15va) has 'Now will I tell þou forth þo seconde hede synne þat lettes uos to walke in newnes of lyfe, þat is calde enuye, þat is a foule synne'. This is substantially followed by Ross (p. 299.31-33) and B (61v) except that B substitutes 'branche of synne' for 'hede synne'.

<sup>50</sup> S (19v) and B (61v) wrongly attribute the saying 'Spiritus sanctus discipline effugiet fictum' (Sap 1:5) to 'Seynt Iohn' in 'his epistel', although S correctly gives the source in a marginal note as 'Sap. primo'. Since R (15rb) and Ross (pp. 298-99) also include passages at this point in the sermon which have no counterpart in S or B, and since these passages both contain citations from John's epistles, it seems possible that S, or his antecedent, has abridged the text now witnessed by R and Ross, and in the process became confused as to the attribution of the authority. This would be the more likely to have occurred if, as in S itself, S's exemplar gave the sources for authorities in the margins rather than in the text.

<sup>51</sup> R (14vb) and Ross (p. 297.28, corrected by the editor) share the distinctive error 'in charyte owes us to blede' for the more unfamiliar 'bleve'. S (19r) and B (61r) share the reading 'in charyte owe vs to be cladde' (B, 'clothed'). Likewise R (15va) and Ross (p. 300.11) agree upon the error

not found in S or B.<sup>52</sup>

Collation of the *Mortuus uiuet* sermon found in SBCR suggests that, because of independent errors, neither R nor B can be the source of any of the others.<sup>53</sup> R and S contain a phrase omitted in C and B.<sup>54</sup> R, C and B also contain idiosyncratic readings: R has added phrases to clarify and strengthen the argument;<sup>55</sup> C and B have independently modified the phrasing and lost the whereabouts of authorities. Since B preserves information lacking in C as to the sources of some authorities, the B compiler is unlikely to have had access to C.<sup>56</sup>

'to [Ross, 'tyl'] he haue by wyll'; compare S (20r) 'til he haue cast by *sum* while', B (62r) 'till he haue cast by some wise'. The antecedent of R and Ross perhaps read 'by wyle' (i.e., 'wile': the passage speaks of the deceits practised by the envious man to discomfort his neighbour).

<sup>52</sup> These are strings of authorities; R (15ra), Ross (p. 298.20-29); compare S (19v) and B (60v). Of greater interest is the divergence between R (15rb), Ross (p. 299.6-10) and S (19v), B (61v). R and Ross read:

For he says he þat has chosen þo way of sothfastnesse, and þo apostle says, ij<sup>a</sup> Ioh. ij<sup>o</sup> [3 Jo 1:4] *Maiorem horum non habeam gratiam quam ut aud[i]am filios meos in veritate ambulantes.*

2 audiam] audeam R

It will be seen first that R and Ross agree in the error 'ij<sup>a</sup> Ioh. ij<sup>o</sup>' and secondly that there is a lacuna after 'sothfastnesse'. The text of S makes better sense of this, although the quotation from John that is omitted may be original:

For he seith þat he hath chosen þe wey of sothfastnesse: *viam veritatis elegi*, et cetera [Ps 118(119):30]. And þerfore take we ensauple of þe prophet.

1-2 *viam* ... prophet *om.* B

<sup>53</sup> Thus both scribes commit errors of haplography, as it happens at the same point in the text, although the results are very different. S reads as follows (203r; cf. C 23v):

Þer is thre manere of deth: bytter and mor eesy and kuyndely deth. Þe first is in zonge men, þat oper is in chyldre and þe thrydde deth is of olde men. Zonge men suffren more in deth þen don zonge chyldre or elles olde folke þat dyen in her elde.

B (108v) reads:

Ther is iij maner dethe: bytter and more esy and kyndely, and þe iij is in old men. Zeonge men sufferen more peyne in here dethe than don zeonge cheldren oper old folke.

R (10va) reads:

Þer is thre maner of dede: bytter and more esye and kyndely dede. Þe furst is in zong men, þat oper is in children or elles olde folke þat dyen in þer elde.

<sup>54</sup> S 202v, R 10rb: 'but preyer profyteth more' (cf. B 107v, C 22v).

<sup>55</sup> R (10ra) reads as follows (I italicise comments not found in the other three manuscripts):

Succour we hem þat bene dede wiþ almesdede gyuyng to þo pore nedye of Criste, wiþ deuoute prayers groundid in charite [and] wiþ deuoute fastyng out of dedelye synne and wiþ messe syngyng wiþouten symonye.

2 and'] as R.

<sup>56</sup> For example B 108r (cf. C 23r), 'As a grete clerke, *Hugo de Sacramentis, libro primo, parte secunda* seye'. C merely ascribes the ideas to 'a grete clerke off the *Sacramentis* in hys boke'. S (202v) and R (10rb) cite 'Hughe of þe Sacramentes in his boke'; S (but not R) adds in the margin 'Libro primo, parte secunda'. The ideas expressed correspond rather to book 1, part 6 of Hugh of St. Victor's *De sacramentis christianae fidei*, especially chaps. 18 and 24 (PL 176.275-78).

We may now properly enquire into the affiliations of the Ross anthology. Ross contains the three post-Trinity sermons, but it has already been hinted that it also contains material from other sermons found in the S-B dominical collection. These other sermons, it may now be revealed, are those for Advent 1-3 (Ross, Sermons 18, 20 and 21). Different scribes were responsible for these two groups of sermons. If we accept Ross's account, then Sermons 18, 20 and 21 were written by Scribes 1 and 3, whereas Scribes 5, 6 and perhaps 4 copied Sermons 44-46.<sup>57</sup> If we accept Warner and Gilson's more modest reckoning, then Sermons 18, 20 and 21 were written in the same hand as all the other sermons edited by Ross except for Sermons 44-46, which occur in a section of the manuscript where a number of hands are represented.<sup>58</sup> In either case the changeover of scribes working on the two sets might suggest that they were working from more than one exemplar: one which contained the main dominical cycle of S-B (or at least its Advent sermons) and another which contained Trinity 5-7, probably as a separate set, since it would seem overmuch of a coincidence to suppose that the Ross compiler (or compilers) independently sensed the peculiar merits, whatever they may be, of the Trinity 5-7 sermons and seized upon them and only them as worthy of being copied in full. If however we assume that the different groups of scribes were working from a single exemplar, then this cannot have been S itself, since the copyist at work in this part of S realised that these sermons were part of the main set and so desisted from copying them. One would need to propose an antecedent of S in which the scribes were less observant. From information set out below, however, it is clear that the Ross compiler did have access to a variety of vernacular sermon manuscripts: his is a patchwork compilation.

If, for the moment, we confine ourselves to the post-Trinity group, it is evident that, although the Ross compiler omitted the gospel commentaries at the beginning of two of the sermons (Trinity 6 and 7), he decided to do so independently. For that he had access to a copy which included the gospel commentaries (or at least a part of them, as in B) is apparent from his absent-minded inclusion of the remark 'vbi prius' in these two sermons immediately after the opening announcement of the theme.<sup>59</sup> In other words, the compiler had decided simply to begin at the *iteracio thematis*. Thus we have two compilers of the later fifteenth century, Ross and B, who decide on their own initiative that it might be diplomatic to leave out the scriptural commentary: we should remember that the post-Trinity group does not contain extreme views;

<sup>57</sup> Ross, p. xvi.

<sup>58</sup> G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *British Museum Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collection*, 4 vols. (London, 1921), 2.295-96.

<sup>59</sup> Ross, pp. 297.10, 301.21.

indeed in two of these sermons the commentary is unrelated to the Wycliffite set. Ross, then, probably had access to a text resembling S or R and, from what has already been said, it appears that Ross has a marked tendency to agree with R against S. Yet Ross cannot have been made directly from R since R's sermon for Trinity 7 is incomplete. If the association between R and Ross is correct, we must posit an antecedent for R.

It would be foolhardy indeed to attempt to devise a stemma to account for these preliminary and provisional observations. It may however be said that, if, as seems likely, none of the extant manuscripts was copied from any of the others, it follows that there were once other copies in existence. However the chance of contamination cannot be entirely dismissed.

In her edition Dr. Hudson remarked on the likelihood that further inter-connections between the S-B sermons and other vernacular compilations would come to light. In one respect this prophecy has already been fulfilled and it is no doubt possible that further affiliations await discovery. It comes increasingly to seem that much of the extant English preaching is an elaboration of a fairly small corpus of influential material.

Accordingly some further observations can be made concerning Ross Sermons 18, 20 and 21, sermons for Advent 1-3. It will be noticed that this further borrowing again affects a liturgically coherent group; indeed it is probable that the majority of the sermons in this anthology of *de tempore* preaching edited by Ross consists of small groups of sermons from diverse sources.<sup>60</sup>

The Ross compiler, or an antecedent, drew upon the three Advent sermons from S-B in an unusual way. Unlike the Trinity 5-7 group, he took passages here and there from S-B and interspersed them with passages from another vernacular collection now extant in Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Bodley 806,<sup>61</sup> and other passages probably from another sermon collection so far untraced. He may furthermore have had independent knowledge of a commentary on the Ten Commandments which was used in the Bodley 806 sermons, as well as S-B, but which may have had an autonomous existence. To add to all the other complications, the material which indubitably did come from the collection represented by Bodley 806 did not come from the corresponding sermons for Advent 1-3. Some of it is not even Advent preaching. It may be said that this method of composition by piecing together scraps of other men's prose suggests

<sup>60</sup> See Ross's discussion of the groupings (pp. xix-xxvi).

<sup>61</sup> S.C. 2688. This collection is another that derived material from the Wycliffite cycle and as such it is described in *English Wycliffite Sermons* 1.110-15. Two sermons from the collection are edited with their source, sermons by Odo of Cheriton, in Spencer, *English Vernacular Sunday Preaching*, pp. 421-534.

a degree of reluctance, remarkable to my knowledge even among the vernacular sermon writers, to produce original prose. Almost inevitably the compiler did not fully succeed in the creation of a fluent or even wholly coherent discourse out of such disparate ingredients: the argument from paragraph to paragraph in the modern edition proceeds somewhat unevenly; indeed Ross's paragraphs very often unconsciously reflect a change of source.

The correspondences between Ross and S-B and Ross and Bodley 806 are set out in the following table. Considerations of space make it impracticable to set out the whole of the parallel passages: instead I have given substantial *incipits* and *explicitis* of each passage to enable the reader to make some independent assessment of the nature of the borrowings. It may be noticed that the passage which is indebted to the Advent 4 sermon in Bodley 806, and which in content strikingly resembles a well-known passage in the *Ancrene Wisse*, is ultimately based upon a Latin source: the Sunday gospel sermon for Advent 4 by Odo of Cheriton.<sup>62</sup>

#### ROSS SERMON 18 (ADVENT 1)

Ross, pp. 103.33-104.16

Good men ... ziff a man shuld goye a wey  
þat he must nedys goy, or els feght with a  
slye enmye for is right and is heritage ...  
For and he ouercomm vs, þan we shall  
lose oure heritage fore euermore.

S 74r (B 1r)

3ef a man schulde wende a wey þat he  
moste nede wende, or elles fyzte *in*  
bataylle whit a sly enemy, þe ton to be  
ouercomen or þey *in* syndry zede, or forto  
wynne his heritage ... For 3ef we ouer-  
come not hym, he wol ouercome vs, and  
þenne we lesen oure heritage of lyf for  
euermore.

Ross, p. 104.22-32

And when þou felist comynge of temp-  
tacion of þe feend, and fowle ymagina-  
cions and euell thowthes, sey to þat cruell  
terraunt þe feend, 'Quid stas, cruenta  
bestia? – what stondiþ þou here, þou  
wicked beeste?' And make þe strongly  
with þe staffe of þe Crosse, and smyte  
hym with þe worde of God, with good  
redyng, in good preyours seyinge, in  
good almosse 3evyng, and in suche oþur

ms. Bodley 806, fol. 11v  
(Advent 4)

Whenne þou felust þe fende weende vp  
wiþ temptacions, and drawiþ nize vnto þe,  
willyng by his sleystus to putte þee *into*  
þe slydurnesse of letcherie, anon holde þee  
by þe staffe of strengþe and smyte þe deuel  
on þe heued, þat is wiþstonde his firste  
temptacion, for whenne þe fleysche be-  
gynneþ to wexe hoot, and þou felist  
comynge foule ymaginacions, seye þou  
þanne to hym, 'Quid hic astas, cruenta

<sup>62</sup> The material from Odo's sermon has been cited from a reliable manuscript of s. xiii, Cambridge, Peterhouse 109. Corrections are made from another good copy, Cambridge, Trinity College ms. B.15.22 (James 358), also s. xiii.

good occupacions doyinge, and bete þi flessch with þe zerde of penaunce; and þus þou shalte ouercomm þe feend and trede hym vndir þi fete.

6 make] *sic but* marke?

bestia?': 'What stondist þou heere, synful, wickide beest?' Þenkynghe wherof he is icome, and wharto he schal turne agen, strongly markynghe þee [wip þe] staf of þe cr< o > s, smyte þou hyme wip Goddis worde redynghe, or wip sum oper good occupacion doyinge, as to ryse vp nakid and bete þi stynkynghe fleysche wip a zerde wher þe fende hideþ hyme in þat fleysche, and so þou schalt al totrede vndir þi feete Sathanas.<sup>63</sup>

14 wip þe *om.* ms.

Ross, pp. 104.36-105.16

For so fawght Dauid when þat he ouercomm Golias. He assaied is armour and felte þat it was hevy, and threwe it aveye, and toke is slynghe with iij stones, and þer-with he slewz is enmy þe terraunt ... 'Vincenti dabo manna et nomen nouum; Vincenti dabo edere de ligno vite.' ... 'Esto fidelis usque ad mortem, et dabo tibi coronam vite', ... to all þo þat trewly loveþ hym.'

Ross, p. 105.17-35

Manny men seke Crist in sekenes and in tribulacion, but þei fynde hym not, why-for þei lost hym wilfully afore, forzetynghe hym in þere worldly prosperite, and seche hym with noon affeccion. And þer-fore I redd you do as þe holy prophete teches

S 74r-v (B 1r)

Þus fouzte Dauid whenne he slowþ Golyam: he assayedede his armure and felde hit was to heuy and caste hit fro hym away whenne þat he schulde fyzte and tok his slynghe wip þre stones and so he slow þis tiraunte ... 'Vincenti dabo manna et nomen nouum et Vincenti dabo edere de / ligno vite quod est in Paradiso Dei mei', ... to hem þat ben trewe in þis gostely baytalle.

ms. Bodley 806, fol. 22r  
(Epiphany 1)

Manye sechen Criste in tribulacion and fynden hyme not, for þey losten hym wilfully and forzeten hyme in wordely prosperite and be slowe in sechinghe, and þer-fore, as holy writte seiþ, I rede þat zee doo, 'Querite Dominum dum inveniri potest;

<sup>63</sup> Compare ms. Peterhouse 109, fols. 10v-11r (modern pencil foliation):

Cum sentis [diabolum] accedere, et te in lubricitatem luxurie uolentem inpellere, statim baculo fortitudinis te appodias, immo cum baculo diabolum / percutias. Diabolum sentis accedere cum caro incipit calere et turpes ymaginaciones intelligis uenire. Tu autem dicas, 'Quid hic astas, cruenta bestia?' et baculo crucis te ipsum signando, fortiter ipsum percutias et uiriliter te ipsum ad aliquod opus transferas, uel nudus surgas, cum uirga te [uerberes] ubi in carne diabolus latitat, et sic conteres ipsum Sathan.

1 diabolum] baculum ms. 5 uel] *corr.* ex ut ms. 6 uerberes] uerbera ms.

The expression 'Quid hic astas, cruenta bestia?' may reflect an exorcism formula. Compare 'Quid stas & resistis cum scias eum tuas perdere vires?' (E. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus libri quatuor*..., 3 vols. [Rouen, 1700-1702], 3.510 passim) or 'Conjuro te ... diabole ... nec stare nec discurrere nec latere nec saevire in corpore istius' (ibid., p. 512).

you, 'Querite Dominum dum inveniri potest; invocate eum dum prope est.' ... Or els he will sey to you as he seid to þe Iewes, 'Queritis me et non invenietis', ... be-cause þat ze seche not oure Lord with a sorowfull and a contrite herte for youre synnes, but in youre riot, lawgters, and dronkenes, with a feyned ypocrisy and horrible swerynge as þe most parte of þe pepull dose now-a-dais. No þus, but seche ze oure Lord when þat ze haue lost hym thorowe synne, as Mary and Ioseph dud iij dais, till þat þei fownd hym. Þat is to sey, þou shall goy to þe churche and þere shalt þou fynde hym, and not in þe merketplace ne in þe world of vanite, as chapmen seche þere ware.

Ross, pp. 108.21-110.10

The secunde Commaundement is, 'Non assumes nomen Dei tui in vanum.' ... Þe wiche is all day brokon amonge lered and lewd, with zonge men and old, with riche and pore, from a zonge child þat vnneþ can speke till þat age haue rafte is speche. And þus þei dismembur he þat is Lord ouer all lordes, as Seynt Poule wittenes where þat he seis þus, 'Deus exaltauit illum et dedit illi nomen quod est super omne nomen, ut in nomine Ihesu omne genu flectatur celestium, terrestrium, et infernorum.' ... And þer-fore seis þe vise man in is boke, 'Omni iuramento non assuescas os tuum - to iche swerynge custom not þi mowthe.' He beleviþ not in Crist þat troweþ not is wordes; and he beleveþ in Crist þat wilfully leueþ is synne and þat kepis is commaundementes. Þer-for let vs leue oure synne and wretchednes with all oure myght, and caste we a-vey suche werkes of derkenes, and liiff we in þe lawe of God, þat we may com to þat infinite blisse þat God hap ordeynd for vs. Amen.

inuocate eum dum prope est.' ... Or hellis, as he seyde to þe Iewes, 'Queritis me / et non invenietis' ... For lastyngly zee sechen me, not sorowyng for zour s < y > nnes, bot in riot, lauzter and ioye, drunknesse and swerynge, as men sechen nouzadayes deede stockes and stonys. Þerfore zee musten seche hym whenne he, þorouȝ synne, is lost from zou, as Marie dide and Ioseph, þre dayes til þei founden hyme, þat is to seye wiþ ful desyre of herte, wiþ preyer and almes-dede, and weende towarde Ierusalem, for þere þou schalt fynde hyme; not in þis worldes wanyte as schappemen sechen þer ware.

8 me] *add.* s.s. 20 not] *nō* ms.

S 74v-75v (B 1v-2v)

Pou schalt not take þi Lordus name in veyn, þe wuche is alday broken among lewed and lered, amonge zunge and olde, amonge riche and poure, for fro a luytel zunge child þat can vnneþes speke into þe olde bedraden mon þat helde hap nyȝ rafte speche is þis maundament broken þat sorwe it is to here. Euervche yuele cristene man takeþ Cristus name in veyn þe wuche is boþe God and man and name abouen alle names, as Seynt Poule wit nesseþ where he þus seiþ, 'Deus exaltauit illum et dedit illi nomen quod est super omne nomen, vt in nomine Iesu' ... / ... Þerfore seiþ þe wyse man þus in his boke, 'Omni iuramento non assuescas os tuum': 'Vnto vche swerynge ne custome þou not þi moup', bote caste we away þe dedes of derkenesses, and I wol tellen zou forþ her-aftur more of þis maundemente þat we may whit dedes of lyȝt kepe clene Godes lawe and lyfte oure loue to heuenward fro þis wrechede lyfe, to come to þat blessyde lyf þat euermore schal laste. To þat lyf he brynge vs þat beste may of alle. Amen.

## ROSS SERMON 20 (ADVENT 2)

Ross, pp. 114.24-115.16

Sirs, þise be þe wordes of Seynt Poule, and ben þus muche to sey in Ynglissh, 'Haue we trew feyȝth.' For and we faille hope, þan oure helpe and oure socure is farre from vs, for as oure dedis be, so shall we be comforted ... And also he seis þat we haue a vokett to þe Fadur, Ihesus Crist, þe wiche is ryghtfull and mercyfull for oure synnes – not oonly for ours, but for all þe world. And þerfore lett vs knalage oure synnes, and turne we vs to God.

S 76v-77r (B 3r)

'Haue we hope.' In trewe hope lyȝt al oure helpe and help for euermore, and, ȝef we fayllen of trewe / hope, oure hele is al aweye, bote aftur þat oure dedes ben, so schule we hope, for good hope may he noun haue þat wol not lyue wel. And so moste he be coumfortlas whenne he wenden heþen away ... 'Whoso synneþ, we han a uoket, Ihesu Crist, at þe Fadur, wuche þat is rȝtwys: he is help for oure synnes', and not only for oures, bote also he is help for þe synnes of al þe world. Be we þerfore trusty and turne we to hym. And, 'haue we hope', as Y firste seide.

4-5 so schule we hope] so schall oure hope be comforted B

Ross, pp. 115.20-117.18

And so þe puplicane þat com in-to þe churche to prey was preysed of God in foure þinges ... 'And þan ȝiff þat we seche spase of penaunce, we shall non fynde ne may haue no tyme þer-to.' Þerfore whils þat God abideþ vs, amende ich man hym-selfe.

MS. Bodley 806, fols. 98v-99v  
(Trinity 11)

And so þis publican was preised of God in foure þinges ... / ... 'And þanne we seche space to do penaunce and we shul mowe fynde noo space.' Þerfore þe while þat God abidiþ vs to amende / doo eche man hymesilf and his neȝebore to his miȝt þat we be amendide or we diȝe.

Ross, pp. 117.19-118.8

And take we not Goddes name in vayn in swerynge and forswerynge as many men do. Som will swere þe more þat a man blameþ hym, and so wilfully þei dispice God; and þei be Caymes childere ... Iterum crucifixerunt Filium Dei. And þerfore iche man amend hym-selfe, and so haue we hope in God. But swerynge of prestes is cause of many mo, and þerfore seiþ Seynt Gregore in is boke, 'Ruina populi maxime ex sacerdotum et cleri est culpa.' ... 'As þe werst of þe peple is, so is þe preeste now-a-daies.'

S 77r-78r (B 3v-4r)

Somme wolen swere muche þe more ȝef þat men blamen hem, and so willefully / and wytynge þey dispisen God, þe wuche ben Iudas children ... 'Et milites crucifixerunt eum.' And þerfore vche mon amende hym, and so 'haue we hope', as I first seide ... Bote now, þe more harme is, þei þat schulden beste lyue: byschopes, erchideknes, officiales and denes and oþer men of þe chirche, þat reden Godes lawe, cursyde ensaumple þey ȝeue, for þey meynteine suche sweryng, and þerfore mony of hem taken no hede hou cursidely þey swere, and þerfore seiþ Seynt Gregor

þus in his Omelyes, 'Ruina populi maxime est sacerdotum culpa.' ... / ... 'As þe wurste of þe pepul, so is þe prest.'

7-17 Bote now ... prest] *om.* B

Ross, pp. 118.13-119.10

ms. Bodley 806, fols. 37v-38r  
(Quinquagesima)

Per-for kepe we þe Commaundementes of God, of þe wiche þe thirde is 'Memento ut diem sabbati sanctifices – haue mynde to halow þi halyday.' And þat þou shalte do for iij causes. On is þat þou shalt þanke God and worshippe hym of all þe good werkes þat þou hast done all þe weke-days be-fore ... And per-fore make not youre halyday a cursed day þorowe youre evill werkes, but kepe you youre haliday in clennes, as þe children of God shuld do, þat he may call you with is holy blissyng to þe halyday of euer lastyngne ioy.

'Memento vt diem saboti sanctifices' ... as *per* ben pre *Persones in Trinite*, so þese pre hestis be *proprid* to þe Trinite. Se for pre causes þou schalt halawe þine haly-day. Oon is þat þou haue leyser to þanke God and wrschippe hym for alle þe medeful werkis þat þou hast doon in þe woke ... / ... And *perfore*, frendis, make zee not 3our halydayes curside þorow cursede werkis, but in holynesse halewe zee hit as holy sones of God þat he wel clepe 3ow at þe ende wiþ his holy blessing to þe sabot of euerelastyngne ioy.

Ross, pp. 119.34-120.4

B 105r (Trinity 24)

The ij fadur þat we shall worshippe is man of age – but not oonly for is age, but for is vertewes lyvyngne ... 'maledictus puer centum annorum.' ... 'Non vocaberis Abram, sed Habraham.' And we shuld worshippe suche holy old faders.

The second fader that þou scholdest wur-schupp is a man of age, not only of age but also of vertue ... 'Maledictus fit puer centum annorum.' ... As holy Daid and Abraham hem ougt we to wurschupp and to lerne of hem in holynes oure lif to lede.<sup>64</sup>

Ross, p. 120.5-6

ms. Bodley 806, fol. 40v  
(Lent 1)

The iij fadere is þe keper of þi sowle, and hym þou awes to worshipp in all maner of vertewes and goodenes.

Þe þridde fader is þe keper of þi sowle. Hym þou owest to wrschipe in alle manere vertues.

ROSS SERMON 21 (ADVENT 3)

Ross, pp. 121.8-123.4

S 79v-80r (B 4v-5v)

Frendes, þise been þe wordes of þe holy apostell Seynt Poule and ben þus myche to

'Ne wole 3e not demen byfore tyme.' Þis synne is muche vsed now among þe pepul

<sup>64</sup> It will be seen that this definition of the 'second father' in Ross is not derived from the corresponding S-B sermon for Advent 2, but resembles a local passage in Trinity 24. This would seem to add weight to the supposition that the Ross compiler may also have consulted independently a commentary on the Commandments which had an autonomous existence and which was also drawn upon in S-B and in Bodley 806, so that the Ross compiler may have encountered it in three different sources.

sey to youre vndirstondyng: 'Will ȝe not deme be-fore tyme.' Þis synne is muche vsed now amonge men, and þer-fore itt is nedefull to knowe what demyng þat we shuld leue. There bethe ij maner of demynges, foly demyng, and ryghtwisse demyng. ... 'ryghtfull dome', he seis, 'is turned abakke, and sothefastnes stode afarre; and trowthe fell downe in þe strete, and equite myght not entur.'

Ross, pp. 124.5-125.21

Also God biddeþ þe þat þou shalt do no thefte, for iij maner of theves þer been þat robben men of þer goodes: open robbers, and prevey theves, and sotell theves ... þe wiche þei sell all for þe penny and for no mans mede, with many fals lesyngges, as þe feend here maistur techeth hem for to robbe þe pore pepull sotelly of þer goodes. And þer-for seid Crist, 'Attendite a falsis prophetis.' Et cetera, ad placitum. Non post hec.<sup>65</sup>

in þis world, and þerfore nede it is to knowe wuche demyng we schulden leue. Twey maner of demyngus þer ben: foly demyng and rigtwys dome ... / ... 'Rygtwys dome', he seiþ, 'is turned aȝeyn, and sothfastenesse stood al ofeer. Treuþe fel down in þe feld, and equyte myȝte not entre in.'

S 80r-v (B 5v-6r)

And þerfore telle we forþ now þe toper Comaundement of seuen þat God byddeþ þou schalt not do, and þis is þat þou do no þefte. And þrie maner of þeues þer ben þat robben men of hire goodes: opene robberes þer ben, and pryuey þeues and sutel þeues ... / ... and al is for þe peny and not for monnes mede, wiþ mony false curside lesyngus as þe deuyl hem techeth. Vnto grete lordus wolen none suche wende, bote forto robbe þe poure men sutely of hire goodus, for lordus han more wisdam hire falsenesse to knowe. And þerfore beþ we war of suche as þe gospel byddeþ, 'Attendite a falsis prophetis.'

### III

#### THE NATURE OF THE ALTERATIONS IN B

B's alterations of S most commonly and characteristically take the form of omissions rather than of additions and substitutions other than such modi-

<sup>65</sup> The deliberate omission of any further material on theft in Ross is scarcely surprising. S continues with an intemperate denunciation of clerical depredations (the passage 'and al is for þe peny ... prophetis' and the ensuing material is likewise omitted in B). The original S-B compiler appears to have drawn upon the *Rosarium* or *Floretum* in this section: on fol. 81r of S there is the comment 'Parisiense, þe grete clerk, seiþ þus in his bok, "Quidam enim sunt mercenarii munera querentes per mendacia, per falsas reliquias, sigilla et literas, per falsa et miracula"', with a marginal reference 'In libro abbreviato de pseudo-predicatoribus, capitulo xlv<sup>o</sup>'. Compare *The Middle English Translation of the Rosarium Theologie*, ed. von Nolcken, p. 91.31-35 and the editorial note, p. 123. In the *Rosarium* and *Floretum* the reference is located either in chap. 50 or, as here, chap. 45 of the *liber abbreviatus*.

fications as were necessary to smooth over the effect of the omissions. The compiler does however evince a desire to make the sermons more accessible by updating archaisms and by modification of some of the more difficult or ponderous syntactic constructions. 'go' is substituted for 'wende', 'duell' for 'wone', 'commaundement' for 'hest', 'curse' for 'malesoun', 'forbedythe' for 'forfended'.<sup>66</sup> 'lest we lese heuen blis' replaces 'do we riȝt so for þe losse of heuen blisse' (B 4v; S 78r), and the elephantine *paronomasia* 'take anoþer custom and custome oþerwyse hire tunge' becomes 'constrayne ther tonges frome oþes' (ibid.). Many other instances could be adduced, but the updating of archaisms is primarily of interest in so far as this strengthens the supposition that B is considerably later in date than the *Summary Catalogue* suggests.

A dual intention may be discerned in B's omission of copy: the desire to render the text more acceptable by the expurgation of controversial or invidious remarks and the wish to make it more palatable by simple abridgement. Inevitably these twin concerns overlap. Thus B's (and Ross's) removal of the gospel translations and their accompanying commentaries may be explained by either motive or both together. Quite how the user of B was supposed to cover the Sunday gospels is unclear: with a few exceptions<sup>67</sup> the translation of the pericope breaks off after a sentence or so with the formula 'Ut patet in Evangelio'. This direction is presumably addressed to a preacher rather than a congregation and is perhaps best interpreted as an invitation for him to continue the translation or to paraphrase *ad hoc*, unless one posits the unlikely alternative that he is being referred to a copy of the Wycliffite Sunday gospel sermons also in his possession. B has retained many comments in S on the supreme importance of making 'God's word' available to the people in sermons; accompanying gospel translations would fulfil this requirement without adding unduly to the length.

Length certainly seems to have been a consideration. A number of the substantially omitted passages seem innocuous or uncontentious enough. Examples are:

#### Easter 2

Summe men suffren willefully, and somme men aȝeyn þer wille. And somme men suffren togedur þe toun and þe toþer. Men schulden suffre willefully for loue of þer soule, as þey wolen suffre willefully for loue of þer luste boþe hoot and cold, hunger and þurste (S 133r).

<sup>66</sup> Examples are: 'If a man schuld go a wey þat he muste nedes goo' (B 1r; cf. S 74r); 'þat we may duell wiþ hym' (B 10v; cf. S 87v); 'the commawndementis of God' (B 14r; cf. S 91r); 'curse he couetithe' (B 8r; cf. S 83v); 'he forbedythe hyt' (B 14r; cf. S 91r).

<sup>67</sup> Palm Sunday (29v-30r); Trinity 4 (53r); Trinity 5 (55v-56v); Trinity 6 (60r-v); Trinity 24 (103v-104r).

Some sufferyn wilfully for the loue of oþer bothe hete and cold, hunger and furst (B 37r).

#### Trinity 9

For wiþ trauel ze han geten hem [earthly goods] noun oþurwyse certes þen a thef þat fro his lor < d > hath stolen a gret pak of his goode and schal be honged þerfore. Wiþ mucþe trauel he hit stelep and holdeth hyt wiþ drede bote, whenne he wendeþ toward þe galewes and bereþ hit in his nekke, luytel ioy may he haue to say þat hit is hyse, for hit is taken fro hym soone and he deed þerfore (S 29v; cf. B 71r).<sup>68</sup>

#### Trinity 16

And so þey [men] sunnen in pruyde and wasten her complexiun on mony manere wyse and maken hem so feble þat þey mowe not serue God, summe wyth lecherye and drunkenhede and suche oþer sunnes þat maken men forto dye longe or þey schulde – and wiþ vnwyse abst(i)nence and oþer penaunce doying – and myghten lurne, and wole noghte, hou þey schulden plesse God (S 46v).

But they byn ycaste into the deuels daunger and seruyce that they haue no mynde on the blis of heuen, ne on the peynes of hell, bot gon forthe as vnresenabull bestis and woll not lerne to plesse God (B 86r).

Not infrequently the B compiler practised a mild form of expurgation in order to mitigate the force of certain harsh or coarse sayings. Thus a passage in Trinity 16 which spoke of the rape of religious women has been toned down (B 86r; S 46v) and a reference to sins against kind has been removed from Trinity 17 (B 89r; S 50r). In Trinity 12 'summe by sum wommon' became the 'synne of glotony' (B 77r; S 36r). The following diatribe concerning the soul's prostitution to the devil will illustrate B's greater sense of decorum:

#### Trinity 14

Penne as a hore quene of þat foule harlot hire conceyueth wyth sorowe and bryngeth forthe wiþ schome in horedome and harlottrye foule cursed bastardes: lothly sunnes and foule, as chyldre of helle (S 41v).

Sche conceyuythe and bryngythe forthe cheldren of synne, þat is to sey foule cursed bastardes and foule cheldren of hell (B 82r).

In the following example from Epiphany 4 the whole cast of the original has been altered:

<sup>68</sup> The comparison is an old one. Compare *Ancrene Wisse* and Alexander of Bath (references given in E. J. Dobson, *Moralities on the Gospels. A New Source of Ancrene Wisse* [Oxford, 1975], p. 162). Compare also Odo of Cheriton, 'Secundum consuetudinem quarundam regionum, collo furis furtum imponitur et sic confuse ducitur ad patibulum' (ms. Peterhouse 109, fol. 6r).

Mony folk for pryde vsen mony rynges, boþe ȝunge and olde – and dritte vndur þe nayle/ – þe wuche wolde helpe mony poure and wyne men gret mede and gret loue of God, for ‘loue is fulfullyng of þe lawe’, as I firste seide (S 99r-v).<sup>69</sup>

Mony folke for pride vse thez thyngis, bothe yong and olde (B 21v).

A reference to the non-celibacy of priests in scripture was also removed from Trinity 24.<sup>70</sup> B was not consistently fastidious however. He retained for instance a reference to false confessors who debauch women (B 10r; S 86r), and most of the extensive commentary on the degrees of lechery which takes up four weeks from Trinity 14-17.

Of greater significance is the pervasive, although again not wholly consistent, expurgation of controversial matter. The epistle and pastoral sections of the sermons (which are of course the parts of the sermons which principally remain in B) have been provisionally described as ‘the work of a Lollard sympathiser, though not on the extreme wing of the movement’.<sup>71</sup> Perhaps the most doctrinally extreme remarks are those which concern confession. The sermon-writer commented that true confession ought to be made ‘wiþ meke schewyng to a prest of good lyf þat con boþe leuse and bynde’ (88r): he did not discount oral shrift, but it is not clear whether he shared the view that confession to an evil-living priest was invalid. He was in any case too outspoken for B: the very phrasing, whatever the doctrinal implications, was reminiscent of Lollard polemic.<sup>72</sup> B likewise jibbed at the plain statement ‘and so forzeuenesse of synne only to God longeþ’ (S 130r), preferring instead the blander ‘he schall ... haue forzeuenes of synne’ (35r). Accordingly in B ‘wiþ meke schewyng ... leuse and bynde’ was altered to ‘wiþ meke schewyng to hym þat hathe cure of hym’ (11v); it is evident from many passages that B, like the original writer, sided with the secular clergy in their long and bitter contention that they and they alone, not peripatetic friars, should hear their parishioners’ confessions. Presumably both B and the original compiler were themselves seculars. Indeed B felt sufficiently strongly about this to elaborate the point: ‘he þat is þy curatt hathe vndertake thi soule, if þou wolt wurchen as

<sup>69</sup> ‘Plenitudo legis est dilectio’ (Rom 13:10) is the theme, taken from the day’s epistle.

<sup>70</sup> Leaves have been excised from S at this point, but the text follows the corresponding Wycliffite sermon: see *English Wycliffite Sermons* 1.317.9-11.

<sup>71</sup> *ibid.* 1.123.

<sup>72</sup> Compare *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, ed. T. Arnold, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1869-71), 3.461. Compare also ‘Of Confession’ in *The English Works of Wyclif Hitherto Unprinted*, ed. F. D. Matthew (EETS OS 74; London, 1880), p. 333.4-6, ‘it is licy þat a prest ordeyned to be dampned assoyleþ not þus; but what prest or man confessid wot wher þis prest shal be dampned.’ Compare also *English Wycliffite Sermons* 1.276-77.28-58. B likewise omitted to translate a saying of St. Augustine (although he included the Latin), ‘No man dop away synne, no bote only Crist, þe wuche is lomb doynge away þe synnes of þe world’ (S 130r; B 35r).

he biddeþe the' (11v). S also suggests that, because forgiveness comes from God, the mediation of a priest is not in all cases necessary. Following Ambrose, he adduces the example of St. Peter: 'whenne þat he hade trespaced, wel Y fynde þat he wepte bitturly þerfore; hise teres Y rede, bote not his schrift to a prest' (S 130v). This was apparently too reminiscent for B's comfort of the Wycliffite view that:

If it were nedful to man, crist wolde have vsed it or tauzt it. Whenne crist forzaue marie magdeleyne hir synnes, he vsed not siche rownyng; and whenne he forzaue petir hise synnes, & poule his, & oþer men heren þat he clensid, he vsid not sich rownyng in ere, ne siche asoylyng as prestis vsen nowē.<sup>73</sup>

The passage from S was expunged in B. Moreover, by instancing Judas, the S compiler suggested that confession was not only not always necessary, but that it was also not always efficacious (87v). B again left this out (11r). There is again perhaps an implicit challenge to the priest's power to bind and unbind in the following passage, likewise censored in B, although the main point is that oral shrift and satisfaction by money payment are insufficient without true contrition and subsequent reform of life:

Mony lewede folk wene it sufficeþ vnto hem whenne he haþ spoken wiþ þe prest and payed a schrift peny and leyd his hond on his hed and seiþ he assoilleþ hym forto pay a trental and synge hit hymself, or vche Friday to offre to ymages in þer chirche or elles to zeue a pound of waxe to þe hye auter, or elles pay a porcion to þe poure freres, and þe man turneþ aȝeyn to his olde lyfe (S 130r).

The need for contrition and subsequent amendment of behaviour were commonplaces in discussions of penance: the passage quoted develops from commentary on contrition which B included (35r). Yet the implied criticism of contemporary outward expressions of satisfaction was unacceptable; doubtless too the slighting reference to 'ymages' was scarcely conciliatory.<sup>74</sup> B elsewhere shows however that he shared S's dislike of satisfaction by gifts 'to þe poure freres', although he has a tendency in common with other moderate critics to shrink from explicitly naming the enemy:

A \syke/ man schuld rather chese hym þat woll ley his lif for him than anoþer þat woll nott butt ley a plaster to him, takynge largely therfor, profyte what he may (B 11v).<sup>75</sup>

<sup>73</sup> 'Of Confession' (Matthew, p. 328.9-14). S includes explicit discussion of this subject in the gospel protheme for Trinity 19 (54r-v; *English Wycliffite Sermons* 1.298-99).

<sup>74</sup> B has omitted a long passage in Trinity 25 which condemns the worship of images and the adornment of churches (S 71r-v; B 105v).

<sup>75</sup> Compare 'Fifty Errors and Heresies of Friars' (Arnold 3.374-75, 393-94).

Yet if B was certainly no friend of the friars, he nonetheless often found S's outspoken denunciation of them too pungent. A passage concerning letters of fraternity was deleted,<sup>76</sup> as was a long passage on clerical peculation which included detailed anti-Mendicant polemic (S 80v-81r; B 6r). The old charges are made: friars (and other regulars) entice away men's children to entrap them into their Orders,<sup>77</sup> 'perfore to alle suche, be þei freres, monkus or chanones, God in þe gospel zeueþ hem his curs' (S 81r). They are deceitful and preach merely for gain and personal vainglory.<sup>78</sup> In the sermon for Trinity 1 a covert passage directed against unchaste friars, whose clerical garb wards off suspicion, is turned in B into an unexceptionable diatribe against 'louers of lustes, blasphemynge wipout pes, wicked wipout mekenes, not buxom to here fren-des, wipout affecte, wycked and vnkynde, the whiche that folowen here lust wip synne ycharged' (46v). Originally this read:

loueres of lustus more þen of God, þe wuche han colour of holynesse as holy habitus – bote hem wonteþ þe vertu – þe wuche wolen wende from hous to house and wrecchid wymmen leden abouten þat folewen þer luste whit / mony synnes chargid (7r-v).<sup>79</sup>

B has however preserved outspoken criticism of itinerant mendicants, in which category both pardoners and friars seem to be comprehended, although friars are again not explicitly named:

Theuys and robbers owȝt to be ware here, and al covetous men, for dampnyng of hell. And namely fals beggers \ / that beggon and haue no nede: pardoners

<sup>76</sup> S 49r; B 87v-88r.

<sup>77</sup> S 80v. Many parallels could be adduced (the point is a commonplace) but compare FitzRalph, *Defensio Curatorum*, translated by Trevisa (EETS OS 167; London, 1925), p. 56. See also Jack Upland (Heyworth, p. 63.209-11); the 'Epistola Sathanae ad Cleros' (Hudson, *Selections*, p. 92.116-17). The text of S perhaps most resembles 'The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy' (Hudson, *Selections*, p. 76.46-63, and see the note on these lines, p. 178). Mention is made of the small gifts used to lure children and the two share an authority in common: 'Ve vobis scribe et pharisei, ipocrite, qui circuitis mare et aridam ut faciatis vestrum proselitum' (Mt 23:15). However, as has been noticed above, B has elsewhere retained a prolonged attack on 'tho that stelyn monnus chyltren' (B 14r; S 90v). Many of the same points are made.

<sup>78</sup> S 80v-81r:

And þus doun false prechours þat sellen Godes word, þe wuche wolen / preche in no place bote þere þey hope to wynne corn, chese or masse pons, wolle, bred or ale; þat byhoten men preieres and to be hire breperen, of þe wuche Seynt Gregor spekeþ and seiþ on þis wyse: *Quisque ideo predicat ut hic vel laudis vel muneris mercedem accipiat, eterna procul dubio mercede se priuat*, 'Whoso precheþ perfore here to haue reward of preisyng or of zifte, whitouten any doute he depriueþ hymself of mede euerlastyng.'

1 wuchel] wuchē S

<sup>79</sup> Compare Upland's *Rejoinder* (Heyworth, pp. 102.29, 103.58-59 and the note on these lines, p. 164).

and fals prechours wiþ othyr suche, that ȝyf a man haue but on peny they wol haue hyt thowȝ he schuld [ete] bred and watur and al hys howsehold. Or yf a man had but a buschel of corne ȝyt wol they haue halffe and ryȝt haue they non thereto (B 14r; cf. S 91r).<sup>80</sup>

2 beggers] a *add. and eras.* B 3 wiþ othyr suche] and alle suche stronge beggares  
*add.* S 4 ete] zete B howsehold] hous meyne S

S is substantially the same; B's only significant alteration is the omission of the phrase 'stronge beggares', which may well, in view of the extensive criticism of able-bodied beggars in Wycliffite writing, have gained undesirable connotations.<sup>81</sup> B has elsewhere retained an aside to the preacher which invited him to discourse on idle beggars.<sup>82</sup>

The major part of the controversial material in S consists of criticism of contemporary ecclesiastical abuses, rather than doctrinal aberration. Even so there was a long-standing convention that one did not lessen the people's respect for the ministry by proclaiming the faults of the clergy from the pulpit. One confined criticism of particular occupational vices to the appropriate congregation.<sup>83</sup> Because Lollard preaching persistently flouted this principle of decorum,<sup>84</sup> Archbishop Arundel had underwritten the convention by legislation.<sup>85</sup> Such criticism, although not necessarily heterodox *per se*, had come to

<sup>80</sup> See also the extensive discourse on 'false brethren' in Trinity 17 (B 87v-88r, S 49r-v), perhaps based on a distinction on *frater*.

<sup>81</sup> A. Hudson has noted the incidence of *customable begging* or *beggar* in 'A Lollard Sect Vocabulary?' in *So Meny People, Longages and Tonges: Philological Essays in Scots and Mediaeval English Presented to Angus McIntosh*, ed. M. Benskin and M. L. Samuels (Edinburgh, 1981), pp. 15-30, reference, p. 20. 'stronge beggerus' occurs in *English Wycliffite Sermons* 1.258.57.

<sup>82</sup> B 28v, 'Men may touche of beggers and of theues her, þat trauelyn not' (cf. S 123r).

<sup>83</sup> A view expressed, for example, by Thomas Waleys:

Si enim soli clero praedicet, licitum est et expediens quod contra eos vel eorum vitia et quae sunt clericis propria ... dure increpet ... Similiter ubi solum est populus, non invehatur contra clerum aut vitia quae solum clericis consueverunt inesse, quia hoc esset exhortari populum ut clerum contemnat.

(Cited from 'De Modo Componendi Sermones', ed. Th.-M. Charland, *Artes praedicandi: contribution à l'histoire de la rhétorique au moyen âge* [Paris-Ottawa, 1936], pp. 337-38).

<sup>84</sup> Compare the gibe at the *ad status* preaching of the friars in *Jack Upland*, 'Frere, siþ ȝe wolen opinli preche aȝen þe defaultis of prelati, of prestis, lordis, lawiers & marchauntis & comouns, whi be ȝe so wode þat prestis prechen of ȝoure defaultis?' (Heyworth, p. 65.251-53). Knighton saw vituperation as a hallmark of Lollard rhetoric:

Sicque mellis suavitatem in capite eloquii gerebant, in cauda venenum. Nam doctrina eorum in quibuscumque loquelis in sui principio dulcedine plena apparuit et devota, in fine quoque invidia subtili et detractio plena defloruit.

(Cited from *Chronicon Henrici Knighton*, ed. J. R. Lumby, 2 vols. [RS 92; London, 1889-95], 2.186.17-21). 'Blaming of sin' was one of the duties of a 'true' preacher, along with teaching God's law and God's word. It will be seen that S and B tend to associate the two ideas.

<sup>85</sup> Wilkins, *Concilia* 3.316, Constitution 3.

be associated with heretical preaching. Accordingly it is not surprising that passages which concerned the vicious living and ambition of clerics have been suppressed in B. The original author considered that 'þe cursidest ensauple of al þe world is taken of men of þe chirche: to loke to alle þe seuen synnes þou may(s)t fynden hem in hem alle' (90v; cf. B 13v). Men of the church are simoniacal hypocrites: they conform to the outward demands of religious observance, but only so that they may satisfy their greed for wealth and honours. Thus they waste the church's substance in riotous living and display to impress the very commons from whom they have extorted the money to waste on 'hie horses and strumpetes and on day holdynges, on baselardes and gurdeles herneysed wip seluer, on tregetoures and mynystreles to crye hire name aboute' (S 135v; cf. B 39r).<sup>86</sup> 'Þuse flateryng freres' proclaim their poverty, yet desire to be called and to have the state of masters of divinity, 'and is als wyse byfore as euer is he aftur' (S 135v; cf. B 39r). Simony is anatomised in Trinity 8: again the material is omitted from B (S 26v; cf. B 68v).

Nonetheless the material wealth of the church evidently irked the B compiler, as did the friars. It seems that circumspection was necessary, but he did not perhaps object to the general principles of S. Accordingly it is not clear whether his modifications reflect the greater temperateness of his views or a concern for his personal safety: the polemical matter that remains perhaps indicates the degree of acerbity that he thought he might be able to get away with. On occasion he has retained passages that are very strident indeed. The following outstanding specimen, in which the pomp of modern churchmen is contrasted with Christ's poverty, deserves quotation in full. It illustrates the tendency of late fourteenth-century or early fifteenth-century religious or polemical prose to give way momentarily to alliterative metre for heightened effect.<sup>87</sup> B has made little, if any, attempt to stifle the rhythm of the original and has either added to the inventory of abuses, or he has had access to a fuller text than S:

But that that men clepen holy churche is full ferre therfrome, but as the synagoge of Sathanas,<sup>88</sup> þat gretely hit is to sorowe. For they þat / schuld rule holy churche wip Ihesu Crist, they forsake Cristes rule and rule hem after lustes; and zet they seyn they byn rewlars to lede men vnto heuen, but all by a wronge wey þat is not Ihesu Crist, for he is wey and he is life, as hymselfe telleþe *Ego sum via, veritas et vita* [Jo 14:6]. But Crist was pore and þey byn ryche. He is meke and they byn prowde. He was dispised and they byn wurschopped. He was pursewed and they

<sup>86</sup> Elsewhere S criticises the array of lords 'and þuse riche men, byschopus, abbotus and prioures' (14v), a passage likewise censored in B (55v).

<sup>87</sup> Compare *Jack Upland* (Heyworth, pp. 57.69-74, 57-58.79-89, and 71-72.401-end, and see Heyworth's comments, pp. 28-29).

<sup>88</sup> Compare Hudson, *Selections*, pp. 81.262, 82.284, 87.151-52.

pursewen. He fasted and they faren full well. He seruyd and they byn seruyd. He kneled and men knele to hem. He praid and they done curse. He preched and they hold *hem* styлле. He forzeauē and they pursewen and punyschen. He bade pece and they byd sclee. He wepte and they lawȝen. He fedd pepell and helped his folke and they robbyn and dispoynen. He suffered cold and they sitten full warme. He had but on cote and they haue xx. He was wiȝ the pore and they byn wiȝ lordes. He was barefoote and they byn yschudde;<sup>89</sup> he in hyllys and they in halles; he in water and they yn dry. He bare the crosse and they bere the pylche. He forsoke wurschuppes and they taken hit. He sauȝd and they dampnythe. He tasted eysell and gall and they pyment and full suete drynkes. He was crowned wiȝ thornes and they wiȝ pereles. He bouȝt and they syllen. He stied vp and they go doune. He went to heuen and they to hell. Thus is this ychaunged þat pite it is to hyre. God forbede it þat we schuld lyue in suche a maner; but amend we vs to better þat we haue done amysse (B 33v-34r; S 128r-v).

10 hold hem styлле] he bad hise preche and þei forfende *add.* S pursewen and punyschen] punische S 14 he was barefoote ... yschudde *om.* S 14-15 he in water ... dry *om.* S 15 pylche] purse S 17 and full suete drynkes *om.* S 19 ychaunged] þus is þis chirche chaungyd S 20 we schuld lyue in suche a maner] we schulden byleue in suche maner chirche S

Doubtless, since readers are lulled into moments of inattention, the reviser's vigilance, like that of a proof-reader, might lapse from time to time, but the sustained vehemence of the piece is surely unlikely to escape the censor's notice, while the alterations that were made argue that the copyist was not in a state of trance at the time. As well as additions, there are two significant expurgations in this diatribe. With reference to preaching S includes the clause 'he bad hise preche and þei forfende', one of those frustratingly vague references to proscription which recur in Wycliffite writings. It may refer to Arundel's Constitutions, or it may not.<sup>90</sup> The conclusion drawn from this sorry state of affairs is in S more extreme: 'þus is þis chirche chaungyd þat pyte is to here. God forbede we schulden byleue in suche maner chirche.' S, like a number of other Wycliffite sympathisers of the earlier period, but apparently

<sup>89</sup> For a sardonic review of the friars' controversies over discalceation see *English Wycliffite Sermons* 1.343.74-79:

And þus me þinkuþ þat frerus chyden in veyn: Prechowres seyn þat Crist hadde hyge schon as þei han, for ellis wolde not Baptist mene þat Crist hadde þwongus of syche schone; Menowres seyn þat Crist wente barefoot, or ellis was schod as þei ben, for ellis Mawdeleyn schulde not haue fownde to þus haue wasche Cristes feet.

<sup>90</sup> Vigilant bishops, including Arundel, had been on the alert for unlicensed vagrants and impostors from 1382. See M. Aston, *Thomas Arundel. A Study of Church Life in the Reign of Richard II* (Oxford, 1967), pp. 49-50, 321. See also A. K. McHardy, 'Bishop Buckingham and the Lollards of Lincoln Diocese', *Studies in Church History* 9 (1972) 131-45. Nonetheless, before 1401, references to persecution seem to be largely anticipatory and founded on an awareness of Continental persecution.

unlike B, felt himself to be forcibly, albeit unwillingly, alienated from the manifestation of Christ's church on earth: the contrast between holy church and a travesty of it, often called Antichrist's church, is a common one in these writings.<sup>91</sup>

The passage just cited is both repetitious and a web of satiric commonplaces. The Wycliffites were neither the first nor the last to liken churchmen who neglected preaching to the proverbial 'dumb dogs' and suggest that their omission would be rewarded with everlasting damnation. However one would expect Arundel's legislation to have kept such comment out of the pulpit: after all, Pecock's zealous claim that bishops need not preach – a claim which tacitly conceded that a significant number of them did not in fact do so – found little favour.<sup>92</sup> Other remarks included in the passage are more surprisingly controversial. Although they are imprecise (and therefore could perhaps just be countenanced), references to persecution remain which, in the light of the more explicit Lollard writings, are most naturally interpreted as allusions to the harassment of Wycliffite preachers and sympathisers.<sup>93</sup> There is also the apparent dislike either of the form of general excommunication proclaimed four times yearly in the parish churches, or alternatively of the use of excommunication as a punishment meted out in the church courts. As is well known, the Wycliffites endorsed the letter of the Second Commandment;<sup>94</sup> indeed a puritanical dislike of oaths was apparently enough in itself to raise a suspicion of Lollardy in the minds of the common people.<sup>95</sup> B retains more extended commentary on this subject in Epiphany 2:

Thus ys ful hard of hem that cursyn here evyn cristynne, and bothe here chylderen and here mayne, when they haue not trespassyd, for malyce and

<sup>91</sup> For example, 'But certis holy Chirche is seet in virtues and good lif; but certis Anticristis chirche is set in pride coveitise and opere synnes' (*Octo in quibus seducuntur simplices Christiani* [Arnold 3.451.14-16]). See also *The grete sentence of curs expounded* (ibid., p. 315.10-13); 'On the Twenty-Five Articles' (ibid., p. 496.1-2).

<sup>92</sup> Pecock's denial that bishops ought to preach is ridiculed by Thomas Gascoigne, *Loci e libro veritatum*, ed. J. E. T. Rogers (Oxford, 1881), pp. 35, 208.

<sup>93</sup> These are not the only allusions to persecution. See for example 'Thow myzt fynde all to mony that crucifien Crist ... and helpe to wiþstond hem þat prechen truthe, and menteyne fabels rather þan þe gospell' (B 4r, S 77v); 'Mony folke cursyn men for that they doun well, as they that cursyn prestis for that they preche the gospell and for they blame synne' (B 16r, S 93r); 'And so they byn chefetens to destroy Cristes lawes, for they letton þat þey may the truthe of the gospell' (B 30r, S 124r, *English Wycliffite Sermons* 1.424.10-12).

<sup>94</sup> One of the points abjured in Hawise Moone's *Confession* of 1430 was 'þat it is not leful to swere in ony caas' (Hudson, *Selections*, p. 35.64-65, and see other examples listed in the note on these lines, p. 161).

<sup>95</sup> Compare *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. F. N. Robinson, 2nd edition (London, 1957), p. 75.1166-77. See also *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. S. B. Meech and H. E. Allen (EETS OS 212; London, 1940), pp. 36, 125-27.

rankyrre that dwellythe in her hert. And mucche more nede it were to byd God amend hem, for thorow suche cursyng they do neuer the bettur. But gladdely suche cursers wold gladlyche that veniaunce fel vpon them and the same they pray onto God that hyt fal apon hemsylue at euery tyme that they pray to God here Pater Noster (B 15v; S 92v-93r).

1 cursyn] u *add. s.s. and eras.* B

The target of this attack is again perhaps just sufficiently unclear for it to be taken as a general caution against swearing.<sup>96</sup> Much of the Wycliffite polemic has this cryptic quality, perhaps for safety's sake. References are supplied by the reader or hearer from his wider acquaintance with Wycliffite terminology.

We may turn now to B's views on preaching, the subject above all others which prompted him, and other moderate reformers, to throw caution to the winds. He was after all writing sermons. There are two main lines of attack: first, as suggested above, those who fail to preach are excoriated:

Then may thus hy *prelatus* sorow the tyme that þey euer offyce had: *curatis, prestis* and tho that holden hem styll and wol not crye as *Crist* byddythe hem by hys p(ro)phete *Clama ne cesses* [Is 58:1] (B 13v; S 90v).

Secondly 'false preachers' are indicted, by which term is meant all who do not preach in a manner which the Wycliffites approved of, particularly friars.<sup>97</sup>

The most extensive commentary on the preacher's duties appears in the sermon for Trinity 5. This, it will be remembered, is the first of the set of three post-Trinity sermons which enjoyed an independent manuscript tradition. This is fortunate for us, since the relevant leaves of S were excised, apart from the beginning of the sermon which was copied out as a part of the supplementary set. The manuscripts largely agree on the form of the conventional allegory: St. Peter and his companions signify doctors of the church:

By þuse fyscheres ben vnderstonden doctor \ / s, þe whuche zeden doun thurghe mekenesse and grace to þe water of mercy and wysdome to wasche her nettes: to clanse her byleue and lere þe lawe of God, þe wuche is knuttet togedre wiþ vertues as knottes in a nette, wiþ þe whuche nette þey schulden drawe in flodes of þis worlde men grete and smale to þe londe of lyfe, þat is þe blysse of heuene (S 204v; B 56r; R 12ra; Ross, p. 289.11-18).

<sup>96</sup> But see for example 'Sixteen Points on Which the Bishops Accuse Lollards' (Hudson, *Selections*, p. 19.12-13): the fifth point is 'þat neiþer bischoppis neiþer popis curs byndiþ any man not, but him þat is first cursed of God' (amplified p. 21.96-104, and see the note on these lines, pp. 147-48).

<sup>97</sup> If preachers tell lies rather than the truth, they are 'maysters of errour' (B 10r; S 85v). 'Loke who that can please tyl they haue getyn what they wol haue, wiþ flateryng fabels and feynyng wordys' (B 13r; S 90r). 'Tru prechyng synne blamythe and that oper – talys and fabelys – do not ... a fals precher vsythe lesyngis and leuythe Goddys wordys ... / ... thus ys Goddys word stole from the pepyll' (B 22v-23r; S 101v-102r).

1 doctors] doctorurs S, of Criste *add.* B 2 mercy and wysdome] wysdome and of mercye R, Ross wasche] there *add.* B, perinne *add.* R, Ross 3 nettes] wyttis B, þat is *add.* Ross lere] teche B, here R 4 vertues ... nette] knottis as bythe in nettis B nette<sup>2</sup> *om.* R, Ross 5 men grete and smale ] grete-men and small men R, Ross

However the full text of the development of this allegory is now irrecoverably lost, since the relevant leaves of S are missing and since B, R and Ross all expurgate a section of it; R and Ross appear to be textually related, but B seems to have made an independent decision. Evidently the missing section was conspicuously outspoken. R's text reads:

And Peter answerde and sayde, Comaunder, by all þis nyght trauelynge noght haue we take; sothlye in þi worde I schall lette oute þo nette. Bot iff our instrumentis be letten oute in þo worde of heuenly grace, aboute noght [els] trauelynge, þe prechoures þat prechynne. And þerfore schull men leuen þer fables and tryfuls and tell trewlye Goddes lawe as Criste hymselfe byddes, for elles we trauelen in þo nyght of merknesse and of synne thorgh couetyse and veyneglorye þat we prechen for and so we cachen no fysches bot foule blake todes (R 12rb; Ross, p. 290.2-13; B 56v).

1 and<sup>1</sup>] as Ross answerde and sayde] said and answeryd Ross by all] all Ross trauelynge] we haue trauelyd B, Ross 2 haue we] we haue B sothlye] but sothely B, þerfore Ross nette] that ys to sey the worde of heuenly grace *add.* B 2-4 Bot ... prechynne *om.* B, bot *om.* Ross 3 els *om.* R 4 þe prechoures] þise p. Ross 4-5 þer fables] fables B, Ross 5 Criste] he B 6 elles] al B merknesse] derkenes B, Ross and<sup>1</sup> *om.* B 7 þat we prechen for *om.* B foule *om.* B

By omitting the sentence left incomplete in R and Ross, B has effected a smoother transition; this compiler also discreetly dropped the insinuation about preaching for gain. R and Ross include further material in this sermon on the virtue of God's law which does not appear in B, although from what has already been included it is sufficiently clear that he sided with those who favoured scriptural truth in preaching rather than entertaining fictions. These views are endorsed many times in the collection by B. Masters ('masters of divinity' in S) are perjured when they fail to teach God's law (B 3v; S 77v). For God's law is all-sufficient and man's law, ungrounded as it is in scripture, is worthless by comparison (B 8v; S 84v).<sup>98</sup> Indeed, man's law was founded by the Devil's counsel and is maintained by the Devil's supporters in the church as a means of obstructing God's law.<sup>99</sup> Thus man's law shields the robbers and extortioners of poor men.<sup>100</sup> Those who speak of God's law are reviled and

<sup>98</sup> See also B 53r and S 13v.

<sup>99</sup> 'But ther buþe other dyuerse lawes, made by mannus witt, þat letteþe oftetymes Goddes lawe to haue his cours, but sothely hit is but a bastard lawe ymade by the fendus counsell' (B 79r).

<sup>100</sup> B 79r-v:

Men thenkyn þis oþer lawe better, but it is lyke to the brere busche þat suffereþe adders / and snakes and suche venymes wormes lygtly to go away wipout eny harme, but and if

persecuted,<sup>101</sup> so that the light of true preaching is withheld from the people by the very church that should proclaim it.<sup>102</sup> Knights renege on their oath to maintain the gospel and they hinder the men who would preach the truth.<sup>103</sup> the passage is deliberately allusive, but even so stops perilously short of the fully-developed Wycliffite opinion that the aristocracy should assume the duty of proclaiming the gospel in default of churchmen.<sup>104</sup> He berates the people who are partly to blame for this state of affairs in their preference for idle romances and profane entertainment, rather than sacred truth:

Mony men wol leue fablesse rathyr than the gossell; remaunce of Robyn Hode leuer than Powles pystylles; a rebaud song in a tauerne than euensong; of wynnynge of ij pens leuer than the blysse of heuen. Leuer bythe some to hyre houndys wiþ opyn mowthe in the wood than the prest at the masse to rede of *Cristis* passyon (B 19r; S 96r).<sup>105</sup>

that a schepe come þerby and touche hit but a lytyll he schal be so todrawn wiþ the busche that woo schall hym be ... Ryzt so, lett bosters and stryuers, robbers and extorcyoners, and þey þat buthe grete venym(u)s men of hemselue, and tho that can start about and quyte hem agen, that lawe truly woll lett hem scape lytlyl away.

The friar who wrote the sermons in ms. Longleat 4 also made use of this similitude: 'Serpentis and neddrys restyn vndur þornys and brembelis but, 3yf a schep come amongis þornys and brymbelys, he letith þere a pece of his flees' (80rb). The evil-doers are not precisely identified, but include heretics who envenom the people 'wiþ here wyckid speche', and wicked men who torment 'opere cristene peple' by 'opyn persecucion'. See also B 53r and S 13v: 'aftur mennus law men loken to wynne worschypys, how that they may gete money by scleyȝthus'.

<sup>101</sup> 'They þat speken of Goddus lawe byn called foles' (B 79r; also B 16r, S 93r).

<sup>102</sup> 'The lanterne of trewe lore is hidd vnder the buschell ... / ... By this lanterne Y vnderstond holy churche, bothe of worde and of dede, that scheweþe the worde of Goddus lawe vnto euery man and womman' (B 69r-v; two leaves have been excised from S at this point).

<sup>103</sup> B 3v-4r; S 77v:

And also thes that falsly forswereþe hem when þey haue / [taken þat] state to menteyne the gossell, to defend wedows and to menteyne maydons, how few byn ther of them. Thow myzt fynde all to mony that crucifien Crist.

I thes] þuse knyȝtes S haue om. S taken þat om. B 2-3 how few ... crucifien Crist] hou mony lord(is) euer þer be þat down on þis wyse þou may fynde al to mony þat crucifyen Crist S

<sup>104</sup> 'Seculer lordes shulden in defaute of prestes lerne and teche þe lawe of God in þer moder tonge' (Dublin, Trinity College ms. 241, fol. 26vb; compare also Cambridge, University Library ms. Additional 5338, fol. 50r [I follow the ink foliation in the lower left-hand corner]). This forms part of a commentary on the Creed, included in a sermon for Trinity 19, but it was taken from a separate treatise: see Arnold 3.114.6-13.

<sup>105</sup> Compare S 96r. This is not the only complaint of this kind:

Euery man wellnyȝ ys glad now to hyre yuell of oper and to herkyn fowle talys, chydyng and stryueyng, and that wol they record mony wynteres aftur, to here songis and remanses, rebaudy and lechery; and of thus worldely wynnynge men bythe seld wery ... But forto hyre of goodnes and of God ... oper/ of prechyng, they byn ful sone wery (B 52r-v; S 12r).

Compare also B 22v, S 101v; and see further *The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman in Three Parallel Texts*, ed. W. W. Skeat, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1886), B. V.400-401.

So far we have considered the general tenor of B's expressed views as they emerge from a comparison with the other manuscripts, especially S. We may now turn to the smaller omissions which indicate B's distaste for certain contentious words and phrases. For even the slightest acquaintance with the vernacular Lollard writings soon engenders an awareness that the familiar arguments are couched in a common repertoire of turns of phrase, mannerisms and habitual collocations that may amount to a 'Lollard sect vocabulary'.<sup>106</sup> It seems as though the movement fairly rapidly evolved a kind of shorthand that allowed its members to present their case in an economical way that seems scarcely designed to convert the outsider since it presupposes knowledge of the premises of the arguments. Especially in the more moderate texts, among them B, the authors employ this language to convey their full meaning in an oblique way that perhaps imparted sufficient decent obscurity.<sup>107</sup> B's minor expurgations, then, provide evidence of what was still thought to be seditious vocabulary in the later fifteenth century.

Perhaps the best-known hall-mark of Lollard vocabulary was the expression 'God's law', especially when contrasted with the antithetical 'man's law'.<sup>108</sup> B betrays occasional squeamishness about using the phrase: thus 'Godes lawe' becomes 'the lawe of God' (S 77v; B 3v), or 'Goddus commaundementis' (S 75v; B 2v); 'as Goddes lawe vs telleth' (S 31r) and 'as God techeth vs in hys lawe' (S 51v) are replaced respectively by 'as God hy(m)selue seythe' (B 72v) and 'as God seythe hymself' (B 90r). 'Folily to deme, Godes lawe forfendep' (S 79v) was rendered 'be ware of demynge' (B 4v). On at least one occasion 'as Goddes lawe telleth' was simply left out (S 50r; B 88v). Doubtless too the occurrence of this phrase and others contributed to make the longer omitted passages that we have already considered seem unacceptable. However it is also indubitable that a merely human censor may overlook such minutiae: many references to God's law remain. Moreover B obviously agreed that God's law, whatever he precisely meant by this vague expression,<sup>109</sup> was pre-eminently important: he

<sup>106</sup> Hudson in 'A Lollard Sect Vocabulary?' conducts a preliminary investigation of this topic.

<sup>107</sup> Compare the identification of the 'false prophets' in sermons for Trinity 8 (on Mt 7:15-21). 'Þese wordys mowen ben aplyed vnto false frerus' (*English Wycliffite Sermons* 1.252.2-3). 'Þe fals prophetis ben clepid heretikis and be þo þat for coueitece of wordli goodis preche fablis and trifles and opere vntrewpes þat ar contrarious to Goddis lawe' (Cambridge, St. John's College ms. G.22, fol. 22r). 'Be zee warre of false prophetis þat comen vnto zou in clopingis of cheep, as is white, blacke and russet, þat zee byleue to none at þe firste aquey(n)taunce, zif al þey speke mekely and fayr and byhite zou grete heuenely medis' (ms. Bodley 806, fol. 91r). The 'false prophets' appear to be the same in all three cases: friars.

<sup>108</sup> Thus Knighton remarked on their fondness for the expression: 'talem enim habebant terminum in omnibus suis dictis semper praetendendo legem Dei *Goddis lawe*' (*Chronicon* 2.186). See also Hudson, 'A Lollard Sect Vocabulary?', 21 and n. 31.

<sup>109</sup> Thus 'God's law' may signify the moral law of the church, the precepts contained in scripture or scripture itself.

has for example retained a lengthy passage, perhaps derived from a distinction on *lex Dei*, in which God's law and man's are expressly contrasted.<sup>110</sup> The Lollards did not invent the phrases 'God's law' or 'God's word': both were indispensable ideas. It was perhaps the sheer frequency of their appeals to these sources of authority that characterised Lollard rhetoric: they were 'forever asserting' (*semper praetendendo*) God's law in Knighton's phrase. B has certainly reduced its incidence.

References to Antichrist and Satan, especially in the genitive case, might also be thought suspicious: 'Satanas exampill' is kept in B, however (B 13v; S 90v). 'Sathanas lawe' became 'the fendes law' (S 121r; B 27r), while B also kept 'the synagoge of Sathanas' in what was perhaps the most incendiary passage he allowed himself (B 33v; S 128r).<sup>111</sup> Allusion to 'Antecristus clerkes' was dropped (B 16r; S 93r). Again B was not consistent: a reference to 'Antecristis scolers' is kept (B 7v; S 83r). Because 'Caim' (especially in the phrase 'Caim's castles': friaries) had become a popular acronym of the four Orders of friars,<sup>112</sup> one would expect B to shy away from the name, but apparently the disguise, even if by no means impenetrable, was enough. A commentary on manslaughter justified frequent mention of the first author of the crime (B 7r-8r; S 83r-v). B stops short however when it is clear in S that the 'Caymes cheldren' who seek to bring men to execution single out those who 'prechen þe gospel and wolen not sulle hire prechyng, bote blame þat curside coueitise' (S 83r; B 7v). In S at least they appear to be identified with the friars and church authorities.

Anti-fraternal Lollard writing is peppered with identifications of the friars (and other regulars) not just as limbs of the Devil and servants of Antichrist, but as modern pharisees. 'Scribes and pharisees' indeed become merely a way of saying 'church authorities and religious'.<sup>113</sup> Not surprisingly therefore B removed a passage such as the following:

<sup>110</sup> In the sermon for Trinity 13, B 79r-v. A leaf has been excised from S at this point (fol. 38). Since two sides of one folio in S contain more text than the corresponding space in B, it is likely (as one might expect) that the commentary on 'law' was originally longer and that B has effected some cuts.

<sup>111</sup> An expression derived from Apoc 2:9, 3:9. The passage has been transcribed in full above. Compare *Jack Upland* (Heyworth, p. 56.53): 'holy chirche' has become the 'synagoge of Satanas'.

<sup>112</sup> See the references given in Hudson, *Selections* in a note on p. 185 to the 'Epistola Sathanæ ad Cleros' (p. 92.127). See also *Jack Upland* (Heyworth, p. 58.86 and the note on this line, pp. 119-20).

<sup>113</sup> As for example in *English Wycliffite Sermons* 1.244.12-15, 'We may vnderstande by scribes and pharisees men of þe fendys chirche as we duden byfore, so þat scribes ben clepud secular prelates, and pharisees ben clepud þes newe religious.'

And þuse religiouse ben pharisees, for þei ben deuyded as pharisees by hure comyn lyfynge, by mony veyne tradicions (S 10r; cf. B 50v).<sup>114</sup>

'Þuse religiouse' was perhaps in itself too explicit; elsewhere the phrase was changed to 'princes' (S 124r; B 30r).<sup>115</sup>

The contrast between God's law and man's illustrates the general propensity of Wycliffite rhetoric to make its points by oppositions. Dr. Hudson has already described their habitual antithesis, remarked upon by contemporaries, between true and false preachers, and also the tendency of Lollards to designate themselves 'true men'.<sup>116</sup> Thus B removed a reference to 'a gederyng of trewe cristene men' (B 106r; S 71r), which probably sounded overmuch like a conventicle. 'False prechoures' in Epiphany 1 is altered to 'tho' (B 13v; S 90v), but is also kept in Epiphany 1 and 5 (B 14r, S 91r; and B 22v, S 101v); 'fals breþern' is removed in Trinity 17.<sup>117</sup>

Attacks on beggars and beggary may create the suspicion of Lollardy, but it has been observed that the charge is a hard one to press since these useful lexical items were by no means confined to Lollards.<sup>118</sup> It was perhaps most dangerous to criticise able-bodied mendicants: thus B found the phrase 'suche stronge beggares' unacceptable, although he agreed with the anti-Mendicant argument since he has retained an invitation in the Passion Sunday sermon to discourse on the subject, 'Men may touche of beggers and of theues her, þat trauelyn not' (B 28v; S 123r). This invitation to the preacher was of course not to be preached. 'Beggerie and flateringe' in the text of another sermon was thought too shrewd a hit and removed.<sup>119</sup>

Other alterations perhaps shed some new light on unacceptable phrasing. 'Cristus reule' became 'Cristus lawe' (S 82v; B 6r). A reference to 'þe fendes vscheres' was removed (S 85v; B 10r). The expression to 'preche fredam' which occurred twice in one sermon was on both occasions omitted; presumably it had too seditious a ring (S 131r, B 35v; cf. Jer 34:17).

Conversely B occasionally retains phrases that might be thought unguarded: possibly they were losing some of their opprobrium by this date. Thus B has an inimical reference to 'hy prelatus',<sup>120</sup> and another in the same sermon to 'youre

<sup>114</sup> Compare *ibid.*, pp. 232-33.16-18.

<sup>115</sup> Compare *ibid.*, p. 424.6. B may simply have wished to emend an apparent error: the passage glosses 'princes of preestis and þe pharisees comen togydre to Pilate'.

<sup>116</sup> Hudson, 'A Lollard Sect Vocabulary?', 16-17.

<sup>117</sup> B 88r 'feyre spekers'; compare S 49r. Conversely B keeps 'feynyd brethern' (B 87v; S 49r), 'fals feyned bretherne' (B 88r; S 49r) and 'fals bretherne' (*ibid.*).

<sup>118</sup> Hudson, 'A Lollard Sect Vocabulary?', 20.

<sup>119</sup> S 101v; in B this is reduced to 'flaterynge' (22v).

<sup>120</sup> 'Then may thus hy prelatus sorow the tyme that þey euer offyce had' (B 13v; S 90v). 'Prelates', as distinct from 'bishops' (a neutral descriptive word), had hostile force; see Hudson, 'A Lollard Sect Vocabulary?', 22-23.

secte' (B 14r; S 91r).<sup>121</sup> He also speaks of the necessity to 'grounde well oure beleue', perhaps because it is not actually specified in the text that this means a foundation in scriptural authority (B 36r; S 131r).<sup>122</sup> The high importance of the subject for B may explain his bitter allusion to those who say that 'Godis lawe is fals, but if they glosen hit',<sup>123</sup> and a disparaging reference in the same sermon to 'here glose' (ibid.).

Some of B's alterations are hard to explain. Apparently he disliked the proverb 'zung seynt, old deuele' (S 64r; cf. B 100v),<sup>124</sup> and for some reason he substituted 'extorcyoners, raueners, theues and men of law' for 'bosteres and braggeres, mynstrelus and messengeres, knythus and men of lawe' (B 55r; S 14v). To exclude knights might be common prudence; the other offenders perhaps described their followers. Lawyers, a traditional target of pulpit satire, were evidently regarded as fair game: B elsewhere announces that 'bothe in constry and in chapter, in seculer court and / other, fals domes gothe for money' (5r-v), although he leaves out an allusion to the law 'of londe and of þe chirches lawe' (B 48v; S 5r).

#### IV

#### CONCLUSIONS

It will be seen that a fairly coherent picture has emerged of B's views. For the most part he agreed with the reforming views expressed in his source, although he often found their expression too extreme. However it is unclear whether his greater moderation reveals his personal views, or a greater dislike of living dangerously, or the effects of greater vigilance by the authorities. He was prepared to be more outspoken on two related subjects which touched him closely in his capacity as a secular priest: preaching and the friars, his traditional rivals. He particularly disliked what he saw as their erosion of his spiritual authority over his parishioners (and their commercial competition) by their popular preaching and easy penances. These attitudes resemble those which may be found in other Middle English sermon collections written by men of

<sup>121</sup> See also *ibid.*, 21 and n. 32.

<sup>122</sup> See also *ibid.*, 21-22.

<sup>123</sup> B 30r. He continues 'thus here glose schuld be trowed as beleue of cristen men', but discontinues the text at this point. S (and the Wycliffite sermon) go on: 'bote þe texte of Godes lawe þei seien is perelouse to trowen' (S 124r; *English Wycliffite Sermons* 1.424-25.16-19). *Glose*, sb. and v., is classed as a possible item of Lollard vocabulary, but, like *beggar*, one which is not restricted to Lollard usage (Hudson, 'A Lollard Sect Vocabulary?', 20).

<sup>124</sup> Attention is called to the saying by a marginal *Nota*.

similar standing.<sup>125</sup> He upheld the traditional roles of the various social classes, but felt unable to subscribe to S's detailed social critique, particularly his rebukes of church authorities and the aristocracy. For the most part it is the materialism of the church, rather than its doctrines, that is condemned in the sections of the original sermons which covered the Sunday epistles and pastoral commentary. B, by omitting the gospel commentaries, has avoided most of the doctrinal discussion and, as we have seen, he obliterated the speculation in the remaining parts of the sermons on the priestly powers of binding and unbinding, on the value of oral confession and on the worthlessness of images. Clearly it was unacceptable to express dubiety concerning the sacraments. When opponents of the Lollards wished to vilify the movement in addresses to the faithful in the vernacular they tended to express their abhorrence of the Lollards' more spectacular heresies with regard to the Eucharist and confession.<sup>126</sup>

Yet B was not wholly discreet. The objects of his satire are but thinly disguised. His main precaution was to avoid over-explicitness, especially in identifying his opponents. Disingenuous as it may seem to us, this habit that he shares with other more cautious polemical writers of his day of using pronouns or some oblique method of identification apparently conferred sufficient immunity. There is usually just enough leeway to permit the criticism to be read as a decently generalised assault on vice and viciousness.

B was not only indiscreet, he was also inconsistent. As we have seen, in dealing with some controversial topics he often censored one passage but allowed its import to be expressed elsewhere. A number of explanations suggest themselves, though no one of them is entirely satisfactory. Momentary inattention might account for the inclusion of short passages or phrases that were better suppressed, but this will not serve to explain away the more extensive or more strident passages. Moreover the small modifications that were made to such passages show that the compiler was not blind to their existence or purport. An alternative explanation would be that there was more

<sup>125</sup> For instance the sermons of ms. Bodley 806, those in London, British Library Additional ms. 41321 and Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Rawlinson C. 751, those of Dublin, Trinity College ms. 241 and Cambridge, St. John's College ms. G.22 and Cambridge, University Library ms. Additional 5338.

<sup>126</sup> For example, in Nicholas Love's translation of Pseudo-Bonaventure, pp. 208.5-7, 180, 121.26-30. Love also attacked their views on church offerings (p. 187) and obedience to the clergy (p. 193). The writer of sermons in London, British Library ms. Harley 2268 reaffirms the orthodox view that the sacrament is 'noght als þese wykkyd pepyll techys, þe Lollardys, materiall or figuratiue brede, but verra(i) Goddys owne body' (190v). Likewise these 'wykkyd pepyll, þe Lollardys, says þat yt is na nede to schryue a man or a womman to a prest, but all anly to God' (191v). Mirk attacks their views on images (*Festial*, ed. T. Erbe, 1 [EETS ES 96; London, 1905], p. 171.18-21).

than one compiler. The manuscript was after all written by two scribes, one of whom may have been more sympathetic to controversial ideas than the other. Is it not conceivable then that there was not one 'B' but two? It is certainly possible, though hard to prove, that the two scribes may have tampered with the phrasing here and there: this might for instance account for the sporadic changes of 'God's law' into the 'law of God' and related expressions, but the pattern of expurgation does not neatly correspond to the scribal stints. Unless the scribes were also the preachers, it is after all more likely that they would make local and minor changes than that they would be entrusted with the task of making *ad hoc* revisions of sensitive material which might cost a preacher his life or liberty. It is nonetheless possible, though it is not an economical or demonstrable hypothesis, that more than one censor may have been responsible for the alterations.

The inconsistencies do however suggest the important point that the views of the compiler (or compilers) were at heart more sympathetic to S than a first inspection of the cuts might lead one to think. It seems to have been the manner, rather than the matter, which prompted circumspection. There may also have been a desire simply to reduce the wearisome frequency with which the points were made. The two chief matters of complaint which dominate B, dislike of the friars and desire for greater access to the text of scripture, were popular concerns by no means confined to the Lollards.<sup>127</sup> People shared these feelings whose views were otherwise, so far as we may ascertain, orthodox enough. John Heywood's early sixteenth-century interlude, *The Pardoner and the Friar*, is a mordant satire on the deceits practised on parishioners by wandering preachers. The Friar's duty does not conform to his practice:

I com not hyther to glose nor to flatter,  
I com not hyther to bable nor to clatter,  
I com not hyther to fable nor to lye,  
But I com hyther youre soules to edyfy!

<sup>127</sup> The friar who wrote the sermons in ms. Longleat 4, although in many ways vehemently orthodox, was prepared to court persecution in order to further scriptural teaching: Hudson and Spencer, 'Old Author, New Work'. See also A. Hudson, 'The Debate on Bible Translation, Oxford 1401', *English Historical Review* 90 (1975) 1-18. On the anti-Mendicant tradition see J. Mann, *Chaucer and Medieval Estates Satire* (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 37-54. Among post-Chaucerian examples, compare the comic low-life tale of 'Jak & his Stepdame & of the Frere' in which the boy, Jak, gets the better of both the other two unpopular characters. The tale is included in Richard Hill's early sixteenth-century commonplace book (*Songs, Carols and Other Miscellaneous Poems, from the Balliol MS. 354*, ed. R. Dyboski [EETS ES 101; London, 1908], pp. 120-27, no. 103). See also the ironical friar's complaint 'Allas what schul we freris do', printed in *Cambridge Middle English Lyrics*, ed. H. A. Person (Seattle, 1953), p. 42, no. 51, or the macaronic poem 'Freeres, freeres, wo 3e be!', *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History*, ed. T. Wright, 2 vols. (RS 14; London, 1859-61), 2.249-50.

For we freres are bounde the people to teche,  
The gospell of Chryst openly to preche.<sup>128</sup>

The text of his sermon however is *Date et dabitur vobis* (Lc 6:38). Since the parish priest who attempts to stop the two imposters preaching in his church is presented as a slow-witted booby, Heywood can scarcely be accused of partiality. Yet he was no heretic; he ended his days as a Catholic exile in Louvain. Again, Richard Hill included in his otherwise orthodox, indeed devout, commonplace book a poem on prelates who do not preach and who keep the gospel from the people. In St. Peter's day

... þe gospell was not hide,  
To kyng ne knyght, mayd ne wyffe.<sup>129</sup>

B provides evidence that preachers were still bridled by Arundel's Constitutions. He was not able to indulge freely in social criticism in the way that had been customary for the better-known writers of the late fourteenth century. The controversies over scriptural preaching had left their mark. Another writer, from the early years of the sixteenth century, stressed the importance of preaching the gospel, but he insisted strenuously on the grave responsibilities it entailed:

The most noble exercysy[s]e and þe moste worþi office þat is in þis wourld is to announce þe gospell and to preche of Jesu Christ. But þose w<sup>c</sup> saye þat þei haue auctorite to preche muste be maruelously well ware for þe abuse of it, and also þe people to be also wel aduised not to be seducted *ner* begyld, for þe saluacion and þe da(m)pnacion of þe soule hangeth on it.<sup>130</sup>

1 exercysye] exercsyte ms.

It was not possible to return to the unqualified enthusiasm expressed by orthodox and heterodox alike at the outset of the fifteenth century.

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<sup>128</sup> *English Miracle Plays, Moralities and Interludes*, ed. A. W. Pollard, 8th edition (Oxford, 1927), p. 114.11-16.

<sup>129</sup> *Songs, Carols*, p. 82, no. 74a.35-36.

<sup>130</sup> London, British Library ms. Harley 1197, fol. 187v.

*OCELLI NOMINVM:*  
NAMES AND SHELF MARKS  
OF FAMOUS/FAMILIAR MANUSCRIPTS (II)

*Wilma Fitzgerald, S.P.*

THE first list of *Ocelli nominum* in *Mediaeval Studies* 45 (1983) grew out of a need for students of art history to locate manuscripts often cited only by name. This second list is designed as a supplement and follows the same principles governing its arrangement:

(1) English is the principal working language and names and terms are usually given in their English equivalent. Thus the words *Heures*, *Bibbia*, *Evangelia*, *Sacramentarium* are given as *Hours*, *Bible*, *Gospels*, and *Sacramentary*. However, where *ocelli nominum* are found cited most frequently or only in a non-English form, these forms will be given, as *Registrum Sancti Gregorii*. There are some hybrid forms where it is customary to cite the vernacular in combination with a term from another language as the *Miracles of Notre Dame*.

(2) Manuscripts to be identified with an author are grouped under the simple English name of that author, such as *Bede*, *Virgil*, *Sedulius*, and the manuscripts are numbered individually as a), b), c), etc. If the manuscripts listed for this author begin not with a), but with c), or d), then two or three manuscripts are listed for that entry in the first list. Manuscripts of literary works without a known author, like the *Alexander Romance*, are entered in the same way.

(3) Where several *ocelli nominum* designate a single codex, there will be a main entry listing all forms and given usually under the name first in alphabetic order, with cross-references thereafter in the appropriate places. Thus the main entry for the *Liber Landavensis* will be the *Book of Llandaff* and the = sign indicates other names. Slight variations in spelling and small occasional additions are placed in parentheses.

(4) If two or more codices have the same name, they are numbered 2), 3), etc. beneath the first entry.

(5) For purposes of simplification, 'Hours of', 'Pontifical of', and similar generic terms follow the proper name. Exceptions are 'Book of', ('Liber', 'Llyfr') and 'Codex' which if transposed give an uncommon expression.

(6) 'Llyfr' in this index is alphabetized as it is written. 'Saint' as a geographic name is 'Saint', 'San', 'Sankt' as required. 'Saint' as a title of respect is abbreviated 'St.' and placed after the personal name (hence 'Pancratius, St., Bible').

(7) When a manuscript is written entirely or to a large extent in a language other than Latin, its language is indicated in square brackets placed after the name.

(8) Names of libraries that have been abbreviated in the list are cited in full in the Index of Manuscripts on pp. 413-21 below.

(9) The shelf marks given for all entries derive from investigation of manuscript catalogues and scholarly studies, both recent and earlier, and every care has been taken to ensure that the shelf marks are accurate and current. Occasionally two shelf marks are given, that is, both old and new, as for example, in the case of the Trinity College, Dublin manuscripts where the serial numbers in T. K. Abbott, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin-London, 1900) are now preferred to the older press marks. The citation of both is not intended to sanction the continued use of the original shelf mark singly or in combination with the serial number, but rather to aid in identification since the older designation is found not only in earlier works but also in modern studies.

Undoubtedly there are numerous other named manuscripts which have been omitted or could not be included because their present locations are unknown. I shall be grateful for suggestions regarding manuscripts which should be included as well as for notice of errors and inaccuracies.

Special thanks must go to many keepers of manuscripts who have provided information about shelf marks and current location of manuscripts. I am indebted to Dr. Sigrid Krämer of the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften for many names and to Miss M. Pemberton of the Bodleian Library for providing others.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| Abingdon Chronicles: see Chronicles I a)                   | Ætheling Æthelstan, Will of                     |
| Abraham, Bishop of Freising, Sacramen-<br>tary             | London, BL: Stowe Charter 37                    |
| München, SB: Clm 6421                                      | Æthilbald, Charter of: see Charters b)          |
| Adam de la Halle Chansonier: see Song-<br>books I a)       | Agrimensores veteres Romanorum                  |
| Admont Bible   | a) Vaticano, Città del, BAV: Pal. lat.<br>1564  |
| Admont, SB: C/D  | b) = Codex Arcerianus                           |
| Æthelred II, King, Charter to Æthelred:<br>see Charters a) | Wolfenbüttel, HAB: Cod. Guelf.<br>36.23 Aug. 2º |
| Æthelred Troper  | Alardus Bible (of Saint Amand)                  |
| = Winchester Cantatorium                                   | Valenciennes, BM: 9-11 (4)                      |
| Oxford, BL: Bodley 775                                     | Alaric, Breviary of                             |
|  | Paris, BN: lat. 4404                            |

- Alaverdy Gospels [Greek]  
Tbilisi, IR: A 484
- Albert V (Albrecht) Prayerbook  
München, SB: Clm 23640
- Albert of Brandenburg Hours  
Cambridge, FM: 294
- Albert von Sternberg Pontifical  
Praha, PNPS: I A 4
- Albi Pontifical  
Albi, BM: 34
- Aldersbach Miscellany  
München, SB: Clm 2599
- Alexander Romance (*Roman d'Alexandre*)  
[French, English]  
a) Oxford, BL: Bodley 264  
b) Paris, BA: 3472  
c) Paris, BN: fr. 789  
d) Venezia, BN: Marc. ital. VI 665 (6033) [Italian]
- Ambraser Heldenbuch [German]  
Wien, ÖNB: Ser. n. 2663
- Amiens Missal  
's-Gravenhage, KB: 78 D 40
- Andreas Psalter  
Roma, BV: E 24
- Andrews, (Gwynne M.), Bible  
New York, MMA: Cloisters 31.1134.9
- Anglo-Norman Apocalypse [French]  
Paris, BN: fr. 403
- Anglo-Saxon Charters: see Charters
- Anglo-Saxon Chronicles: see Chronicles I)
- Anglo-Saxon Chronicles E-Text: see Chronicles I b)
- Angoulême Sacramentary  
Paris, BN: lat. 816
- Anne of Austria Hours  
Paris, BN: nouv. acq. lat. 3090
- Anselm  
a) Bodleian  
Oxford, BL: Bodley 271  
b) Littlemore  
Oxford, BL: Auct. D.2.6
- Antwerp Bible  
= Bohemian Bible  
Antwerpen, MPM: 15.1
- Apuleius (Pseudo-) Herbal  
a) Kassel, GB: Phys. fol. 10  
b) Leiden, BR: Voss. lat. Q. 9
- c) [English, Latin]  
London, BL: Cotton Vitellius C.iii
- d) [English, Latin]  
London, BL: Harley 585
- Aratus  
a) Harleian  
London, BL: Harley 647
- Arles Sacramentary  
Paris, BN: lat. 2812
- Arras Chansonier: see Songbooks I b)
- Aspremont Hours  
Melbourne, NG: 1253/4
- Astruc Bible [Hebrew]  
New York, PM: G. 48
- Augsburg Liederbuch: see Songbooks II a)
- Augsburg Sacramentary  
München, SB: Clm 30040
- Bamberg Psalter  
Bamberg, SB: Msc. Bibl. 48 (A.II.47)
- Bankes Leaf: see Offa Bible
- Barking Ordinale/Hymnal  
Cambridge, TC: 1226 (O.3.54)
- Barlow Psalter: see Peterborough Psalter 5)
- Barnwell Antiphonal  
Cambridge, UL: Mm.2.9
- Basel Pontifical  
Freiburg i. Br., UB: 363
- Beaupré Antiphonal  
= Johannes von Valkenburg Antiphonary  
Baltimore, WAG: W. 759-762
- Beauvais Missal  
London, BL: Harley 2891
- Beauvais Sacramentary  
Paris, BN: lat. 9429
- Bede  
f) Sirmond ms.  
Oxford, BL: Bodley 309
- Bellelay Gradual  
Porrentruy, BEC: 18
- Berblock, Nicolas, Chansonier: see Songbooks I d)
- Bérenger I Sacramentary  
Monza, BC: S.N.
- Bernard, St. of Clairvaux, Bible  
Troyes: BM: 458

- Bernward Bible  
Hildesheim, Dom: 61
- Bernward Gospels  
Hildesheim, Dom: 18
- Berry Antiphony/Gradual  
Cambridge (Mass.), HU: pFMS Typ 79
- Bertrand de Deux, Cardinal, Missal  
Vaticano, Città del, BAV: Arch. S. Pietro  
C 63B
- Biasca Bible  
Milano, BA: E 26 inf.
- Bible (San Isidoro) of 1162  
León, CSI: I.3
- Biburg Bible  
München, UB: 2° 28 (Cim. 19)
- Black Book of Basingwerk [Welsh]  
Aberystwyth, NLW: 7006D
- Black Book of Carmarthen [Welsh]  
= Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin  
Aberystwyth, NLW: Peniarth 1
- Black Book of Chirk [Welsh]  
= Y Llyvyr Du or Weun  
Aberystwyth, NLW: Peniarth 29
- Blackburn Psalter  
Blackburn, MAG: Hart 21001
- Blois Gospels  
Paris, BN: lat. 265
- Bobbio Sacramentary  
Firenze, BMed: Aedil. 121
- Bodleian Carol Book [Latin and English]  
= Selden Song Book  
Oxford, BL: Arch. Selden. B. 26
- Bohemian Bible: see Antwerp Bible
- Bolonski Psalter [Slavonic]  
Bologna, BU: 2499
- Bonadies MS.  
Faenza, BC: 117
- Bondol (Pseudo-) Bible [French]  
Hamburg, KK: fr. 1
- Bonmont Psalter  
Besançon, BM: 54
- Book of Aneurin [Welsh]  
= Llyfr Aneurin  
Cardiff, PL: 2.81
- Book of Llandaff [Welsh]  
= Liber Landavensis  
= Llyfr Llandaf  
Aberystwyth, NLW: 17110E
- Bouillon Bible [French]  
Baltimore, WAG: W. 125-126
- Brantwood Bible  
London, BL: Yates Thompson 22
- Broadley Pontifical  
Cambridge (Mass.), HU: fMS Typ 217H
- Brooke Antiphonal  
London, SA: 450
- Buildwas Gospels  
London, BL: Harley 3038
- Burchell Bible and Missal  
San Marino, HL: HM 26061
- Burghley Polychronicon  
San Marino, HL: HM 28561
- Caerlaverock (Karlaverok) Poem [French]  
London, BL: Cotton Caligula A.xviii  
(fols. 23v-30v)
- Cahors Pontifical  
Paris, BN: lat. 1217
- Caimín, St., Psalter  
Killiney, FL: A I
- Calahorra Bible  
Calahorra, AC: III
- Camarin Gospels  
El Escorial, BSL: Ψ.I.14 (gr. 434)
- Cambrai Gospels  
Cambrai, BM: 327 (309)
- Cambridge Songs  
Cambridge, UL: Gg.5.35
- Camden Roll  
London, BL: Cotton Roll XV.8
- Cangé Chansonnier: see Songbooks I e)
- Capucins' Bible  
Paris, BN: lat. 16743-16746
- Cardeña Bible  
Burgos, BC: Dep. Seminario de San  
Jerónimo de Burgos: S.N.
- Carmina Cantabrigiensia: see Cambridge  
Songs
- Cartularies
- a) Abingdon Abbey  
London, BL: Cotton Claudius C.ix
  - b) Cok's  
London, St. Bartholomew Hospital  
Archives: S.N.
  - c) Denton Black Book

- Windsor, St. George's Chapel: Muniments IV.B.2-3
- d) Glasgow  
Glasgow, UL: Gen. 198
- e) Gloucester Abbey  
London, PRO: C. 150/1
- f) Hemming's [Latin and English]  
= Worcester Cathedral Priory  
London, BL: Cotton Tiberius A.xiii
- g) Oak  
Cambridge, KC: Muniments S.N.
- h) Oswald  
London, BL: Cotton Nero E.i (fols. 181-184) + Add. 46204
- i) Saint Denys  
London, BL: Add. 15314
- j) Sherborne  
London, BL: Add. 46487
- k) Winchester Cathedral Priory [Latin and English]  
= Swithin, St.  
London, BL: Add. 15350
- Casanatense Homiliary  
Roma, BCas: 716-717
- 2) Prato, BR: O VIII 2
- Certosa Breviary  
Cambridge (Mass.), HU: MS Typ 219
- Chabellan, Richard, Missal  
Paris, BN: lat. 879
- Chansonniere [French, Latin, English, Spanish, Italian]: see Songbooks
- Charlemagne Psalter  
Paris, BN: lat. 13159
- Charles of Orléans Hours  
= Ducs d'Orléans Hours  
Paris, BN: nouv. acq. lat. 3115
- Charters
- a) Æthelred II, King, to Æthelred [Latin and English]  
London, BL: Stowe Charter 35
- b) Æthilbald [English]  
London, BL: Cotton Augustus II.3
- c) Cnut, King, to Archbishop Lyfing [Latin and English]  
London, BL: Stowe Charter 38
- d) Eadgifu, Queen, to Christ Church, Canterbury [English]  
London, BL: Stowe Charter 28
- e) Edgar, King, to Abingdon Abbey [Latin and English]  
London, BL: Cotton Augustus II.39
- f) Edgar, King, to Wulfric  
London, BL: Cotton Augustus II.40
- g) Edward I for Newminster [English]  
London, BL: Cotton Vespasian A.viii
- h) Hlotharius of Kent  
London, BL: Cotton Augustus II.2
- Chaucer (*Canterbury Tales*) [English]
- p) Chatsworth  
Tokyo, Toshiyutsi Takamiya Collection 24
- Chertsey Abbey Breviary  
Oxford, BL: Lat. liturg. d. 42 + e. 6 + e. 37 + e. 42 + San Francisco, USF: BX 2033 A2
- Chester-le-Street Gospels  
London, BL: Cotton Otho B.ix
- Chichele, (Henry), of Canterbury Pontifical  
Cambridge, TC: 248 (B.11.9)
- Christoph von Utenheim Missal  
Porrentruy, BEC: 5
- Chronicles
- I Anglo-Saxon [English]
- a) Abingdon Abbey  
London, BL: Cotton Tiberius A.vi
- 2) London, BL: Cotton Tiberius B.i
- b) Anglo-Saxon E-Text  
= Laud  
= Peterborough  
Oxford, BL: Laud. Misc. 636
- c) Christ Church [English and Latin]  
London, BL: Cotton Domitian A.viii
- d) Parker Chronicles and Laws  
Cambridge, CCC: 173
- e) Worcester  
London, BL: Cotton Tiberius B.iv
- f) London, BL: Cotton Domitian A.ix (fol. 9)
- g) London, BL: Cotton Otho B.xi (fols. 39-47)
- II
- a) Peterborough Abbey  
Cambridge, CCC: 53 (fols. 185-187)
- b) San Vincenzo al Volturno

- Vaticano, Città del, BAV: Barb. lat. 2724
- c) Santa Sofia a Benevento  
Vaticano, Città del, BAV: Vat. lat. 4939
- Chrysanthos Gospels [Greek]  
Chicago, UC: 131 (BS 3552 1300 900659)
- Cicero
- a) Codex Vitebergensis  
Halle, ULB: Yg 4<sup>o</sup> 24
- Circle Gospels [Greek]  
Chicago, UC: 138 (BS 3552 1350 A 927988)
- Claude de France Prayerbook  
New York, Alexandre P. Rosenberg Collection: 8
- Claude of Guise Hours  
Paris, BA: 654
- Closworth Missal  
Oxford, BL: Don. b. 6
- Cnut, King, Charter to Archbishop Lyfing: see Charters c)
- Codex Andrensis [Greek]  
Princeton, SLP: G. 1
- Arabicus [Arabic]  
Mount Sinai, SCM: Arab. 514
- Arcerianus: see Agrimensorum veteres Romanorum b)
- Aureus
- i) Codex Aureus Pultoviensis  
Kraków, BM: Czart. 1207
- Azcatitlan [Mexican]  
Paris, BN: mexicain 59-64
- Brucianus [Coptic papyrus]  
Oxford, BL: Bruce 96
- Calixtinus  
= Liber Sancti Jacobi  
Santiago de Compostela, AC: S.N.
- Campianus [Greek]  
Paris, BN: gr. 48
- Clozianus [Glagolitic]  
Innsbruck, TLF: Dip. 973/Beilage 1 (2 fols.) + Trento, BC: 2476
- Crippsianus [Greek]  
London, BL: Burney 95
- Gissensis [Latin and Gothic]  
Giessen, HB: 651/20
- Glagolita Clozianus: see Codex Clozianus
- Codex Gothanus  
Gotha, FB: I 81 (olim Memb. 57)
- Hammer: see Leonardo da Vinci a)
- Huntingtonianus  
= Codex Tarragona  
New York, HSA: B 1143
- Juvenicus Cantabrigiensis  
Cambridge, UL: Ff.4.32
- Juvenianus  
Roma, BV: B 25<sup>ii</sup>
- Laudunensis  
Laon, BM: 473 bis
- Leicester of Leonardo da Vinci: see Leonardo da Vinci a)
- Mavrocordatianus [Greek]  
Bratislava, SAS: 394 kt.
- Petrov [Greek]  
Mount Athos, ML: S.N. (8 fols.) + Kiev, GPB: 26 (Petrov) (3 fols.) + Leningrad, GPB: gr. 14 (3 fols.) + Moscow, GIM: 563 (2 fols.) + Moscow, GBL: gr. 166, 1 (1 fol.) + Paris, BN: suppl. gr. 1074 (10 fols.) + Coislin gr. 202 (12 fols.) + Torino, BN: B I 5 (2 fols.)
- Pfisteri  
Basel, SA: St. Alban R
- Regius [Greek]  
Paris, BN: gr. 62
- Rupefulcadinus [Greek]  
Berlin, DSB: Philipps 1450
- Schlettstadtensis  
Sélestat, BH: 1a (olim 1093)
- Tarragona: see Codex Huntingtonianus
- Toletanus  
Madrid, BN: Vitr. 13.1
- Vindobonensis Mexicanus [Mexican]  
Wien, ÖNB: Mexikanus 1
- Vitebergensis: see Cicero a)
- Waldeccensis et Marburgensis [Greek and Latin]  
Marburg, HS: Bestand 147 lat. + Arolsen, SM: II. Abt., 1. Abschnitt Konv. 49, Fasz. 15-16
- Washingtonianus (W)  
Washington, D.C., FG: 06.274
- Cœur, Jacques, Hours  
München, SB: Clm 10103

- Cœur, Jacques, Pontifical  
New York, PM: G. 49
- Collins Hours  
Philadelphia, PMA: 45-65-4
- Colmar Liederbuch: see Songbooks II b)
- Comitissa Bible  
London, BL: Royal 3.E.i-v + 3.E.viii
- Conrad von Thüngen Breviary  
New York, PM: G. 13
- Copenhagen Chansonnier: see Songbooks I f)
- Cormac Psalter  
London, BL: Add. 36929
- Coronation Book of Charles V  
London, BL: Cotton Tiberius B.viii
- Coronation Book of Kings of England  
Pamplona, AGN: 197
- Correctoria
- Dominicanum (Hugo de Sancto Caro)  
Vaticano, Città del, BAV: Ottob. lat. 293
  - Parisiense  
Paris, BN: lat. 16719-16722
  - Sorbonicum  
Paris, BN: lat. 15554
  - Vaticanium (William de la Mare)  
Vaticano, Città del, BAV: Vat. lat. 3466
- C(o)upar Angus Psalter  
Vaticano, Città del, BAV: Pal. lat. 65
- Courtney, Catherine, Empress of Constantinople, Hours  
New York, PM: M. 730
- Crowland Psalter: see Peterborough Psalter 3)
- Cuthbert, St., Collectar  
= Durham Ritual  
Durham, CL: A.IV.19
- Y Cwttta Cyfarwydd [Welsh]  
Aberystwyth, NLW: Peniarth 50
- David Psalter  
Oxford, BL: Bodley 953
- De Bernham Pontifical  
Cambridge, SSC: 100 (Δ.5.15)
- Dečani Gospels [Slavonic]  
Leningrad, GPB: Gilf. 4
- De Lisle Hours  
New York, PM: G. 50
- De Mortivall, (Roger), Bishop of Salisbury, Pontifical  
Oxford, BL: Rawl. C. 400
- Derby, Stephen of, Psalter  
Oxford, BL: Rawl. G. 185
- Dering Roll  
London, BL: Add. 38537
- Donizo ms.  
Vaticano, Città del, BAV: Vat. lat. 4922
- Dresden Prayerbook  
Dresden, SL: A.311
- Du Bois de Dourduff Pontifical  
Toronto, BC: 28
- Dublin Apocalypse  
Dublin, TC: 64 (K.4.31)
- Ducs d'Orléans Hours: see Charles of Orléans Hours
- Durham Ritual: see Cuthbert, St., Collectar
- Dyson Perrins Statutes  
San Marino, HL: HM 19920
- Eadgifu, Queen, Charter to Christ Church, Canterbury: see Charters d)
- Eales Hours [Latin and French]  
Reading, UL: 2087
- Eberhard Psalter  
München, SB: Clm 7355
- Ebrach Bible  
Wolfenbüttel, HAB: Cod. Guelf. 1.3.1 Aug. 2°
- Echternach Bible  
Luxembourg, BN: 264
- Echternach Psalter  
Stuttgart, WLB: Bibl. fol. 12a-c
- Echternach Sacramentary  
Darmstadt, LH: 1946
- Paris, BN: lat. 9433
- Edgar, King, Charter to Abingdon Abbey: see Charters e)
- Edgar, King, Charter to Wulfric: see Charters f)
- Edward I Charter for Newminster: see Charters g)
- Elmton Gospels  
's-Gravenhage, KB: 76 F 1

- Eleanora, Empress, Hours  
Wien, ÖNB: 1942
- Eleanora de Toledo Hours  
London, VAM: L. 1792-1953
- Elizabeth of York Prayerbook  
Toronto, BC: 60
- Ellenhard von Freising Sacramentary  
Bamberg, SB: Msc. lit. 2 (Ed.III.11)
- Ellinger, Abbot, Gospel Book  
= Tegernsee Gospel Book  
München, SB: Clm 18005
- Emma, Queen, Encomium  
London, BL: Add. 33241
- Erentrude, St., Collectar  
München, SB: Clm 15902
- Erlyngham Breviary  
Salisbury, CL: 152
- El Escorial Apocalypse  
El Escorial, BSL: Vitr. 5
- Eton Apocalypse [French]  
Eton, EC: 177
- Eton Choir/Anthem Book  
Eton, EC: 178
- Evergerus Lectionary  
Köln, EDDb: 143
- Fairfax Book  
London, BL: Add. 5465
- Faure Bible  
Paris, BN: lat. 47
- Ferdinand I of Aragon Breviary  
Napoli, BN: I B 57
- Fichard Liederbuch: see Songbooks II c)
- Fleury Play Book  
Orléans, BM: 201 (178)
- Flora Hours  
Napoli, BN: I B 51
- Floreffe Gospels  
Bruxelles, BR: 62 (10527)
- Florence Sacramentary  
Firenze, BLaur: Aedil. 122
- Foigny Bible  
Paris, BN: lat. 15177-15180
- Forrest-Heather Part Books  
Oxford, BL: Mus. Sch. e. 376-381
- Foucarmont Bible  
Neufchâtel-en-Bray, BM: 1-5
- Francis I, King of France, Hours  
London, BL: Add. 18853
- Franciscan Missal  
Oxford, BL: Douce 313
- Frankfurt Dirigier Roll [German]  
Frankfurt am Main, UB: Barth. 178
- Frederick III, Emperor, Breviary [German]  
München, SB: Cgm 68
- Freising Memorials  
München, SB: Clm 6426
- Freising Pontifical  
München, SB: Clm 6425
- Fressac Bible  
Paris, BN: lat. 58
- Friedrich von Köln Lectionary  
Köln, EDDb: 59
- Friedrich ze Rhin Breviary  
Basel, UB: A N VIII 28/29
- Fritzlar Bible  
Pommersfelden, GSB: 335
- Frowin, Abbot, Bible  
= Richene Bible  
Engelberg, SB: 3-5 (olim I/1-3)
- Froymont-DeVinc-Wittert Prayerbook  
Liège, BU: Wittert 35
- Fulda Gospels (of Mainz)  
Berlin, SBPK: Theol. lat. fol. 18  
2) (of Werden)  
Berlin, SBPK: Theol. lat. fol. 359
- Fulda Sacramentary  
Bamberg, SB: Msc. lit. 1 (A.II.12)  
2) Berlin, SBPK: Theol. lat. fol. 192  
3) Göttingen, NSUB: Theol. 231  
4) Lunel, BM: 1  
5) München, SB: Clm 10077  
6) Udine, BC: 75 V  
7) Vaticano, Città del, BAV: Vat. lat. 3806  
8) Vercelli, BC: 181
- Gaignières Lectionary  
Paris, BN: lat. 1126
- Geneva Bible  
Genève, BPU: 1
- Genoa Bible  
Genova, BC: Berio R. B. 2554
- Giles of Luxembourg Pontifical  
Toronto, BC: 39
- Gimont Bible  
Paris, BN: lat. 7

- Giovannino de' Grassi Sketchbook  
Bergamo, BC: Δ.VII.14
- Glagolita Clozianus: see Codex Clozianus
- Glazier Psalter  
= Hachette Psalter  
New York, PM: G. 25
- Goderamnus Bible  
= Lobbes Bible  
= Saint Peter of Lobbes Bible  
Tournai, BGS: 1
- Gonson, William, Hours  
Chicago, NL: 35
- Gonzaga, Cecilia, Hours  
New York, PM: M. 454
- Gospel of 1316 [Armenian]  
Jerusalem, APG: 1950
- Gospel of the Sea [Armenian]  
Jerusalem, APG: 1794
- Goteboldus (Guntbald) Bible  
= Gumbertus Bible  
Erlangen, UB: 1 (Irmischer 121)
- Gouffier, Claude, Psalter [French]  
Paris, BA: 5095
- Gough Psalter: see Peterborough Psalter 6)
- Grande Chartreuse Bible  
Grenoble, BM: 3
- Granvelle Hours  
London, BL: Add. 21235
- Grillinger, Peter, Bible  
München, SB: Clm 15701
- Grimold Sacramentary  
Köln, EDDb: 88
- Guelldre Breviary [German]  
= Maria von Gelden Hours  
Tübingen, UB: Germ. 42
- Guerin (Garin), John, Hours  
New York, PM: M. 27
- Gumbertus Bible: see Goteboldus Bible
- Gundekar Pontifical of Eichstätt  
Eichstätt, SSB: (S) S.N.
- Gundold Gospels  
Stuttgart, WLB: Bibl. qu. 2
- Guntbald Gospels  
Hildesheim, Dom: 33
- Guy de Mohun, Bishop of St. David, Pontifical  
Cambridge, CCC: 79
- Haarlem Hours  
Haarlem, TM: 78
- Habert du Berry d'Artois-Hoe Hours  
Cambridge (Mass.), HU: Richardson 7
- Hachette Psalter: see Glazier Psalter
- Hadrian Sacramentary  
= Hildoard, Bishop, Sacramentary  
Cambrai, BM: 164 (159)
- Hakon Psalter  
Berlin, KK: 78 A 8
- Halle Inventory (Heiltumsbuch)  
Aschaffenburg, HB: 14
- Halle Lectionary  
New York, PM: M. 299
- Hamersleben Bible  
= Pancratius, St., Bible  
Halberstadt, Dom: 1
- Hamilton Siddur [Hebrew]  
Berlin, SBPK: Hamilton 288
- Hardehausen Gospels  
Kassel, GB: Theol. fol. 59
- Hartker Antiphonal  
Sankt Gallen, SB: 390-391
- Hartmut Biblical ms.  
Sankt Gallen, SB: 83
- Harvard Hannibal: see Livy f)
- Hastings, William, Lord, Hours  
London, BL: Add. 54872  
2) Madrid, MLG: No. 15503
- Heidelberg Psalter  
Vaticano, Città del, BAV: Pal. lat. 39
- Heisterbach Bible  
Berlin, DSB: Theol. lat. fol. 379
- Helgesinus von Vinstingen Psalter  
Wolfenbüttel, HAB: Cod. Guelf. 64 Aug. 2<sup>o</sup>
- Helmarshausen Gospels  
Malibu, JPGM: Ludwig II 3
- Hemming's Cartulary: see Cartularies f)
- Henry II Gospels  
Vaticano, Città del, BAV: Ottob. lat. 74
- Henry II Lectionary  
München, SB: Clm 15713
- Henry II Pericopes  
Bamberg, SB: Msc. Bibl. 95 (A.II.46)
- Henry VII Hours  
Tournai, BM: 122
- Henry VIII Hours

- New York, PM: H. 8
- Henry VIII Psalter  
London, BL: Royal 2.A.xvi
- Henry the Lion Gospelbook  
Wolfenbüttel, HAB: Cod. Guelf. Noviss. 2°
- Herman van Lochorst Bible  
Cambridge, FM: 289
- Hildebrandslied [German]  
Kassel, GB: Theol. fol. 54
- Hiltoard, Bishop, Sacramentary: see Hadrian Sacramentary
- Hilfred Gospels  
Köln, EDDB: 13
- Hlotharius of Kent, Charter of: see Charters h)
- Hohenems-Münchener Nibelungenlied [German]  
München, SB: Cgm 34
- Homer [Greek]
- e) Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga Iliad  
Vaticano, Città del, BAV: Vat. gr. 1626
  - f) Lefort Papyrus  
Louvain-la-Neuve, AUC: Pap. Gr. 1
  - g) Munich Briseis  
München, SB: Pap. graec. mon. 128
- Honoré Breviary  
= Philippe le Bel Breviary  
Paris, BN: lat. 1023
- Huesca Sacramentary  
Huesca, AC: 5 (olim 8)
- Hungerford Missal  
Cambridge, UL: Add. 451
- Huth Hours  
London, BL: Add. 38126
- Hval New Testament [Slavonic]  
Bologna, BU: 3575B
- Hyde Abbey Psalter: see Peterborough Psalter 6)
- Hymnarium Severinianum  
Paris, BN: lat. 1092
- Iliad of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga: see Homer e)
- Isabella di Chiaromonte Hours  
Cambridge (Mass.), HU: fMS Typ 463
- Jacques de Luxembourg Hours  
Malibu, JPGM: Ludwig IX 11
- Jean Cœur Pontifical: see Cœur, Jean, Pontifical
- Jean de Foix Missal  
Paris, BN: lat. 16827
- Jean, Admiral, de Montaubon and wife Anne de Kérenrais, Hours [Latin and French]  
Paris, BN: lat. 18026
- Jena Liederbuch: see Songbooks II d)
- Johannes de Pagah(arm) Psalter  
Oxford, BL: Bodley 862
- Johannes von Valkenburg Antiphonary: see Beaupré Antiphonal
- Johannes von Valkenburg Gradual  
Köln, EDDB: 1 b  
2) Bonn, UB: S 384
- Johannes von Venningen Breviary  
Porrentruy, BEC: 22
- Johannes von Venningen Liber officiorum  
Porrentruy, BEC: 3
- John of Nassau and Vyanden Historiated Bible  
København, KB: Thott 123 2°
- Juana la Loca Hours  
Cambridge (Mass.), HU: fMS Typ 443 + 443.1
- Judith of Flanders Gospels  
Fulda, LB: Aa 21
- Jumièges Bible  
Rouen, BM: 8 (A.6)
- Jumièges Gospels  
London, BL: Add. 17739
- Jutta Tursina of Lichtenfels Psalter  
Zwettl, SB: 204
- Kedermister Gospels  
London, BL: Loan 11 (Langley Parish, Buckinghamshire, Kedermister Library 267)
- Kingston Lacy Leaf: see Offa Bible
- Klara Hätzlerin of Augsburg Liederbuch: see Songbooks II e)
- Klosterneuburg Bible  
Klosterneuburg, SB: 1

- Klus Gospels  
 Wolfenbüttel, HAB: Cod. Guelf. 84.3  
 Aug. 2°
- Konrad von Rennenberg Missal  
 Köln, EDDb: 149
- Kurij anivii Fragments [Glagolitic]  
 Leningrad, GPB: F.II.1.58
- La Clayette ms. [French and Latin]  
 Paris, BN: nouv. acq. fr. 13521 + lat.  
 11411
- Lacy, Bishop Edmund, Pontifical  
 Exeter, CL: 3513
- Lallemant, Guillaume, Missal  
 New York, PM: M. 495
- Lambach Gospels  
 Vaticano, Città del, BAV: Vat. lat. 14008
- Lambert le Bègue Psalter  
 Cambridge, FM: 288
- Laud Chronicles: see Chronicles I b)
- Lefort Papyrus: see Homer f)
- Le Mans Sacramentary  
 Le Mans, BM: 77
- León Bible of 1162: see Bible (San Isidoro)  
 of 1162
- Leonardo da Vinci  
 a) Codex Hammer  
 = Codex Leicester (from Holkham  
 Hall)  
 Los Angeles, Armand Hammer  
 Foundation: S.N.
- Liber Landavensis: see Book of Llandaff
- Liber Sancti Jacobi: see Codex Calixtinus
- Liechtenstein-Kálmáncsehi ms.  
 New York, PM: G. 7
- Liederbuch [German, English, Latin,  
 French, Spanish]: see Songbooks
- Liège Sacramentary  
 Bamberg, SB: Msc. lit. 3 (Ed.V.4)
- Little Canterbury Psalter  
 Paris, BN: lat. 770
- Livy  
 f) Harvard Hannibal  
 Cambridge (Mass.), HU: Richardson  
 32
- Llanfaes Bible  
 London, BL: Add. 54232
- Llyfr Coch Talgarth [Welsh]  
 = Red Book of Talgarth  
 Aberystwyth, NLW: Llanstephan 27
- Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin: see Black Book of  
 Carmarthen
- Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderich [Welsh]  
 = White Book of Rhydderich  
 Aberystwyth, NLW: Peniarth 4-5
- Y Llyvyr Du or Weun: see Black Book of  
 Chirk
- Lobbes Bible: see Goderamnus Bible
- Louis de Busco Psalter/Hours  
 Baltimore, WAG: W. 286
- Louthe, Thomas, Hours  
 Louvain-la-Neuve, AUC: A 2 (olim G 5)
- Lucan  
 a) Milan  
 Milano, BA: H 33 inf. (= S.P. 50)
- Lucretius  
 a) Lucretius oblongus  
 Leiden, BR: Voss. lat. F. 30  
 b) Lucretius quadratus  
 Leiden, BR: Voss. lat. Q. 94
- Lyon Bible  
 Lyon, BM: 410-411 (337)
- Lyre Psalter  
 London, BL: Add. 16975
- Magdalen College Pontifical  
 Dublin, TC: 98 (B.3.6)
- Mahaut d'Artois Hours  
 Cambrai, BM: 87 (88)
- Maldon, Battle of [English]  
 Oxford, BL: Rawl. B. 203
- Malines Bible  
 Bruxelles, BR: 1 (9107-10)
- Mansi Breviary  
 Lucca, BCF: 5
- Marco Polo (*Li livres du Graunt Caam*)  
 [French]  
 a) Oxford, BL: Bodley 264
- Margaret of Cornwall Hours  
 Nürnberg, SB: Solger 4.4°
- Marguerite de Valois Prayerbook  
 Paris, BN: nouv. acq. lat. 83
- Maria von Gelden Hours: see Gueldre  
 Breviary
- Maurdramnus Bible  
 Amiens, BM: 6-9 + 11-12 + Paris, BN:  
 lat. 13174 (fols. 136, 138)

- Maximus Apocalypse [Greek]  
     — McCormick, Elizabeth Day, Apoca-  
     lypse  
     Chicago, UL: 931 (ND 3361 R5M1  
     81210934)  
 Mayence/Mainz Pontifical  
     Bruxelles, BR: 387 (1814-16)  
 Mayence/Mainz Sacramentary  
     Oxford, BL: Auct. D.1.20  
 Mellon Chansonnier: see Songbooks I g)  
 Merseburg Bible  
     Merseburg, AD: I. 1-3  
 Merwas, First, Bible [Hebrew]  
     London, BL: Or. 2201  
 Metz Cathedral Bible  
     Metz, BM: 2  
 Michaelbeuern Bible  
     Michaelbeuern, SB: Perg. 1  
 Michaelbeuern Gospels: see Ellinger, Ab-  
     bot, Gospel Book  
 Michel Jouvenel des Ursins Hours  
     = Yolande de Montberon Hours  
     Paris, BN: nouv. acq. lat. 3113  
 Milan Bible of (Cardinal) Francesco Piz-  
     (z)olpasso  
     Milano, BA: B 48 inf.  
 Milan Lucan: see Lucan a)  
 Milan Pontifical  
     Milano, BC: 4  
 Mildenfurth Bible  
     Jena, UB: Elect. theol. fol. 12 + 14  
 Minden Sacramentary  
     Berlin, DSB: Theol. lat. fol. 2  
 Miracle Gospels [Armenian]  
     Jerusalem, APG: 2649  
 Miracles of Notre Dame (of Pucelle)  
     [French]  
     Paris, BN: nouv. acq. fr. 24541  
 Mirandola Hours  
     = Ruskin, John, Hours  
     London, BL: Add. 50002  
 Missale Parvum de Vic  
     Vich, AC: 71  
 Monte Amiata Sacramentary  
     Lucca, BCF: 606  
 Montserrat Sacramentary  
     Montserrat, BM: 815  
 Mordramne Bible: see Maudramnus Bi-  
     ble
- Morgan Library Sketchbook  
     New York, PM: M. 346  
 Mosan Psalter  
     Berlin, KK: 78 A 6  
 Mosburg/Moosburg Gradual  
     München, UB: 2° 156  
 Mulliner Virginal Book [Music]  
     London, BL: Add. 30513  
 Munich Briseis: see Homer g)  
 Munich Parzifal [German]  
     München, SB: Cgm 19  
 Munich Tristan [German]  
     München, SB: Cgm 51
- Nagler Liederbuch: see Songbooks II f)  
 Namur Breviary  
     Berlin, DSB: Theol. lat. fol. 285  
 Nevers Pontifical  
     Paris, BN: lat. 17333  
 Nibelungenlied [German]  
     Berlin, DSB: Germ. fol. 855  
 Nicolaus Gospels  
     Chicago, UC: 129 (BS 3552 1133 879920)  
 Nicomedia Gospels [Greek]  
     Kiev, GPB: 25 (Lebedev)  
 Niederaltaich Gospel Book  
     München, SB: Clm 9476  
 Nivelles Sacramentary  
     Zürich, ZB: Rh. 30  
 Nonantola Sacramentary  
     Paris, BN: lat. 2292  
 Non(n)berg Pericopes  
     München, SB: Clm 15903  
 Novalesa Troper  
     Oxford, BL: Douce 222
- Ochrid Gospels [Slavonic]  
     Odessa, OGNB: R 2/532  
 Odilo Bible  
     Paris, BN: lat. 15176  
 Offa Bible  
     London, BL: Add. 37777 (= Greenwell  
     Leaf) + Add. 45025 (= Middleton Lea-  
     ves) + Loan 81 (= Bankes Leaf = King-  
     ston Lacy Leaf)  
 Oña Bible  
     Silos, ASD: frag. 19  
 Oporto Chansonnier: see Songbooks I h)  
 Ostromirovo Gospels [Slavonic]

- Leningrad, GPB: F.II.1.5  
 Oswald Breviary  
   = Portiforium Oswaldi  
   Cambridge, CCC: 391  
 Ottheinrich, Count Palatine, Bible [German]  
   München, SB: Cgm 8010-8011  
 Ottobereuren Homiliary  
   Roma, BN: Vittorio Emanuele 1190
- Padua Sacramentary  
   Padova, BC: D 47  
 Pancratius, St., Bible: see Hamersleben Bible  
 Parc Bible  
   = Park Bible  
   = Saint Mary de Parc Bible  
   London, BL: Add. 14788  
 Paris, Matthew, (*Chronica*)  
   a) Cambridge, CCC: 16  
   b) Cambridge, CCC: 26  
   c) London, BL: Royal 14.C.vii  
 Paris Chansonniere: see Songbooks I i)  
 Passau Psalter  
   München, SB: Clm 11020  
 Penwortham Breviary  
   London, BL: Add. 52359  
 Pepin Sacramentary  
   Vaticano, Città del, BAV: Reg. lat. 316A  
 Peterborough Chronicles: see Chronicles I b)  
 Peterborough Psalter  
   3) = Crowland Psalter  
     Oxford, BL: Douce 296  
   4) Cambridge, CCC: 53  
   5) Barlow  
     Oxford, BL: Barlow 22  
   6) Gough  
     = Hyde Abbey  
     Oxford, BL: Gough liturg. 8  
   7) Ramsey  
     New York, PM: M. 302 + Sankt Paul im Lavanttal, SB: XXV/2,19  
 Phébus, Gaston (*Livre de la chasse*) [French]  
   a) Paris, BN: fr. 1291  
 Philargi, Cardinal Peter, [Alexander V] Pontifical  
   Cambridge, FM: McClean 54  
 Phoenix Hours  
   New York, CUL: BP096 F  
 Pierre de Bosredont Hours  
   New York, PM: G. 55  
 Pierre de Foix Hours  
   New York, PM: M. 6  
 Plantagenet Psalter  
   London, VAM: Reid 53  
 Poncii Bible  
   London, BL: Add. 50003  
 Pontigny Bible  
   Paris, BN: lat. 8823  
 Portcullis Book  
   London, BL: Harley 521  
 Porter, Sir William, Hours  
   New York, PM: M. 105  
 Portiforium Oswaldi: see Oswald Breviary  
 Powell Roll of Arms  
   Oxford, BL: Ashmole 804.IV  
 Prigent de Coëtivy Hours  
   Dublin, CBL: W. 82  
 Priscian  
   a) Leiden, BR: B.P.L. 114B
- Quinity of Winchester Miniature  
   London, BL: Cotton Titus D.xxvii (fol. 75v)
- Rado Bible  
   Wien, ÖNB: 1190  
 Raleigh, Sir Walter, Hours [Latin and French]  
   Oxford, BL: Add. A. 185  
 Ramsey Psalter: see Peterborough Psalter 7)  
 Ratisbon Pontifical  
   Paris, BN: lat. 1231  
 Ratisbon Sacramentary  
   Verona, BC: LXXXVII (82)  
 Ravensburg Lectionary  
   Vaticano, Città del, BAV: Pal. lat. 502  
 Red Book of Talgarth: see Llyfr Coch Talgarth  
 Regensburg Antiphonary  
   New York, PM: M. 870-874 + Baltimore, WAG: W. 754 (2 fols.) + Montréal, Philippe Verdier Collection: S.N.

- Regensburg Gospels of St. Emmeram  
Pommersfelden, GSB: 2821
- Registrum Sancti Gregorii  
Trier, SB: 1711 + Chantilly, MC: 14 (1353)
- Reina ms. [French and Italian]  
Paris, BN: nouv. acq. fr. 6771
- René, duc d'Alençon, Hours  
Reims, BM: 358 (C. 205)
- Rheinau Sacramentary  
Zürich, ZB: Rh. 43
- Richene Bible: see Frowin, Abbot, Bible
- Rivoire Hours  
Paris, BN: nouv. acq. lat. 3114
- Robert le Clerc, Abbot of Dunes, Pontifical  
Cambridge, UL: Nn.4.1
- Robertet, Jean, Hours  
New York, PM: M. 834
- Robertsbridge ms./Fragment [Music]  
London, BL: Add. 28550
- Rochehoucauld Hours [Latin, French]  
Bruxelles, BR: 750 (15077)
- Rode (Rohde) Gospels  
Wolfenbüttel, HAB: Cod. Guelf. 576.2 Novi
- Roi, Manuscrit du, Chansonier: see Songbooks I j)
- Romance of Alexander: see Alexander Romance
- Romance of the Rose (*Roman de la rose*) [French]  
a) London, BL: Add. 42133  
b) London, BL: Harley 4425  
c) London, BL: Royal 19.B.xiii  
d) London, BL: Royal 20.A.xvii  
e) Oxford, BL: Selden Supra 57
- Romance Papyrus [Greek]  
Paris, BN: suppl. gr. 1294
- Roocloster Breviary  
London, BL: Add. 11863-11864  
2) Bruxelles, BR: IV.860
- Roseberry Hours  
Glasgow, UL: Gen. 288
- Rostock Liederbuch: see Songbooks II g)
- Rous Roll [English]  
London, BL: Add. 48976
- Rudolf, Abbot of Werden, Gospels  
Chantilly, MC: 16 (1143)
- Russell, John, Pontifical  
Cambridge, UL: Mm.3.21
- Saint Alban (of Mainz) Sacramentary  
Malibu, JPGM: Ludwig V 2
- Albans Bible  
Cambridge, CCC: 48
- Amand Sacramentary  
Stockholm, KB: A.136
- Aubin Bible  
Angers, BM: 3-4 (2)
- Bénigne Bible  
Berlin, SBPK: Hamilton 82
- Cyr of Nevers Gospels  
London, BL: Harley 2790
- Denis Breviary  
Oxford, BL: Canon. Liturg. 192
- Denis Psalter  
Paris, BN: lat. 103
- Gereon Psalter [Greek]  
Wien, ÖNB: Theol. gr. 336
- Germain des Prés Chansonier: see Songbooks I k)
- Jean d'Acre Missal  
Perugia, MO: 6 (21)
- Laurent of Liège Bible  
Bruxelles, BR: 39 (9642-44)
- Martin Bible  
Bruxelles, BR: 42 (II.2525)
- Mary de Parc Bible: see Parc Bible
- Maximin in Trier Psalter  
Manchester, JR: Lat. 116 (Crawford 133)
- Peter of Lobbes Bible: see Goderamus Bible
- Petersburg Legendary [French]  
Paris, BN: nouv. acq. fr. 23686
- Simeon Bible  
Trier, SB: 2
- Vaast Sacramentary  
Paris, BN: lat. 12052
- San Isidoro in León Bible of 1162: see Bible (San Isidoro) of 1162
- Juan de la Peña Bible  
Madrid, BN: Vitr. 2
- Sankt Florian Gospels  
Düsseldorf, LSB: B 113

- Sankt Pantaleon Gospels  
Köln, HA: 312a
- Santa Cruz Bible  
Oporto, BPM: 32 (olim 1)  
— Maria degli Angeli Bible  
Firenze, BLaur: Conv. soppr. 630  
— Maria del Vergaro Missal  
Perugia, MO: 8 (16)  
— Maria della Rosa Legendary  
Vaticano, Città del, BAV: Vat. lat. 6074
- Savigny Bible Fragment  
Paris, BN: nouv. acq. lat. 2652
- Savvina Kniga [Slavonic]  
Moscow, TsGADA: 14
- Schedel Liederbuch: see Songbooks II h)
- Scheyer Matutinalbuch  
München, SB: Clm 17401
- Schuttern Gospels  
London, BL: Add. 47673
- Scripps Bible  
Detroit, DIA: Acc. 1983.14
- Sedulius (*Carmen paschale*)  
a) Antwerpen, MPM: 17.4
- Selden Song Book: see Bodleian Carol Book
- Senlis Sacramentary  
Paris, BSG: 111
- Sherbrooke Missal  
Aberystwyth, NLW: 15536E (olim Yates Thompson 94)
- Sint Truiden Bible  
Liège, BU: 224-225 (Grandjean 1)
- Sirmond ms.: see Bede f)
- Sittico Hohenembs, Cardinal Marco, Hours  
London, VAM: L. 2393-1910 (Salting 4478)
- Soignies Psalter  
Leipzig, UB: 774
- Songbooks  
I Chansonnier  
a) Adam de la Halle  
Paris, BN: fr. 25566  
b) Arras  
Arras, BM: 657 (139)  
c) Arsenal  
Paris, BA: 5198  
d) Berblock, Nicolas  
Bruxelles, BR: III.858  
e) Cagé  
Paris, BN: fr. 846  
f) Copenhagen  
København, KB: Thott 291 8°  
g) Mellon  
New Haven, YU: 91  
h) Oporto  
Oporto, BPM: 714 (olim 86)  
i) Paris  
Montpellier, BIM: 196  
j) Roi, Manuscrit du  
Paris, BN: fr. 844  
k) Saint Germain des Prés  
Paris, BN: fr. 20050
- II Liederbuch  
a) Augsburg  
München, SB: Cgm 379  
b) Colmar  
München, SB: Cgm 4997  
c) Fichard  
München, SB: Cgm 5919  
d) Jena  
Jena, UB: fr. 75  
e) Klara Hätzlerin  
Praha, NM: X A 12  
f) Nagler  
Berlin, SBPK: Germ. oct. 125  
g) Rostock  
Rostock, UB: Phil. 100/2  
h) Schedel  
München, SB: Mus. 3232  
i) Spoerl  
Wien, ÖNB: 2856
- Springfield Antiphonal  
Cambridge, UL: Add. 2602
- Springiersbach Homiliary  
Trier, SB: 261
- Squarcialupi ms. [Italian]  
Firenze, BLaur: Med. Pal. 87
- Stablo (Stabloo, Stavelot) Bible  
London, BL: Add. 28106-28107
- Stablo Homiliary  
Oxford, BL: Lat. liturg. b. 2
- Stablo Psalter  
London, BL: Add. 18043
- Stephen of Derby Psalter: see Derby, Stephen of, Psalter

- Strasbourg ms.  
Strasbourg, ABV: A. VI. 19 (said to have been destroyed in fire of 1870)
- Strassburg Heldenbuch [German]  
Berlin, SBPK: Germ. qu. 781
- Sutton Bible  
Capetown, PL: Grey 4 c 16
- Tegernsee Gospel Book: see Ellinger, Abbot, Gospel Book
- Terence  
h) Basilicanus  
Vaticano, Città del, BAV: Arch. S. Pietro H 19
- Theophanu, Abbess, Gospels  
Essen, MS: S.N.
- Thiébaud de Luxembourg Hours  
Bruxelles, BR: 727 (9785)
- Thomas of Canterbury Pontifical  
Douai, BM: 67 (olim 94)
- Tigernach Annals  
Oxford, BL: Rawl. B. 502 (fols. 1r-12v)
- Tilliot Hours  
London, BL: Yates Thompson 5
- Tivoli Psalter  
Vaticano, Città del, BAV: Arch. S. Pietro D 156
- Tours (Gregorian) Sacramentary  
Tours, BM: 184 + Paris, BN: lat. 9430
- Tradescants' Orchard  
Oxford, BL: Ashmole 1461
- Trevor Psalter  
Aberystwyth, NLW: 21953D
- Troyes Pontifical  
Troyes, BM: 2272 (Clairvaux X 84)
- Urban V, Pope, Psalter  
Vaticano, Città del, BAV: Vat. lat. 13125
- Vanderbilt Hours  
New Haven, YU: 435  
2) New Haven, YU: 436
- Vatican Agrimensores: see Agrimensores veteres Romanorum a)
- Virgil  
h) Turonensis  
Bern, BB: 165  
i) *Aeneid* of Heinrich von Veldeke [German]
- Berlin, SBPK: Germ. fol. 282
- Vitruvius  
a) Sagredianus  
Milano, BA: A 90 sup.
- Vlachomanolis, Bible/Lectionary of [Greek]  
Athens, EB: 163
- Vorau Bible  
Vorau, SB: 224 (98)
- Voustre Demeure Hours  
Berlin, KK: 78 B 13 (Nos. 1, 9, 11, 20) + Madrid, BN: Vitr. 25.5
- Waulsort Psalter  
München, SB: Clm 13067
- Weingarten Bible  
Fulda, LB: Aa 16
- Werden Psalter  
Berlin, SBPK: Theol. lat. fol. 358
- Wessobrunn Prayer  
München, SB: Clm 22053 (fols. 65v-66r)
- Westminster Psalter  
London, BL: Royal 2.A.xxii
- Wherwell Psalter  
Cambridge, SJC: 68 (C.18)
- White Book of Rhydderch: see Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch
- Wibald von Stablo (Stavelot) Sacramentary  
Bruxelles, BR: 388 (2034-35)
- Willements Roll  
London, BL: Egerton 3713
- William IV of Bavaria Hours [Latin and German]  
Wien, ÖNB: 1880
- William of Hales Bible  
London, BL: Royal 1.B.xii
- Wilton Abbey Psalter  
London, RCP: 409
- Winchester Cantatorium: see Æthelred Troper
- Winchester Cathedral Priory Cartulary: see Cartularies k)
- Windberg Psalter [German and Latin]  
München, SB: Cgm 17
- Winithar(ius) Bible  
Sankt Gallen, SB: 2
- Wolfenbüttel Model Book

- Wolfenbüttel, HAB: Cod. Guelf. 61.2  
 Aug. 4°  
 Wöltingerode Psalter  
 Wolfenbüttel, HAB: Cod. Guelf. 521  
 Helmst.  
 Worcester Cathedral Priory Cartulary: see  
 Cartularies f)  
 Worcester Chronicles: see Chronicles I e)  
 Worcester Service Book  
 Worcester, CL: F. 160  
 Wulf (Wulfstan), Sermon of, to the Eng-  
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     (PMA)  
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     335: 404b  
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     nale (BEC)  
     3: 406b  
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     Cod. Guelf. 1.3.1 Aug. 2º: 403b  
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# THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE GOVERNORS OF AL-ANDALUS TO THE ACCESSION OF ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN I

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THE only detailed discussion of this complex of problems as a whole is that provided by E. Lafuente y Alcántara in an appendix to his valuable edition and translation of the *Akhbār Madjmūʿa*, published as long ago as 1867.<sup>1</sup> That has been regarded as the standard treatment, and subsequent historians have tended to adopt Lafuente's conclusions. He sought to establish not only the year but the month in which each of the Muslim governors, up to the assumption of power by the Umayyad prince, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, began and ended his tenure. Dates in such terms are given, in a sporadic way, by the Arabic chroniclers, biographers and historians. However, the indications they afford are not only incomplete but often contradictory and self-evidently undependable. Another class of data that Lafuente brought into account comprised statements about the length of time for which a governor was in office. These statements, too, are often in conflict with one another. Nevertheless, Lafuente believed it possible to arrive at a correct solution of the chronographic problem, and he succeeded in producing a list of the governors of Spain, from A.H. 92 to 138, in chronological sequence and with no temporal hiatus. Each governor follows immediately on the heels of his predecessor, apart from one explicit interregnum.

It will be useful for the purpose of orientation, and eventually comparison, if we begin by setting forth Lafuente's list of governors and their dates. Here, personal names are given in simple form and with orthography based on the conventions of *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*;<sup>2</sup> and for the sake of clarity the

<sup>1</sup> *Colección de obras arábigas de historia y geografía que publica la Real Academia de la Historia*, vol. 1: *Ajbar Machmuʿa (colección de tradiciones). Crónica anónima del siglo XI, dada a luz por primera vez, traducida y anotada por Don Emilio Lafuente y Alcántara* (Madrid, 1867), Appendix 3, pp. 220 ff. (This volume is cited henceforth as Lafuente, *Colección* 1.)

<sup>2</sup> New edition (Leiden, 1958-73). But I have retained the convenient and traditional 'Q' instead of 'K' and I have omitted ligature signs under 'dh', 'dj', 'gh', 'kh', 'sh', and 'th'.

names of the months, both Islamic<sup>3</sup> and Julian, are replaced by the appropriate Roman numerals.

1. Ṭāriq b. Ziyād. VII.92 to IX.93 (IV/V.711 to VI.712): (1 year 2 months)
2. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr. IX.93 to II.95 (VI.712 to X/XI.713): (1 year 5 months)
3. °Abd al-°Aziz b. Mūsā. II.95 to VII.97 (X/XI.713 to III.716): (2 years 5 months)
4. Ayyūb b. Ḥabīb. VII.97 to XII.97 (III.716 to VIII.716): (6 months)
5. Al-Ḥurr b. °Abd al-Raḥmān. XII.97 to IX.100 (VIII.716 to III/IV 719): (2 years 8-9 months)
6. Al-Samḥ b. Mālik. IX.100 to XII.102 (III/IV.719 to VI.721): (2 years 3 months)
7. °Abd al-Raḥmān b. °Abd Allāh. XII.102 to II.103 (VI.721 to VIII.721): (1 month)
8. °Anbasa b. Suḥaym. II.103 to VIII.107 (VIII.721 to I.726): (4 years 5 months)
9. °Udhra b. °Abd Allāh. VIII.107 to X.107 (I.726 to II/III.726): (2 months)
10. Yaḥyā b. Salāma. X.107 to III.110 (II/III.726 to VI/VII.728): (2 years 1 months)
11. Ḥudhayfa b. al-Aḥwaṣ. III.110 to VIII.110 (VI/VII.728 to XI/XII.728): (6 months)
12. °Uthmān b. Abī Nis°a. VIII.110 to I.111 (XI/XII.728 to IV.729): (5 months)
13. Al-Haytham b. °Ubayd. I.111 to XI.111 (IV.729 to I/II 730): (10 months)
14. Muḥammad b. °Abd Allāh. XI.111 to II.112 (I/II.730 to III/IV.730): (2 months)
15. °Abd al-Raḥmān *iterum*. II.112 to IX.114 (III/IV.730 to X.732): (2 years 7 months)
16. °Abd al-Malik b. Qaṭan. IX.114 to X.116 (X.732 to XI.734): (2 years)
17. °Uqba b. al-Hadjdjādī. X.116 to II.123 (XI.734 to I.741): (6 years 4 months)
18. °Abd al-Malik *iterum*. II.123 to XI.123 (I.741 to IX.741): (9 months)
19. Baldj b. Bishr. XI.123 to X.124 (IX.741 to VIII.742): (11 months)
20. Tha°laba b. Salāma. X.124 to VII.125 (VIII.742 to V.743): (10 months)
21. Abū l-Khaṭṭār al-Husām b. Ḍirār. VII.125 to VII.127 (V.743 to IV.745): (2 years)
22. Thawāba b. Salāma. VII.127 to I.129 (IV.745 to IX/X.746): (1 year 6 months)  
Interval. I.129 to IV.129 (IX/X.746 to XII.746/I.747): (4 months)
23. Yūsuf b. °Abd al-Raḥmān. IV.129 to 10.XII.138 (XII.746/I.747 to 15.V.756): (9 years 8 months).

The chronology of Lévi-Provençal in his *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane* is not quite so detailed in its presentation, but follows Lafuente very closely.<sup>4</sup> The only variations occur in the case of Mūsā (2), whose termination is deferred to the end of 95; and of (21) and (22), where the transition from Abū l-Khaṭṭār to Thawāba is dated 'after' the month of Radjab. The slightly less complete chronology of Valdeavellano in his *Historia de España*<sup>5</sup> in turn follows closely that of Lévi-Provençal, with no material variation. I propose to argue that there

<sup>3</sup> Since I have frequently used the Islamic month-names elsewhere it may save time and trouble if I list their order here: I = Muḥarram; II = Šafar; III = Rabī° 1; IV = Rabī° 2; V = Djumādā 1; VI = Djumādā 2; VII = Radjab; VIII = Sha°bān; IX = Ramaḍān; X = Shawwāl; XI = Dhū l-qa°da; XII = Dhū l-ḥijda.

<sup>4</sup> E. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, 2nd edition, 1 (Paris-Leiden, 1950), pp. 28 ff. The translation of this volume which appears in R. Menéndez Pidal, *Historia de España*, 3rd edition, 4 (Madrid, 1967) was made from the first edition (Cairo, 1944).

<sup>5</sup> Luis García de Valdeavellano, *Historia de España*, 4th edition, 1 (Madrid, 1968), pp. 371 ff.

is significant error in two sections of Lafuente's list, the first quarter and the final third: and thus, that the standard chronology of this period requires considerable revision.

# I

Lafuente, in reviewing the sources available to him, acknowledged that there exists an important Latin source for Spanish chronology of the period. This is the Latin chronicle of unknown authorship which used to be attributed to the fictitious 'Isidorus Pacensis episcopus', a name which necessarily and inevitably lingers on in library catalogues. It was cited by Lafuente from the text then available, the slightly contaminated one given by Flórez in *España sagrada*.<sup>6</sup> It was subsequently edited, rather grotesquely, by Tailhan under the title 'Anonyme de Cordoue', and then by Mommsen in the *Monumenta Germaniae historica* as 'Continuatio hispana a. DCCLIV'; it has recently been reedited by Juan Gil and again by José E. López Pereira.<sup>7</sup> The importance of this *Chronicle of 754* (as it will be styled from here on) is, self-evidently, that it was produced in the year 754 (in the Islamic year 136), and its author must have been truly contemporary with at least the latter part of the period under study. Lafuente, however, while paying lip-service to the *Chronicle of 754*, preferred to base his calculations, in practice, on the indications given by Arabic sources, and was not moved by the fact that his resultant chronology distanced itself considerably from the (admittedly difficult) evidence of the *Chronicle of 754*. The earliest extant Arabic sources are, unfortunately, not contemporary but about a century later in date than the Latin Chronicle. We have the rather scrappy account of the Islamic conquest of the west, composed by the Egyptian Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (d. 871),<sup>8</sup> and there is the brief relation of the conquest of Spain and even briefer account of its subsequent government up to 888/9, attributed to the Andalusian 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb (Ibn Ḥabīb, d. 852/3).<sup>9</sup> Even these were

<sup>6</sup> Enrique Flórez, *España sagrada*, 2nd edition, 8 (Madrid, 1769), pp. 282 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Jules Tailhan, *Anonyme de Cordoue. Chronique rimée des derniers rois d'Espagne et de la conquête de l'Espagne par les Arabes* (Paris, 1885); Theodor Mommsen, 'Continuatio hispana a. DCCLIV' in *Chronica minora. Saec. IV. V. VI. VII* 2 (MGH Auct. ant. 11; Berlin, 1894), pp. 323 ff.; Juan Gil, 'Chronica muzarabica' in his *Corpus scriptorum muzarabiorum* 1 (Madrid, 1973), pp. 15 ff.; López Pereira's edition appeared at Saragossa in 1980 (Textos medievales 58).

<sup>8</sup> Cited here from the translation by E. Vidal Beltrán, *Conquista de Africa del Norte y de España* (Valencia, 1966).

<sup>9</sup> Cited from 'Notas de Ibn Abī Riqā' de las lecciones de Ibn Ḥabīb acerca de la Conquista de España por los Árabes', trans. M. M. Antuña in *Cuadernos de historia de España* 1-2 (1944) 255 ff. Pascual de Gayangos, *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain* 2 (London, 1843), p. 405 n. 7, translated the summary list of governors and the periods during which they ruled (Antuña, pp. 265 f.) and attributed it to Ibn Ḥabīb. The list is undoubtedly derived from Ibn Ḥabīb: it begins, 'we were told by 'Abd al-Malik (Ibn Ḥabīb), who had it from Ibrāhīm b. al-

not much used by Lafuente. The Arabic sources he was attracted to, and for the most part followed, are of still later date.

With the lapse of time, as the facts of the conquest receded in memory, the Arabic writers patently felt free to resort to fiction in describing it and to borrow the tall tales of others (a process which had begun well before our earliest extant sources), and some of them developed the habit of supplying fanciful chronological detail to augment the verisimilitude of their accounts. Such detail immediately became part of the tradition, to be passed on by subsequent authors. The absurdity of the situation produced is neatly illustrated in the following extract from a famous essay by Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz:<sup>10</sup>

... the Islamic authorities ... date the disembarkation of Ṭāriq b. Ziyād on 5, or 8, of Radjab 92 (28 April or 1 May 711), on a Saturday of the month of Sha'bān of the same year (30 May, 6, 13 or 20 June 711), or in Ramaḍān of the same 92 (June-July 711); and that of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr in Ṣafar of 93 (19 November to 18 December 711), in Radjab of the same year (April-May 712), and mostly in Ramaḍān of the same 93 (June-July 712).

Lists of such variants for the dates of the governors of Al-Andalus have been compiled, and will be found in the Appendix.

Mundhīr al-Djizāmī, who in turn had it from Al-Wāqidi' (Antuñā, p. 265, but correcting his misreading of *'an Ibrāhīm* as *ben Ibrāhīm*). The supposed relationship between Ibn Ḥabīb and Ibn Abi l-Riqā' (his supposed pupil) was vibrantly discussed by Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz in the second volume of his *En torno a los orígenes del feudalismo* (Mendoza, 1942), subtitled *Fuentes de la historia hispano-musulmana del siglo VIII*, pp. 109 ff. However, Maḥmūd Makkī has pointed out that nothing is known of Ibn Abi l-Riqā', apart from a single citation in the text under discussion, and he has put forward a significant modification of Dozy's conjecture which was so vigorously espoused and developed by Sánchez-Albornoz. Maḥmūd Makkī agrees that the work in question is an abridgement (and continuation) of Ibn Ḥabīb's *History* made by a pupil or pupils; but he shows that in all probability the best and best-known disciple of Ibn Ḥabīb, Al-Magāmī (d. 288/900), possibly with other pupils of the master, had much to do with the final redaction ('Egipto y los orígenes de la historiografía árabe-española. Contribución al estudio de las primeras fuentes de historia hispanomusulmana', *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid* 5 [1957] 193 ff. with an appendix, 221 ff. presenting the Arabic text of the material concerning Spain). It is no longer possible to blame the supposed deficiencies of the work on the obscure Ibn Abi l-Riqā'. Fuad Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* 1 (Leiden, 1967), p. 362, goes much farther. He returns to the pre-Dozy ascription of the work to Ibn Ḥabīb himself. He does not explain why the *Ta'rikh* of Ibn Ḥabīb should be found to say that it will give an account of the government of Al-Andalus up to the year 275 (Makkī, p. 236 and Antuñā, p. 265), thirty-seven years after Ibn Ḥabīb's death, but seems to imply that he would explain it in terms of 'the mode of tradition of early Islamic books'.

To sum up, the state of the question appears to be that what we have is the *History* of Ibn Ḥabīb as transmitted by his pupils. They may or may not have abridged it. They certainly added to it. With these qualifications, the work will subsequently be referred to as 'Ibn Ḥabīb'.

<sup>10</sup> 'Donde y cuando murió Don Rodrigo?', *Cuadernos de historia de España* 3 (1945) 79, now reprinted in the same author's *El Reino de Asturias (Orígenes de la nación española. Estudios críticos sobre la historia del Reino de Asturias)* 1 (Oviedo, 1972), pp. 389 f.

## II

Let us begin our reexamination of the question by observing the strange case of the governorship of Baldj son of Bishr. There is general agreement that Baldj went to Ifrīqīya as second-in-command to his uncle Kulthūm in A.H. 123, arriving in the ninth month, Ramaḍān, and that the battle (at the Sabū River) against the insurgent Berbers, in which Kulthūm was killed and Baldj forced to flee with a remnant of the army, is to be dated to Dhū l-ḥidjdja, the last month, of 123 (17.X-14.XI.741).<sup>11</sup> How, then, is it possible for Baldj to have commenced his governorship in Spain in the *previous* month, Dhū l-qa<sup>c</sup>da, the eleventh month, of 123, as is recorded by several Islamic 'authorities' and unthinkingly retailed by modern historians? Lévi-Provençal simply puts down these two mutually contradictory dates, at different points in his text, without comment or critique.<sup>12</sup> Obviously it is not possible at all. The traditional dates for Baldj's governorship have to be revised, and this will affect by chain reaction the chronology of other governorships in that period.

Equally grave is the case of Yūsuf, the last of the series of governors preceding ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I. The *Chronicle of 754* was undoubtedly contemporary with Yūsuf, who was actually ruling in 754. In fact, the *Chronicler of 754* must have been one of those ruled by Yūsuf.<sup>13</sup> Nothing could be more absurd than to disregard the *Chronicle's* evidence on Yūsuf's dates. Yet that is what Lafuente did.

The *Chronicle of 754* offers two consistent observations relevant to the chronology of Yūsuf's governorship. It says that Yūsuf was chosen governor in Era 785 (A.D. 747), at the completion of A.H. 129 and beginning of 130; and that at the time of writing, Era 792, in A.H. 136 (i.e., the first half of A.D. 754), Yūsuf was in his seventh year.<sup>14</sup> We can tabulate this as follows:

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* 1.990 f.

<sup>12</sup> Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire* 1.44, 46 (*Historia de España* 4.28, 30): similarly, Harold E. Livermore, *Origins of Spain and Portugal* (London, 1971), pp. 315, 317. Yet the impossible contradiction was incisively pointed out over a hundred years ago by H. Fournel, *Les Berbers. Étude sur la conquête de l'Afrique par les Arabes, d'après les textes arabes imprimés* 1 (Paris, 1875), p. 297.

<sup>13</sup> For a thorough discussion of the author of the 'Crónica mozárabe de 754' see Sánchez-Albornoz, *Fuentes*, pp. 23 ff. The *Chronicler* displays personal knowledge both of Toledo and Córdoba. Both cities were under the authority of the governor Yūsuf, so that it is hard to know why Mommsen ('Continuatio hispana a. DCCLIV', pp. 327 f.) thought the work could not have been written at Córdoba but could have been, and was, written at Toledo.

<sup>14</sup> Mommsen, 'Continuatio hispana a. DCCLIV', p. 366, no. 131: '... Iuzzif ab omni senatu palatii, in era DCCLXXXV, anno imperii Constantini III, Arabum CXXVIII completo vel incipiente XXX, Maroan III, mirifice, ut senior et longevus, patrie adclamatur in regno'; p. 367, no. 137: 'Fiunt igitur ab exordio mundi usque in eram septem septingentesimam nonagesimam secundam, anno imperii Constantini decimo, Abdella Alascemi Emir Almuminin IIII, Spanie

1 Yūsuf: I.130 to XII.130 (IX.747 to VIII.748)

7 Yūsuf: I.136 to XII.136 (VII.753 to VI.754).

It follows, as the night the day, that when Yūsuf was ousted by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I in XII.138 (V.756), he was close to the end, not of his tenth year, but of his *ninth* year as governor:

9 Yūsuf: I.138 to XII.138 (VI.755 to V.756).

Most of the Arabic sources fall into the error of attributing ten or nearly ten years to the government of Yūsuf.<sup>15</sup> The correct figure, nine years, happens to be preserved by Ibn ʿIdhārī.<sup>16</sup> The truth is also implicit in the *Akhbār Madjmūʿa*, which in this segment of its narrative reproduces, as is well known, the account of a contemporary of the events.<sup>17</sup> Lafuente preferred to be guided by a statement cited by Al-Maqqarī<sup>18</sup> from Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 1076), that Yūsuf

Iuzzif patricie VII, Arabum CXXXVI, anni VDCCCCLIII.' The *Chronicle of 754* errs constantly about the regnal years of Constantine V (and of most of his predecessors); these errors must be disregarded. The year of Caliph Marwān II is correct. At the start of A.H. 130 he was still in his third year, which would end in Šafar of 130: his accession-date was 26 Šafar 127, according to J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, 2nd edition (Berlin, 1960), p. 235, citing Elias Nisibenus; 14 Šafar according to the Persian epitome of Al-Ṭabarī (cf. H. Zotenberg, *Chronique de Abou-Djafar-Mo'hammed-Ben-Djarir-Ben-Yezid Tabari, traduite sur la version persane d'Abou-ʿAli Mo'hammed Bel'ami* 4 [Paris, 1874], p. 314); the date is absent from the text of Al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, 2nd Ser., 3 (Leiden, 1885-89), p. 1890; the 13th of the same month according to the intricate and entertaining calculations of Fournel, *Les Berbers* 1.311 f. ('I would be very close to the truth in fixing 13 Šafar, given by Soioūfī, who wrongly says Monday the 14th').

The year of Caliph ʿAbd Allāh Abū l-ʿAbbās Al-Šaffāḥ, as given, is technically incorrect: he was first proclaimed at Al-Kūfa on 12/13 Rabīʿ I of 132 (29/30.X.749) (cf. Wellhausen, p. 339, and Zotenberg 4.335 f., for the 12th, and Fournel 1.319 n. 5, for the 13th). Therefore, at the start of A.D. 754, corresponding to VII.136, he was in his fifth, not his fourth, year. But the elimination of his predecessor, Marwān, took a long time. The decisive battle at the Zāb, which ensured the overthrow of Marwān, did not occur until three months later, 11 Djumādā II of 132 (25.I.750) (Fournel 1.319 n. 7; Wellhausen, p. 341); and his death in Egypt did not come until the end of 132 (VIII.750) (Fournel 1.320 n. 1; *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* 1.106; Robert Mantran, *La expansión musulmana (siglos VII al XI)* [Barcelona, 1973], pp. 79, 264). In distant Spain it must have been hard to tell precisely when the transition from Marwān to Al-Šaffāḥ occurred. It could not have been known there until well into 750, so that it seems not surprising that the *Chronicle* should count Al-Šaffāḥ's first year as running from 750 to 751, and so on.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Appendix, no. 23.

<sup>16</sup> Cited from the translation by E. Fagnan, *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne intitulée Al-Bayano-l-Mogrib*, 2 vols. (Algiers, 1901-1904), 2.56.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. C. Sánchez-Albornoz, *El 'Ajbār Maymūʿa*. *Cuestiones historiográficas que suscita* (Buenos Aires, 1944), pp. 79 ff.

<sup>18</sup> See the translation by Lafuente, *Colección* 1.207; cf. Gayangos, *History* 2.54. The date Rabīʿ II of 129 probably arose through reckoning the nine years of Yūsuf back from the date when ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I landed in Spain (Rabīʿ II of 138; cf. Lafuente, p. 76; Ibn Ḥayyān *apud* Al-Maqqarī [Gayangos, *History* 2.66]).

became governor in Rabīʿ II, the fourth month, of 129. The *Akḥbār Madjmūʿa* says, in Lafuente's translation,<sup>19</sup> that Yūsuf's predecessor, Thawāba, died in 129, 'al año de su mando', and in absolutely literal translation that Thawāba was governor for a year, then died in the year 129. It further states<sup>20</sup> that there was a time of vehement dissension, without actual fighting, before Yūsuf finally acceded to the governorship; the interval appears as a period of four months in other sources. Lafuente handled the problem with great dexterity. By making Thawāba die in the first month of 129, and reckoning inclusively, he reconciled this evidence, though he could not avoid leaving the ragged edge that, according to him, Thawāba governed for eighteen months, instead of a year as clearly stated by the *Akḥbār Madjmūʿa* (along with other sources, including the *Chronicle of 754*, as we shall see). There was no need for this fiddling and scraping. The two contemporary accounts, that in the *Akḥbār Madjmūʿa* and that of the Latin Chronicler, are not in conflict and should be combined. After a year in office Thawāba died in 129, not early in Muḥarram, but several months later. There was a period of uncertainty and dispute over the succession, until Yūsuf took power at the beginning of 130, just as the *Chronicle of 754*, writing only six and a half years later, says that he did.

### III

The cases of Baldj and Yūsuf suggest that, if we are to reconstruct the chronology of the governorships properly, it will be wiser to begin from the point where we possess contemporary evidence. Therefore, we shall have to start at the end of the series and work backward in time from there, rather than follow the natural and obvious course, as Lafuente did, of beginning at the beginning.

YŪSUF. We have already established that this governorship, by far the longest of the series, must have commenced about the start of I.130. That it ended with the triumph of the Umayyad, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, at the time of the festival days in Dhū l-ḥidjdja of 138, is variously attested and is recounted with copious and authentic detail in the *Akḥbār Madjmūʿa*.<sup>21</sup> The date of the foundation of the Emirate of Córdoba ought to be, and is, reasonably secure.

THAWĀBA. As noted already, there was, according to several sources, an interval or interregnum between the accession of Yūsuf and the death of his

<sup>19</sup> Lafuente, *Colección* 1.63 (p. 57 of the Arabic text).

<sup>20</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 63 f.

<sup>21</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 83-85. Cf. Appendix, no. 23.

predecessor, Thawāba. The figure of four months was supplied by (Aḥmad) Al-Rāzī (d. 955) according to Al-Maqqarī,<sup>22</sup> and it was copied by the anonymous *Fath al-Andalus*,<sup>23</sup> by Ibn al-Athīr,<sup>24</sup> and by Ibn ʿIdhārī.<sup>25</sup> It would place the death of Thawāba about the beginning of Ramaḍān 129 (V.747). But we cannot be sure that the figure of four months, which is attached to an incorrect chronological series, is reliable. No chronographic statement of Al-Rāzī can safely be approached without suspicion. That popular historian is ultimately the source of most of Lafuente's erroneous chronology. It is unlikely, at any rate, that the period of *anarchia* was much longer than four months; it might have been shorter.

The *Chronicle of 754* says<sup>26</sup> that Thawāba acceded to power in Era 784 (A.D. 746), in A.H. 128 (which ended on 21.IX.746), and ruled for one year before dying a natural death. The same term of one year was given by Ibn Ḥabīb,<sup>27</sup> and it is found again in the encyclopedia of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (dated A.H. 557), which was quoted from manuscript by P. de Gayangos,<sup>28</sup> and which lists a chronology almost identical with that of Ibn Ḥabīb. The pseudo Ibn Qutayba made Thawāba's term last for a year and a month.<sup>29</sup> But the *Akhbār Madjmūʿa*, as we saw, states that he governed for a year and died in 129. In face of this solid evidence it is obvious that we should not assign more than a year to Thawāba. We might concede that 'a year' could mean here twelve and a half, or thirteen months, but not eighteen; and we must altogether disregard the sources which, in order to compensate for their earlier mistakes about the chronology, are forced to credit Thawāba with two years or more.<sup>30</sup> There remains, however, the doubt about the length of interval before the accession of Yūsuf, and that will make it somewhat futile to seek precise dates for Thawāba. The best we can do is to say that his governorship almost certainly began in the second half of 128 (IV.746-IX.746) and ended in the second half of 129

<sup>22</sup> *ibid.*, p. 207; Gayangos, *History* 2.54.

<sup>23</sup> *Fatho-l-Andaluṣi. Historia de la Conquista de España. Códice árabe del siglo XII, dado a luz por primera vez, traducido y anotado por Don Juan de González* (Algiers, 1889), p. 45.

<sup>24</sup> See the translation by E. Fagnan, *Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne* (Algiers, 1898), p. 96.

<sup>25</sup> Fagnan, *Histoire* 1.66, 2.52.

<sup>26</sup> Mommsen, 'Continuatio hispana a. DCCLIV', p. 366, no. 131.

<sup>27</sup> Antuña, 'Notas', 265.

<sup>28</sup> Gayangos, *History* 2.405 n. 7; cf. 1.xxiv and 516 n. 1. Lafuente, *Colección* 1.223, refers to this work by the title *Reihan el Olbab*.

<sup>29</sup> In *Colección de obras árabigas de historia y de geografía que publica la Real Academia de la Historia*, vol. 2: *Historia de la Conquista de España de Abenalcotía el Cordobés (seguida de fragmentos históricos de Abenalcotía, etc.)*. Traducción de Don Julián Ribera (Madrid, 1926), pp. 161 f. On (pseudo) 'Abencotaiba' see Sánchez-Albornoz, *Fuentes*, pp. 21 ff.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Appendix, no. 22.

(III.747-IX.747), to be followed by a period of uncertain duration until the accession of Yūsuf.

ABŪ L-KHAṬṬĀR. The governorship of Abū l-Khaṭṭār, who preceded Thawāba, is the subject of widely differing statements in the Arabic sources. The period of rule attributed to him ranges variously between two years and four years nine months. Part of the reason for the confusion is that Abū l-Khaṭṭār survived his deposition by Thawāba and was not eliminated until the battle of Secunda early in Yūsuf's governorship:<sup>31</sup> consequently the duration of his rule is confused with the period of time from his arrival to his death in Spain. Our best source, the *Chronicle of 754*, does not give the duration of Abū l-Khaṭṭār's governorship, but it places his accession under Era 782 (A.D. 744 = 10.III.126-21.III.127) and his deposition in Era 784 (A.D. 746) and in A.H. 128 (= 3.X.745-21.IX.746).<sup>32</sup> The tradition stemming from Ibn Ḥabīb gives Abū l-Khaṭṭār two years.<sup>33</sup> A later tradition puts his accession back into 125, either soon after Muḥarram (supposedly the date of his departure from Tunis)<sup>34</sup> or in Radjab (Ibn Ḥayyān and others).<sup>35</sup> The earlier of these two dates is in any case ruled out as impossible, for the appointment of Abū l-Khaṭṭār came in the reign of Al-Walid II, which did not start until 6.IV.125 (ending on 27.VI.126).<sup>36</sup> The fact about the appointment is preserved in the *Akhbār Madjmū'a*,<sup>37</sup> even though it does not accord with that work's chronology, which shares the common confusion at this point: Abū l-Khaṭṭār is credited with four years six months, but the end of his governorship is correctly put in 128 – so that, logically, it should have begun in 124!<sup>38</sup>

<sup>31</sup> See *Akhbār Madjmū'a* in Lafuente, *Colección* 1.64-66; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Fagnan, *Annales*, pp. 86 f., 95 f.; Ibn 'Idhārī, ed. Fagnan, *Histoire* 2.56.

<sup>32</sup> Mommsen, 'Continuatio hispana a. DCCLIV', pp. 364, 366, nos. 122, 131.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Ibn Ḥabīb, in Antuña, 'Notas', 265, and cf. Appendix, no. 21.

<sup>34</sup> Al-Rāzī, *apud* Al-Maqqarī, trans. Lafuente, *Colección* 1.206. In Gayangos, *History* 2.45, Al-Maqqarī quotes Ibn Khaldūn for this, but Ibn Khaldūn is not mentioned in the original text (cf. *Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des Arabes d'Espagne par Al-Makkari*, ed. R. Dozy et al., 2 [Leiden, 1861; rpt. Amsterdam, 1967], p. 15.18 ff.). The translation of the relevant passage of Ibn Khaldūn by Osvaldo A. Machado, 'Historia de los Arabes de España, por Ibn Jaldūn', *Cuadernos de historia de España* 4 (1946) 144, says merely that Abū l-Khaṭṭār embarked from Tunis in 125, no month being mentioned. It is clear, however, that Ibn Khaldūn had Al-Rāzī before him or in mind, for he cites him on the previous page (*ibid.*, 143). Ibn 'Idhārī, ed. Fagnan, *Histoire* 2.48, 50, makes Muḥarram 125 the date of Abū l-Khaṭṭār's accession, probably through a simple misunderstanding or negligence. He, too, almost certainly drew on Al-Rāzī.

<sup>35</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān is cited by Al-Maqqarī (in Lafuente, *Colección* 1.204, and in Gayangos, *History* 2.45). Cf. Appendix, no. 21.

<sup>36</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, II, III, 1728, 1810, 1836 (cf. Zotenberg, *Chronique* 4.310, 313); Fournel, *Les Berbers* 1.308 n. 4, 309 n. 5; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, pp. 216, 228.

<sup>37</sup> Lafuente, *Colección* 1.54.

<sup>38</sup> *ibid.*, p. 62.

We are evidently faced with the position that some of the sources are giving dates a year in advance of the true one. This explains why they had to make up time by extending the term of Thawāba. These misplacements and maladjustments plague the chronology from the time of Baldj and before him. It may well be that Abū l-Khaṭṭār did set out from Ifrīqiya in the earlier part of the year; but the year was 126, not 125. Indeed, if we follow the *Chronicle of 754* literally and strictly, and date the accession of Abū l-Khaṭṭār to 744, we shall not be able to go back earlier than the third month of the Islamic year 126 (1.I.744 = 10.III.126). We obviously cannot advance later than the sixth month, since that was when the Caliph Al-Walīd II died. We therefore have excellent grounds for dating the commencement of the governorship of Abū l-Khaṭṭār in the first half of 126. Further refinement on this can wait until we have taken a closer look at his predecessors.

THA<sup>c</sup>LABA. This preceding governor is not registered by the *Chronicle of 754*, whose author unfortunately chooses to refer us to another work in which he had dealt with these strife-torn times:

qualiter Spanie bella sub principibus Belgi, Talama et Umeia concreta sunt vel per Abulcathar exempta sunt. ... nonne haec scripta sunt in libro verborum dierum seculi....<sup>39</sup>

Here 'Talama' is presumably Tha<sup>c</sup>laba b. Salāma.

When Baldj was killed in internecine war, a period of confusion followed. As Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam has it,<sup>40</sup> Spain was split under four commanders until Ḥanzala, the governor of Ifrīqiya, sent Abū l-Khaṭṭār. Nevertheless, Tha<sup>c</sup>laba was considered, as early as Ibn Ḥabīb,<sup>41</sup> to have been one of the line of governors, and the figure of five months was assigned to his term. Pseudo Ibn Qutayba<sup>42</sup> and Ibn Abī l-Fayyāḍ<sup>43</sup> (d. 1066) likewise give Tha<sup>c</sup>laba five months of government. The *Akhbār Madjmūʿa* also treats him as a governor, but its only temporal indication is that his period included the date of a major festival, either Fiṭr (1-3 Shawwāl) or ʿAḍḥā (10-12 Dhū l-ḥijjdja).<sup>44</sup> If so, and if Tha<sup>c</sup>laba's term was only five months, it must have begun in, or just before, the second half of an Islamic year, since those festivals belong to the final quarter of the year. A longer term, ten months, was assigned to Tha<sup>c</sup>laba by Ibn Ḥayyān,<sup>45</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Mommsen, 'Continuatio hispana a. DCCLIV', p. 367, no. 136.

<sup>40</sup> See Vidal, *Conquista*, p. 63.

<sup>41</sup> Antuña, 'Notas', 265.

<sup>42</sup> Ribera, in *Colección* 2.162.

<sup>43</sup> See the fragment of his *Ibar* translated by M. M. Antuña in the Appendix to Sánchez-Albornoz, *Fuentes*, p. 359.

<sup>44</sup> Lafuente, *Colección* 1.53.

<sup>45</sup> *apud* Al-Maqqarī, in Lafuente, *Colección* 1.204.

and several later historians adopted this calculation.<sup>46</sup> But the tradition of Ibn Ḥabīb clearly must have priority, while the later one again comes under suspicion of trying to make up for lost time. If we accept that the governorship of Thaʿlaba ran for about five months from some point in the second half of 125, we come within reach of our previous conclusion that his successor arrived in the first half of 126. We can endeavour to be more specific after considering the chronology of Baldj, whose death date marked the beginning of Thaʿlaba's period of command.

**BALDJ.** In earlier remarks we noted that Baldj was in Ifrīqiya from about Ramaḍān 123 (VII/VIII.741)<sup>47</sup> and was a chief participant in the disastrous defeat at the River Sabū in Dhū l-ḥidjdja 123 (X/XI.741).<sup>48</sup> There followed a period of considerable duration while he was under siege in Ceuta. The *Akhbār Maḍjmūʿa* makes his stay in Ceuta last a whole year,<sup>49</sup> which is evidently a vast exaggeration. At all events there is no avoiding the conclusion that Baldj must have remained in North Africa for some time into the year 124. It is probable, in short, that he had to hold out during the winter, while he was negotiating

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Appendix, no. 20.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, in Vidal, *Conquista*, p. 60. Kulthūm was sent to Ifrīqiya in Djumādā II of 123, and Baldj commanded the vanguard (Ibn ʿIdhārī, in Fagnan, *Histoire* 1.54). Kulthūm entered Ifrīqiya in Ramaḍān 123. These statements clearly dovetail well together. The two sources are also agreed that Kulthūm's predecessor as governor of Ifrīqiya was recalled in Djumādā I of 123 (Vidal, p. 59 and Fagnan 1.54, respectively). Cf. also Ibn al-Athīr, in Fagnan, *Annales*, p. 65, where the date for this is given, incompletely, as Djumādā 123. Al-Nuwayrī (M. Gaspar y Remiro, *Historia de los musulmanes de España y África, por En-Nugairi*, 2 vols. [Granada, 1917-19], 2.38), provides the same information as Ibn ʿIdhārī on the recall of Kulthūm's predecessor and the date of Kulthūm's arrival in Ifrīqiya.

<sup>48</sup> Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, in Vidal, *Conquista*, p. 61, records an alternative tradition – from Yahyā b. Bukayr (b. 770, d. 845) citing his master Al-Layth b. Saʿd (b. 712, d. 791) – that the Battle of the Sabū took place in 124, but he does not accept it. The date of the battle is known through the date of Kulthūm's death, which is given as Dhū l-ḥidjdja of 123 by Ibn Khallikān and by Abū l-Maḥāsīn (cited by Fournel, *Les Berbers* 1.297). The passage from Ibn Khallikān (*Biographical Dictionary*, trans. MacGuckin de Slane [Paris, 1843], 2.218) runs as follows: 'Ibn al-Kalbī says in his *Jamharat an-Nisab*, that the person who presided at the flogging of Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbās was Kulthūm Ibn Iyād Ibn Wahwah ... the commander of the Khalif al-Walid Ibn Abd al-Malik's police guards; he afterwards governed North Africa in the name of Hishām Ibn Abd al-Malik, and he was slain in that province. Another author mentions that Kulthūm was slain in the month of Zū l-Hijja, A.H. 123.'

The next governor of Ifrīqiya after Kulthūm, namely, Ḥanzala, was sent from Egypt in II.124, according to Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (Vidal, pp. 64 f.). He arrived in Ifrīqiya in IV.124, according to Ibn al-Athīr (in Fagnan, *Annales*, p. 67), and this is repeated by Ibn ʿIdhārī (Fagnan, *Histoire* 1.59) and by Al-Nuwayrī (in Gaspar y Remiro, *Historia* 2.39). These dates serve to confirm the dating of the Battle of the Sabū to the end of 123.

<sup>49</sup> Lafuente, *Colección* 1.47. The *Akhbār Maḍjmūʿa*'s dates at this point are consistently a year out: according to it, Kulthūm's fatal battle was in 122, Ḥanzala came to Ifrīqiya in 123, and (p. 49) ʿAbd al-Malik brought Baldj to Spain in 123.

with the governor of Spain, °Abd al-Malik, for permission to enter his territory; the beginning of 124 corresponded to the middle of November 741. Even after his arrival in Spain, there is a substantial period when Baldj is serving *under* the governor and fighting the rebels on his behalf.<sup>50</sup> When we put all these things together, it appears practically certain that Baldj did not oust °Abd al-Malik and assume the governorship before the summer of 124, and highly probable that he did so late in the summer and the campaigning season. As it happens, the month of Dhū l-qa°da, given by some of the Arabic sources for the starting-point of his governorship in 123,<sup>51</sup> corresponded in 124 to the period around the autumnal equinox (6.IX-5.X.742). When the *Akhbār Madjmū°a* says that Baldj remained in Ceuta about a year after the death of Kulthūm, this might well reflect the fact that about a year passed between the death of Kulthūm and the assumption by Baldj of the governorship in Spain.

Turning back to the *Chronicle of 754*, we find that these conclusions are entirely in accord with its account. It dates the supersession of °Abd al-Malik by Baldj, not to A.D. 741 or A.H. 123, but to Era 780 (742) and to the 20th year of Hishām I (which began on 26 Sha°bān 124 = 5.VII.742); and it indicates that the battles of Baldj with the sons of °Abd al-Malik went on into the following year.<sup>52</sup>

The duration of Baldj's rule is represented as moderately short by the Arabic sources, although different estimates are put forward. Ibn Ḥabīb assigned eleven months to Baldj, but noted that some made Tha°laba governor *with* Baldj instead of after him.<sup>53</sup> Eleven months is the period given by Gayangos' source Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (who omits Tha°laba).<sup>54</sup> Al-Rāzī probably adopted the same figure. He is cited by Ibn Khaldūn<sup>55</sup> for the view that Baldj ruled approximately one year, dying in 124, and he is the likely source of Ibn al-Athīr, who states with characteristic definiteness that Baldj ruled from Dhū l-qa°da 123 to Shawwāl 124, for eleven months.<sup>56</sup> Another view, that the eleven

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, in Fagnan, *Annales*, p. 70; also Mommsen, 'Continuatio hispana a. DCCLIV', p. 364, no. 118; *Akhbār Madjmū°a*, ed. Lafuente, *Colección* 1.49.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Appendix, no. 19.

<sup>52</sup> Mommsen, 'Continuatio hispana a. DCCLIV', p. 364, no. 116; *ibid.*, no. 120: 'Tanta vero inter orientalia cum duce Belgi et occidentalia cum filio Humeia collecta exercita completa era supra fata anno imperii Leonis supra dicto, Arabum iam prescripto, Iscam Emir Almuminim iam notato, fuerunt prelia ab utrisque patrata....'

<sup>53</sup> Antuña, 'Notas', 265.

<sup>54</sup> Gayangos, *History* 2.405 n. 7.

<sup>55</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, trans. Machado, 'Historia de los Arabes', 144; the citation of Al-Rāzī begins on p. 143.

<sup>56</sup> Fagnan, *Annales*, p. 71. Ibn al-Athīr, finding the notices of his model, Abū Dja°far (al-Ṭabarī), rather skimpy on the subject of Spain, decided, as he tells us (p. 36), 'to make a more complete recital, which I shall borrow from indigenous authors, better placed to know the

months were the total for Baldj (six) and Tha<sup>c</sup>laba (five), found several supporters, and the eclectic Ibn <sup>c</sup>Idhārī managed to endorse both versions.<sup>57</sup> It should be noted that Ibn Khaldūn, while citing Al-Rāzī, explicitly dissents from him: he correctly proposes to date the entry of Baldj in Spain to the year 124, while accepting the figure of about one year for the duration of the governorship.<sup>58</sup> This plainly has to be the right solution. Baldj began his rule about XI.124 and died about X.125. Consequently, to return to an earlier question left unsettled, the term of Tha<sup>c</sup>laba began about X.125, and probably it ended about III/IV.126: which would be the date when Abū l-Khaṭṭār succeeded him.

<sup>c</sup>ABD AL-MALIK (*iterum*). The terminal date of the governor ousted by Baldj is automatically set by the preceding discussion. The second governorship of <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Malik was rudely ended about Dhū l-qa<sup>c</sup>da 124 (not 123). The *Chronicle of 754* gives no figure for its duration. It reports both his accession and his deposition under one and the same year, Era 780 (742), A.H. 124 (= 15.XI.741-3.XI.742), 20 Hishām I (beginning 26.VIII.124).<sup>59</sup> This is clearly unsatisfactory. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Malik cannot have acceded in 124, for he was already governor in 123. According to Ibn <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Ḥakam,<sup>60</sup> <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Malik was the governor of Spain to whom Kulthūm wrote demanding aid and reinforcements: before XII.123, therefore, and probably about IX.123, when Kulthūm arrived in Ifrīqiya.

The earliest extant source to pronounce on the duration of this governorship happens to be the *Crónica profética* (c. 883), which says that it lasted a year and a month.<sup>61</sup> The same statement is found in Ibn Abī l-Fayyād<sup>62</sup> and Ibn al-Khaṭīb.<sup>63</sup> Other sources, however, extend <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Malik's rule over a period of several years. Thus the *Akhbār Majmū<sup>c</sup>a*<sup>64</sup> – the remainder of 121, all 122, and

history of their own country.' On his use of Al-Rāzī see Sánchez-Albornoz, *El 'Ajbār Majmū<sup>c</sup>a'*, pp. 303 ff.

<sup>57</sup> Fagnan, *Histoire* 1.56 (eleven months); 2.45, 47 (six months, but from XI.123 to X.124!).

<sup>58</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, trans. Machado, 'Historia de los Arabes', 143.

<sup>59</sup> Mommsen, 'Continuatio hispana a. DCCLIV', p. 363, no. 112; cf. *ibid.*, p. 364, nos. 116, 119.

<sup>60</sup> Vidal, *Conquista*, p. 62.

<sup>61</sup> See M. Gómez-Moreno, 'Las primeras crónicas de la Reconquista: el ciclo de Alfonso III', *Boletín de la Academia de la Historia* 100 (1932) 626 f. This chronicle's list is also printed by Gil, *Corpus* (n. 7 above) 1.xv f., with some variants not noted by Gómez-Moreno.

<sup>62</sup> Sánchez-Albornoz, *Fuentes*, p. 359.

<sup>63</sup> Cited here from the translation by W. Hoenerbach, *Islamische Geschichte Spaniens* (Zürich-Stuttgart, 1970), p. 56.

<sup>64</sup> Lafuente, *Colección* 1.41. Al-Maqqarī says the same (Lafuente, p. 200): 'No sé si le mató ó le hizo salir de España, quedando dueño de ella lo restante del año 121, y los de 122 y 123 (739, 40 y 41), hasta que vino á este país Balch ben Bixr con los siriacos....' In Gayangos' version (*History* 2.38) Al-Maqqarī is made to cite Ibn Bashkuwāl and Ibn Khaldūn for this. In fact, Al-

123 up to the arrival of Baldj. Ibn Khaldūn,<sup>65</sup> knowing that Baldj succeeded °Abd al-Malik in 124, not 123, consequently adds the year 124, making his governorship run from 121 to 124. Ibn °Idhārī, as sometimes happens, has two versions.<sup>66</sup> in volume 1 (North Africa), °Abd al-Malik begins his rule in 121; in volume 2 (Spain), he starts in 122. The terminal date can be inferred from the inauguration of Baldj, viz., XI.123.<sup>67</sup> But according to Al-Rāzī, as is noted by Ibn Khaldūn,<sup>68</sup> °Abd al-Malik succeeded °Uqba in II.123 and was deposed by Baldj in 123. In fact, we can see from Ibn al-Athīr<sup>69</sup> that Al-Rāzī's dates for the second governorship of °Abd al-Malik must have been, in all probability, from II.123 to XI.123. The terminal date, however, is clearly impossible. We would have Baldj, after the disaster of Dhū l-ḥijda 123, appealing for help to an °Abd al-Malik he had already eliminated in the previous month.

Great disorder and dissension among the sources, then. This is obviously a critical point in the chronology. We shall make more progress if we bring into consideration the preceding governorships, that of °Uqba, and that of °Abd al-Malik himself in his first term.

°UQBA and °ABD AL-MALIK. From here on (retrogressively speaking) we have more detailed but, unfortunately, less accurate information from the *Chronicle of 754*. It declares<sup>70</sup> that °Uqba came to supersede °Abd al-Malik in Era 775 (737), A.H. 119 (= 8.I-28.XII.737), 15 Hishām I (which began on 26.VIII.119 = 28.VIII.737); and that he died after completing a quinquennium, being forced by illness to 'restore the kingdom' to °Abd al-Malik. The *Chronicle* is consistent, for it has given °Uqba a quinquennium from Era 775 to 780, from A.H. 119 to 124, and from 15 Hishām to 20 Hishām. But it is painfully obvious that the ending-point is too late. It would mean, for example, that °Uqba was still governor after the death of Kulthūm and the defeat of Baldj at the Sabū which is plainly impossible. Previously the *Chronicle* had erred in a similar way about the year of °Abd al-Malik's first accession. This is given as Era 772 (734), A.H. 116, 12 Hishām. With complete consistency, °Abd al-Malik is said to have governed for almost four years (e.g., 116 to 119, and so on).<sup>71</sup> But °Abd al-Malik succeeded °Abd al-Rahmān, whose death at the

Maqqarī makes no mention of Ibn Khaldūn here, and he cites Ibn Bashkuwāl for a different matter, the arrival of °Uqba in 117 (see Dozy, *Analectes* 2.11, ll. 17 ff.; cf. Lafuente, p. 201).

<sup>65</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, trans. Machado, 'Historia de los Arabes', 143.

<sup>66</sup> Fagnan, *Histoire* 1.52, 2.39.

<sup>67</sup> *ibid.* 2.45.

<sup>68</sup> Machado, 'Historia de los Arabes', 143.

<sup>69</sup> Fagnan, *Annales*, pp. 70 (Šafar 123), 71 (Dhū l-qa'da 123).

<sup>70</sup> Mommsen, 'Continuatio hispana a. DCCLIV', pp. 362-63, nos. 109, 110.

<sup>71</sup> *ibid.*, p. 364, no. 117.

notorious 'Battle of Poitiers' is dated with certainty to October 732 (= 6 Sha'bān - 7 Ramaḍān 114).<sup>72</sup> Therefore, the accession-date of ʿAbd al-Malik must fall in A.H. 114 and A.D. 732. The *Chronicle of 754* is out by two years.

With regard to the duration of ʿAbd al-Malik's first governorship, the *Chronicle of 754* is by no means alone when it ascribes to it almost four years. According to Ibn Khaldūn,<sup>73</sup> four years was the figure supplied by Al-Wāqidi (d. 823), who is known as the ultimate source of Ibn Ḥabīb.<sup>74</sup> And we duly find the same figure in the tradition of Ibn Ḥabīb<sup>75</sup> and in his faithful follower, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm.<sup>76</sup> It also occurs in pseudo Ibn Qutayba.<sup>77</sup> A later variant reduces it to three years two months (Ibn Abī l-Fayyāḍ,<sup>78</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb<sup>79</sup>), but this is still within range of 'almost four years' and is probably meant to be. One variant in the *Crónica profética* (transmitted with the *Chronicon albeldense*) gives two years eight months.<sup>80</sup> A quite different

<sup>72</sup> The battle is dated 'die sabbati' in October 732 by the *Annales s. Amandi* and to October 732 by other contemporary or near-contemporary chronicles (cited in J. F. Böhmer, *Regesta imperii*, 2nd edition, 1 [Innsbruck, 1908], p. 16). L. Levillain and C. Samaran, 'Sur le lieu et sur la date de la bataille dite de Poitiers de 732', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 99 (1938) 243 ff., argued ingeniously for Saturday, 11 October 732. They were apparently unaware that the event is dated in some Arabic sources to Ramaḍān 114 (Ibn al-Athīr, in Fagnan, *Annales*, pp. 93 f., probably from Al-Rāzī; Ibn ʿIdhārī, in Fagnan, *Histoire* 2.39, contradicting himself in 1.49; Ibn Khaldūn, trans. Machado, 'Historia de los Arabes', 142, where the name of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān has to be supplied, with the statement 'he was routed in France in Ramaḍān 114'). This will not fit the date of 11 October, since Ramaḍān of 114 began on 25 October. Nevertheless, the date, Ramaḍān 114, is not absolutely secure. Our earliest extant evidence comes from Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (Vidal, *Conquista*, p. 58), who says that after the death of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (p. 57), the governor of Ifrīqiya, ʿUbayda, named ʿAbd al-Malik as governor of Spain, after which he (ʿUbayda) went to present himself before Hishām in Ramaḍān 114. If ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was killed on the first of Ramaḍān, and ʿUbayda departed by the end of that month, this leaves a somewhat restricted period of time, four weeks, for the news of the disaster to percolate back to Qayrawān and for ʿUbayda to make his dispositions. It is not an impossible timetable, but it would be a close-run thing. It is easy to see that, if the Battle of the Road of the Martyrs took place in the second half of Sha'bān, and the news of it did not arrive before the middle of Ramaḍān, Ramaḍān would tend to be remembered as the date of the battle. (I have not been able to consult M. Baudot, 'Localisation et datation de la première victoire remportée par Charles Martel contre les Musulmans' in *Recueil de travaux offert à M. Clovis Brunel* 1 [Paris, 1955], pp. 93-105.)

<sup>73</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, trans. Machado, 'Historia de los Arabes', 142 (Machado's text is distinctly defective in this passage, omitting the name of ʿAbd al-Malik as well as that of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān).

<sup>74</sup> See the passage from Ibn Ḥabīb quoted in n. 9 above; cf. Sánchez-Albornoz, *Fuentes*, pp. 68 n. 11, 71 n. 26, and in general on Al-Wāqidi, pp. 65 ff.

<sup>75</sup> Antuña, 'Notas', 265.

<sup>76</sup> Gayangos, *History* 2.405 n. 7.

<sup>77</sup> Ribera, in *Colección* 2.162.

<sup>78</sup> Sánchez-Albornoz, *Fuentes*, p. 359.

<sup>79</sup> Hoenerbach, *Islamische Geschichte*, p. 56.

<sup>80</sup> Gómez-Moreno, 'Las primeras crónicas', 627. The other variant is one year one month (Gil, *Corpus* 1.xv f.).

tradition, of two years, is found in Ibn Bashkuwāl,<sup>81</sup> Ibn al-Athīr<sup>82</sup> (probably from Al-Rāzī), etc.

Consideration of the governorship of Ifrīqīya may throw a little light. The governor of Ifrīqīya, °Ubayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb, named his patron °Uqba to Spain (which was also in his province), after he himself had been sent to Ifrīqīya by the Caliph Hishām, either in 116 or in 117, so says the annalist Ibn al-Athīr. But Ibn al-Athīr surprisingly intervenes, and declares 'the more exact version' to be that Ibn al-Ḥabḥāb was not named to his post till 117.<sup>83</sup> If so, the appointment of °Uqba, according to the more correct account, cannot be dated before 117, and probably should be dated *in* 117. And indeed, Al-Athīr, having recorded the two appointments in the annals of 116, following the one version, details them again in the annals of 117, in accordance with the more exact version.<sup>84</sup> If, then, the correct date of °Uqba's appointment was 117, we find that the *Chronicle of 754*, having dated °Abd al-Malik's first accession two years too late, consistently did the same with °Uqba (119 instead of 117).

We now have °Abd al-Malik's first governorship placed in the period from 114 to 117, a four-year period, as indicated by our best sources. After that °Uqba accomplished a quinquennium. In the style of the *Chronicle of 754*, just as 'four years' for °Abd al-Malik is compatible with a figure between three and four years, so a *completed* quinquennium will be compatible with a figure between five and six years. There is a repeated tradition stemming from Ibn Ḥabīb in favour of five years two months for °Uqba.<sup>85</sup> Completely isolated here

<sup>81</sup> *apud* Al-Maqqarī, trans. Lafuente, *Colección* 1.200, where it is said that Ibn Bashkuwāl mentioned both traditions: 'Ebn Bacual cuenta que vino a España en Ramadhan de 114, y duró, segun unos dos años, y cuatro segun otros.' This is not brought out clearly in the version of Gayangos (*History* 2.37).

<sup>82</sup> Fagnan, *Annales*, p. 94; this comes in the recapitulation of the history of the governors of Spain from the conquest to the entry of °Abd al-Raḥmān I (pp. 91-97), not in the annalistic treatment.

<sup>83</sup> *ibid.*, p. 61. Ibn al-Athīr appears to be correcting his Spanish sources (e.g., al-Rāzī) from authorities better informed about the chronology of Ifrīqīya.

<sup>84</sup> *ibid.*: '(p. 137) In 116 Hishām took °Ubayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb Mawṣilī from Egypt, where he was governor, and appointed him to Ifrīqīya. ... In 116 °Ubayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb appointed to Spain °Uqba b. al-Ḥadjdjādī Qaysī, who took the administration of this province in the month of Shawwāl in replacement of °Abd al-Malik, dismissed. ... According to another version, more exact, °Ubayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb was not appointed to Ifrīqīya until 117. We will speak of him again'; *ibid.*, p. 62: '(p. 141) *Administration of °Ubayd Allāh in Ifrīqīya and Spain*. In 117 Hishām b. °Abd al-Malik named as governor of Ifrīqīya and Spain °Ubayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb and gave him the order to present himself there. ... This leader, who was then governing Egypt, left his son in that country and presented himself in Ifrīqīya. He named to Spain °Uqba b. al-Ḥadjdjādī and to Tangiers his son Ismā'īl.' (Fagnan thought the sense required the addition of 'at once' after 'present himself there', but it does not.)

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Ibn Ḥabīb, trans. Antuña, 'Notas', 265, and Appendix, no. 17.

is Al-Rāzī, who gave °Uqba six years four months.<sup>86</sup> Since he is known to have put °Uqba's terminal date in II.123,<sup>87</sup> which, reckoning backward, brings one to X.116 in the count of six years four months, it is probable that Al-Rāzī is responsible for the incorrect starting-date, Shawwāl 116, which crops up in several accounts, although they avoid accepting the term of six years four months.<sup>88</sup> The less exact version recorded by Ibn al-Athīr, with dates in 116 instead of 117,<sup>89</sup> almost certainly derives from Al-Rāzī.

The first governorship of °Abd al-Malik cannot have begun, it is self-evident, before the death of his predecessor in October 732. The terminal date Shawwāl 116 may result from 'correction' of a transmitted Shawwāl 117; or perhaps from counting two years from °Abd al-Malik's assumption of office in Córdoba, if some time was allowed for news of the death of °Abd al-Raḥmān in the heart of France to reach the governor in Qayrawān, and for the new appointee to arrive at his post.<sup>90</sup> At all events, with °Abd al-Malik's term beginning c. IX/X.114, it is obvious that, when replaced before the end of 117, he cannot have accomplished more than three and a quarter years, although his governorship spanned four Islamic years (114, 115, 116, 117). Here then is the justification for the figure of three years two months presented by Ibn Abī l-Fayyāḍ and, after him, by Ibn al-Khaṭīb.<sup>91</sup>

In sum, °Abd al-Malik was appointed to succeed the fallen °Abd al-Raḥmān in Ramaḍān of 114 and in practice may have taken up the command in Shawwāl, the following month. His governorship lasted into the final quarter of 117. He was then replaced by °Uqba, whose term ran for five years and some months: from the final quarter of 117 to the final quarter of 122, or, just as likely, to the first quarter of 123. Here Al-Rāzī's mysterious, lonely date, Ṣafar 123, fits perfectly. Since it seems not to owe its existence to any artificial calculation, it is probably a genuine chronological datum, and should be adopted. Thus we conclude that °Abd al-Malik succeeded (or ousted) °Uqba in II.123, and held office until c. XI.124 when Baldj finally ended his long career.

The period from °Abd al-Malik's first accession to his second, IX/X.114 to II.123, would then be about eight and a half years – nine, in round numbers.

<sup>86</sup> As cited by Ibn Khaldūn, trans. Machado, 'Historia de los Arabes', 143, and by Al-Maqqarī, trans. Lafuente, *Colección* 1.201; Gayangos, *History* 2.37.

<sup>87</sup> See preceding note.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Appendix, no. 17.

<sup>89</sup> See n. 84 above.

<sup>90</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, trans. Machado, 'Historia de los Arabes', 143, not making such allowance, dates °Abd al-Raḥmān's defeat and death to Ramaḍān 114, and the supersession of °Abd al-Malik, after two years, to Ramaḍān 116. He then says, oddly, but correctly, that °Uqba came in 117.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. nn. 78-79 above.

Here, if anywhere, may lie the reason for the weird and seemingly senseless figure of nine years which the medieval translation or adaptation of Al-Rāzī, the so-called *Crónica del Moro Rasis*,<sup>92</sup> assigns to ʿUqba: a chronological note of Al-Rāzī's, completely misunderstood. Misunderstandings of one kind and another are certainly characteristic of that chronicle.

For the whole period we have discussed so far (the commencement of ʿAbd al-Malik to the termination of Yūsuf) we have a relatively firm chronological frame: IX/X.114 to XII.138, that is, a period of twenty-four and a quarter years. For this same period Ibn Ḥabīb may be assumed to have given a total of twenty-three and a quarter years; his list and that of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm both omit the second term of ʿAbd al-Malik, which would help to account for the one year short.<sup>93</sup> Pseudo Ibn Qutayba<sup>94</sup> produces the sum of twenty-five and a quarter years, one too many, in spite of cutting five months from the term of Baldj. The list of Ibn Abī l-Fayyāḍ is defective in the version provided by Antuña, but can be satisfactorily emended by comparison with the tabulation of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, which is virtually identical: it would then add up to twenty-five years plus or minus one month, an excess of about three quarters of a year.<sup>95</sup> Calculations of this sort are bound to be rather rough and ready,<sup>96</sup> and errors can partly be ascribed to the accumulation of uncounted months and days or, on the other hand, to the counting of sets of months and days as whole years or months respectively.

<sup>92</sup> See P. de Gayangos, 'Memoria sobre la autenticidad de la Crónica del Moro Rasis', *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia* 8 (1852) 85, no. 22, and L. F. Lindley Cintra, *Crónica geral de Espanha de 1344* 2 (Lisbon, 1954), p. 357, chap. 226 (cf. his discussion of 'A Crónica do Mouro Rasis', *ibid.* 1 [Lisbon, 1951], pp. ccxxx f.).

<sup>93</sup> Muḥammad, as noted before, omits Thaʿlaba (Gayangos, *History* 2.405 n. 7). The text of Ibn Ḥabīb (ed. Makkī, p. 236, and in Antuña, 'Notas', 265 f.) gives only seven years nine months for Yūsuf, whereas Muḥammad (*loc. cit.*) gives nine years nine months. Since no other source gives a figure lower than nine years, it is obvious that seven years nine months in Ibn Ḥabīb is a mistake for nine years nine months, probably a scribal error; Gayangos noted, in another case, that the Arabic words for seven and nine are 'easily mistaken' (*History* 2.404 n. 5).

<sup>94</sup> Ribera, *Colección* 2.161 f.

<sup>95</sup> The list of Ibn Abī l-Fayyāḍ (in Sánchez-Albornoz, *Fuentes*, pp. 358 f.) omits Yūsuf and assigns nine years eleven months (clearly belonging to Yūsuf) to Thawāba. The necessary emendation is to restore Yūsuf and give him his nine years eleven months from Thawāba, while awarding to Thawāba the two years two months assigned to him by Ibn al-Khaṭīb (Hoernerbach, *Islamische Geschichte*, p. 60). It is sad that this brilliant emendation still results in the wrong dates. There is a minor difference between these two sources on Abū l-Khaṭṭār (cf. Appendix, no. 21).

<sup>96</sup> It is difficult, or impossible, to make such calculations on other sources for lack of complete lists. The *Crónica del Moro Rasis* (Gayangos, 'Memoria', 85 ff. and Cintra 2.357 ff.) – which might have given rough guidance on the chronology of Al-Rāzī – goes to pieces completely with ʿAbd al-Malik and ʿUqba: after assigning them six and nine years respectively, it fails to give any indications of period for the subsequent governors – except three

## IV

The problems of the preceding period, from the death of Al-Samḥ to that of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, are by comparison insignificant. The two mortalities are fairly securely dated and provide a solid chronological frame: namely, Dhū l-ḥijjdja 102 to Shaʿbān/Ramaḍān 114 (June 721 to October 732). Changes of governor are rather frequent, so that the average term is short and several are measured in months, not years. The sources still show variations with regard to minor details, but there is not much scope for serious error. Nothing in this part of Lafuente's chronology is demonstrably wrong. We need only note that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, if his term was from XI.111 to II.112, would normally be credited with three months, not two; but that, since the *Chronicle of 754* indicates Muḥammad, an interim governor, to have had charge for a month (and some days),<sup>97</sup> while the Arabic sources who notice this appointment give it only two months,<sup>98</sup> it makes more sense to reckon Muḥammad's term as running from Dhū l-ḥijjdja 111 to Ṣafar 112.

AL-SAMḤ. The Caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz succeeded his cousin Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik on Friday the 19th of Ṣafar, A.H. 99 (2.X.717).<sup>99</sup> He proceeded to make a number of new appointments to governorships,<sup>100</sup> and Spain and Ifrīqiya were included. For Ifrīqiya, Ismāʿīl b. ʿUbayd Allāh was named to succeed Muḥammad b. Yazīd. The nomination took effect in the first month of 100 (VIII.718), according to Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam.<sup>101</sup> For Spain, ʿUmar appointed his worthy friend Al-Samḥ b. Mālīk. To quote Ibn al-Athīr:<sup>102</sup>

months for a non-governor, 'Abderrame son of Tocir', who is no doubt the judge ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Kathīr, said to have officiated during the interregnum preceding the accession of Yūsuf (cf. Lafuente, *Colección* 1.239, and, citing Ibn ʿIdhārī, p. 242). Gayangos, *History* 2.414 n. 33, cites Ibn Khaldūn in a rather confused note.

The list in the *Crónica profética*, ed. Gómez-Moreno, 'Las primeras crónicas', 626 f., omits Baldj and Thaʿlaba, having earlier omitted ʿAnbasa. The *Faṭḥ al-Andalus*, ed. González, pp. 31 ff., has a very complete, but not very accurate, accounting for this period (cf. the Appendix, nos. 16 ff.) for a total of twenty-three years one month; it loses heavily on ʿAbd al-Malik's first term but gains a bit on Yūsuf. Compilers such as Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn ʿIdhārī scarcely lend themselves to this exercise, because of their use of alternative datings.

<sup>97</sup> Mommsen, 'Continuatio hispana a. DCCLIV', p. 360, nos. 98, 99.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Appendix, no. 14.

<sup>99</sup> Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, in Vidal, *Conquista*, p. 53; Al-Ṭabarī, II, III, 1336 (cf. Zotenberg, *Chronique* 4.235); cf. Fournel, *Les Berbers* 1.268 n. 7 (a note which explains clearly why the reading '19 Ṣafar' is to be preferred to '10 Ṣafar'; to have read this note would have saved Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, p. 164, from error).

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Wellhausen, *ibid.*, p. 168: 'Die wichtigste Beamtenstellen besetzte er neu.'

<sup>101</sup> Vidal, *Conquista*, p. 53.

<sup>102</sup> Fagnan, *Annales*, p. 56.

In 100 °Umar b. °Abd al-°Azīz named as governor of Ifrīqīya Ismā'īl b. °Abd Allāh, client of the Banū Makhzūm, and as governor of Spain Al-Samḥ b. Mālik Khawlānī, whose righteousness and piety he had appreciated close to Al-Walīd b. °Abd al-Malik.

These were obviously important appointments. The persons selected were meant to carry out, in the part of the Empire they were sent to rule, °Umar's ideas for reform in the Islamic world.<sup>103</sup> The impression is given by Ibn al-Athīr's notice that the appointments of Ismā'īl and Al-Samḥ were connected, as indeed one might reasonably expect. We are consequently led to think that, if Ismā'īl's appointment started in Muḥarram of 100, that of Al-Samḥ also commenced early in 100.

When we turn to the *Chronicle of 754*, we find this assumption supported. The *Chronicle* states<sup>104</sup> that Al-Samḥ governed for a little under three years. Now the governorship of Al-Samḥ was ended by his death about three weeks before the close of 102.<sup>105</sup> In order to have served for a term not much less than three years, he must have begun early in 100. The *Chronicle of 754* is not alone

<sup>103</sup> On °Umar's plans see Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, pp. 168 ff.; cf. Mantran, *La expansión musulmana*, p. 74.

<sup>104</sup> Mommsen, 'Continuatio hispana a. DCCLIV', p. 358, no. 86.

<sup>105</sup> Al-Maqqarī, trans. Lafuente, *Colección* 1.197, quotes Ibn Baskhuwāl (Gayangos, *History* 2.33, incorrectly adds Ibn Khaldūn) to the effect that Al-Samḥ was slain on the day of *al-taruwīya* of 102, which would be the 8th of Dhū l-ḥijjdja (cf. M. Ocaña Jiménez, *Tablas de conversión de datas islámicas a cristianas y viceversa* [Madrid, 1946], pp. 24 f.), i.e., 9 June 721. Ibn Khaldūn, trans. Machado, 'Historia de los Arabes', 141, merely says that he died in 102. The *Fath al-Andalus*, ed. González, p. 28, puts the death of Al-Samḥ on the day of °Arafa, 102, which would be the 9th of Dhū l-ḥijjdja (10 June 721); the same date is given by Ibn °Idhārī (Fagnan, *Histoire* 2.36). Gayangos, *History* 2.407 n. 15, mentions other variants, with dates in 103, clearly worthless (Al-Dabbī, Al-Azdī, Al-Hidjārī); he also misidentifies 8 Dhū l-ḥijjdja 102 with 10 May 721. This event is, in fact, a potent source of odd errors. J. A. Conde, *Historia de la dominación de los Árabes en España* 1 (Madrid, 1820), p. 72, gives the incompatible dates 721, *al-taruwīya*, and 9th of Dhū l-ḥijjdja 103. T. Breysig, *Die Zeit Karl Martells* (Leipzig, 1869), p. 38 n. 7, compounds this by saying that Conde dated the Battle of Toulouse in the month of May 721. Fournel, *Les Berbers* 1.275, avers that the battle in which Al-Samḥ perished is dated to May 721 by 'our' annals, citing the *Chronicon moissiacense* and (J.-T.) Reinaud, *Invasion des Sarrasins en France* (Paris, 1836), p. 20, and produces the date 9 Dhū l-qa'ḍa 102, wherein Dhū l-qa'ḍa has evidently been substituted for Dhū l-ḥijjdja, a strange proceeding in itself. But in fact there is no mention of the date May 721 in the *Chronicon moissiacense*: see the extracts conveniently printed in Lafuente, *Colección* 1.165 f. and the *Monumenta Germaniae historica Script.* 1 (Hanover, 1826), p. 290; the *Annales laureshamenses* (MGH *Script.* 1.24) provide the simple date 721.

C. E. Dubler, 'La crónica arábigo-bizantina de 741', *Al-Andalus* 11 (1946), similarly dates the Battle of Toulouse to 11 May 721, 9 Dhū l-qa'ḍa 102, without offering explanation or justification, unless it is his reference to F. Codera, 'Narbona, Gerona y Barcelona bajo la dominación musulmana' in *Estudios críticos de historia árabe española*, 2nd Ser. (Madrid, 1917), pp. 277 ff. In that study Codera demolishes the date in May.

here. The tradition of Ibn Ḥabīb assigns two years nine months to Al-Samḥ; reckoned back from XII.102, this would bring his starting-date to III.100. Further, Ibn Khaldūn states unequivocally that ʿUmar sent Al-Samḥ at the beginning of 100.<sup>106</sup>

That being so, we are obliged to reject the claim made in a number of the Arabic sources, that Al-Samḥ acceded in Ramaḍān, the ninth month, of 100. That date is given by Ibn Ḥayyān (*apud* Al-Maqqarī),<sup>107</sup> who also, however, assigns two years eight months to the governorship and proceeds to confuse the death of Al-Samḥ at the Battle of Toulouse with the death of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān a dozen years later at the Battle of the Road of the Martyrs. Obviously, if Al-Samḥ succeeded in Ramaḍān 100 and governed for two years eight months, the Battle of Toulouse would have to be dated to Djumādā I of 103 (X/XI.721), which would fit nothing else in the chronology. Ramaḍān 100, Dhū l-ḥijjdja 102, and a period of about two and three-quarter years are simply incompatible items. The date Ramaḍān 100 is repeated by the *Fath al-Andalus*,<sup>108</sup> Ibn al-Athīr,<sup>109</sup> and Ibn ʿIdhārī;<sup>110</sup> the typology of the group strongly suggests that Al-Rāzī was the begetter of this version.

The appointment and the arrival in Spain of Al-Samḥ clearly have to be set in the first quarter of A.H. 100, in accord with our best evidence.

AL-ḤURR. Thereby the concluding date of the governor Al-Ḥurr, whom Al-Samḥ displaced, is automatically determined. The length of tenure of Al-Ḥurr is indicated to have been about the same as that of Al-Samḥ. The *Chronicle of 754* reports his accession under Era 753 (715) and A.H. 97 (= 5.IX.715-24.VIII.716), and subsequently notes that he governed for almost three years.<sup>111</sup> This dating is undoubtedly correct, but does not afford a close determination within these years, unless we insist on the Era date, 753, as well as the Hidjra date, in which case Al-Ḥurr's accession would fall in the first four months of 97, since the following months correspond to Era 754 (716). But the *Chronicle* has probably arrived at this date by a simple formula of conversion frequently applied (A.H. + 656 = Era: 97 + 656 = 753),<sup>112</sup> so that it would be hazardous to give the Era date significance.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. Ibn Ḥabīb, in Antuña, 'Notas', 265, and Gayangos' translation of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (*History* 2.405 n. 7). Cf. Ibn Khaldūn, trans. Machado, 'Historia de los Arabes', 141.

<sup>107</sup> Lafuente, *Colección* 1.197; Gayangos, *History* 2.32.

<sup>108</sup> González, *Fatho-l-Andaluḥi*, p. 26.

<sup>109</sup> Fagnan, *Annales*, p. 92.

<sup>110</sup> Fagnan, *Histoire* 1.45.

<sup>111</sup> Mommsen, 'Continuatio hispana a. DCCLIV', p. 356, nos. 79, 80.

<sup>112</sup> This formula (A.H. + 656 = Era) can be observed in application frequently throughout the *Chronicle of 754* (cf. nos. 12, 13, 21, 49, 52, 53, 58, 62, 65, 66, 73, 79, 80, 90, 92, 100, 107, 109, 112, 121, 130, 131, 137). It is based on the fact that at the time of final composition, early in 754, Era 792 (see no. 137), the Islamic year was the 136th from the Hidjra: 136 + 656 = 792.

Ibn Ḥabīb<sup>113</sup> gave Al-Ḥurr two years eight months, a figure accepted by several later authors.<sup>114</sup> The *Crónica profética* comes closest to 'almost three years' with its two years ten months.<sup>115</sup> Al-Rāzī probably attributed two years nine months. This is the figure in the *Crónica del Moro Rasis*,<sup>116</sup> as well as in Ibn al-Athīr,<sup>117</sup> and it is in accord with Al-Rāzī's own date for the accession of Al-Ḥurr (as presented by Al-Maqqarī),<sup>118</sup> namely, Dhū l-ḥijjdja of 97, for then

In no. 9 the Chronicler dates the first year of Muḥammad to Era 656 (792 *minus* 136) instead of the true date, A.D. 622-623 (Era 660-661), and instead of the formula date, Era 657. This seems to represent an alternative formula, for it certainly occurs quite frequently at first (cf. nos. 18, 19, 23, 25, 26, 35, 37, 41, 46, 92, 93, 95, 96, 134). It could be based on the fact that part of the current year, A.H. 136, *had* corresponded with Era 791; the alternative formula, then, is A.H. + 655 = Era.

Needless to say, these formulas distort the chronology of the seventh century. But in the period that concerns us here, A.H. 92-136, the effects are not so disastrous. The main formula (+ 656) tends to operate so that, at the beginning of the period, the Era year which is in its last few weeks or months will be equated with the Islamic year that is for most of its length concurrent with the *following* Era year: around the middle of the period, the correspondence becomes close (A.H. 119 fitted completely inside Era 775): at the end, the correspondence, diminishing every year, has dropped to about 50 per cent (A.H. 136, an intercalary year, contained 178 days of Era 791, and 177 days of Era 792).

It is instructive to observe a modern chronographer grappling with this problem of equation of years. Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Mohammedan Dynasties. Chronological and Genealogical Tables with Historical Introductions* (London, 1893; Paris, 1925), writes in his preface, p. vii, note: 'The Hijra date is of course the more exact, as it is derived from Arabic historians; whilst the date A.D. is merely *the year in which that Hijra year began*, and does not necessarily correspond with it for more than a few months. The correspondence is near enough, however, for practical purposes. ... When the Hijra began at the close of the Christian year, *the following year A.D. is given*' (my italics).

<sup>113</sup> Antuña, 'Notas', 265.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. Appendix, no. 5.

<sup>115</sup> Gómez-Moreno, 'Las primeras crónicas', 626.

<sup>116</sup> Gayangos, 'Memoria', 84; Cintra, *Crónica* 2.353.

<sup>117</sup> Fagnan, *Annales*, p. 92.

<sup>118</sup> Lafuente, *Colección* 1.196. Gayangos' version (*History* 2.32) gives the year as 98, but 97 is the reading in Dozy, *Analecetes* 2.8, l. 18.

According to Ibn ʿIdhārī (Fagnan, *Histoire* 2.32 ff.), Al-Rāzī dates the death of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to the beginning of VII.97, after which he allowed a period of some months with no governor until Ayyūb took the office, which he held for six months. With this chronology we should be 'some months' advanced into 98 by the end of Ayyūb's term. Something is amiss. The notion of a period of some months with no governor between ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Ayyūb is not at all sensible (it originated from the fact that Ayyūb's short period was itself merely an interregnum). It may have been foisted on Al-Rāzī when it belonged elsewhere. It is found, in extreme form, in Ibn Abī l-Fayyāḍ (in Sánchez-Albornoz, *Fuentes*, p. 358), who credits an interregnum of some two years. A chronology which dated the end of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to the beginning of VII.97 (Al-Rāzī), then gave Ayyūb nearly six months (Al-Rāzī: five months twenty days, according to the *Crónica del Moro Rasis*, which fits perfectly) and thus terminated Ayyūb towards the end of XII.97 (Al-Rāzī), so that Al-Ḥurr had a term of two years nine months (*Crónica del Moro Rasis*) from there to IX.100, would certainly not be all correct, but it would at least make some sense and would accommodate the information and indications we have on Al-Rāzī's dates, provided the vague interregnum of 'some months' is removed from him.

the two years nine months would expire in Ramaḍān 100, the supposed date of Al-Samḥ's accession. Thus the false date, Ramaḍān 100, results from counting two years eight or nine months from the end of 97 or beginning of 98, an equally false date. It is the period that is genuine, not the dates.

We should therefore count back from the first quarter of 100, which we have established as the proper range of dates for the replacement of Al-Ḥurr by Al-Samḥ. Two years ten months (*Crónica profética*) from I.100, reckoned exclusively of both termini, will yield the date II.97, and two years eight months (Ibn Ḥabīb) from III.100, inclusively, will give VIII.97. This ought to be, broadly, the range of dates for the accession of Al-Ḥurr, Ṣafar to Shaʿbān of 97: with some preference for the later part of this period because, if Al-Samḥ was sent from the East in I.100, it would clearly take a fair amount of time for him to get to Spain and relieve Al-Ḥurr of his post.

AYYŪB. Al-Ḥurr was sent from Ifrīqiya with official appointment as governor, replacing the assassinated ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. In the meantime, a man on the spot, Ayyūb, a cousin of the murdered governor, took charge; there is no evidence that he had any official sanction. The *Chronicle of 754* simply says that Ayyūb held Spain for a month, after which Al-Ḥurr officially succeeded to the governorship:

(Abdellazis) ob consilio Aiub occiditur atque eo Spaniam retinente mense impleto  
Alaor in regno Esperie per principalia iussa succedit.<sup>119</sup>

The *Crónica profética* likewise gives only one month to Ayyūb.<sup>120</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb was apparently unaware of Ayyūb's significance. He omitted him from the list of governors, just as he omitted the other interim and short-term vicegerents (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, ʿUdhra, Muḥammad); this is clear from his list and also from that of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm.<sup>121</sup> But later writers knew better. The initiative may well have come from Al-Rāzī. The *Crónica del Moro Rasis*<sup>122</sup> and the *Crónica geral de Espanha de 1344*<sup>123</sup> assign precisely five months twenty days<sup>124</sup> to the son of Abed or Abīb (Ayyūb b. Ḥabīb), between Abelaçin and Alohor. This naturally appears as six months in pseudo Ibn Qutayba,<sup>125</sup> Ibn Hayyān,<sup>126</sup> Ibn Abī l-Fayyāḍ,<sup>127</sup> and so on. It is a piece of fiction, and has no

<sup>119</sup> Mommsen, 'Continuatio hispana a. DCCLIV', p. 356, no. 79.

<sup>120</sup> Gómez-Moreno, 'Las primeras crónicas', 626.

<sup>121</sup> Antuña, 'Notas', 265, and Gayangos, *History* 2.405 n. 7.

<sup>122</sup> Gayangos, 'Memoria', 83.

<sup>123</sup> Cintra, *Crónica* 2.353.

<sup>124</sup> On the significance of this figure, cf. n. 118 above.

<sup>125</sup> Ribera, *Colección* 2.161 f.

<sup>126</sup> Cited by Al-Maqqarī; see Lafuente, *Colección* 1.196 and Gayangos, *History* 2.31.

<sup>127</sup> Sánchez-Albornoz, *Fuentes*, p. 358.

claim whatever to be preferred to the prior account of the *Chronicle of 754*. It is not even plausible that after the violent death of °Abd al-°Azīz, Spain should have been left for six months without an officially appointed governor, especially so soon after the conquest.

The brief interlude of Ayyūb should not, therefore, cause much disturbance in the chronology. On the basis of the range of dates for Al-Ḥurr's accession, Ayyūb can be assigned a month or so within the period from c. I.97 to c. VIII.97.

°ABD AL-°AZĪZ. We can deduce from the above a range of dates for the assassination and termination of °Abd al-°Azīz, which must be an approximation and yet cannot be far from the truth: namely, between XII.96 and VII.97. How does this deduction compare with the direct testimony of the sources? It at once collides with the version found in Al-Maqqarī and others,<sup>128</sup> according to which °Abd al-°Azīz was killed in XII.97, and *a fortiori* it knocks out the version of Ibn al-Qūṭīya (d. c. 977)<sup>129</sup> and the *Akhbār Madjmū'a*,<sup>130</sup> that he was murdered at the end of 98. Ibn al-Athīr retails both these stories,<sup>131</sup> and neglects the account of Al-Rāzī, found in Ibn °Idhārī<sup>132</sup> and also in the *Fath al-Andalus*,<sup>133</sup> that the assassination took place at the beginning of Radjab of 97. This date is left upstanding, for it is just within our range. And it is not without attraction, for it permits the following straightforward chronology: early in VII.97 °Abd al-°Azīz is killed and Ayyūb takes over; early in VIII.97 Al-Ḥurr arrives as governor; towards the end of III.100 Al-Samḥ reaches Spain and replaces Al-Ḥurr.

The *Chronicle of 754* records the death of °Abd al-°Azīz under Era 753 (715), A.H. 97 (= 5.IX.715-24.VIII.716), and states that he had ruled for three years,<sup>134</sup> which is consistent with the date given for his appointment by Mūsā, namely, Era 750 (712), A.H. 94 (= 7.X.712-25.IX.713).<sup>135</sup> The Hidjra dates here are likely to be more exact than the Era dates. The *Chronicle* is dealing with Muslim events, almost certainly by derivation from an Islamic source. The dating is bound to be by the Islamic year, which is then converted into an Era

<sup>128</sup> Cf. Gayangos, *History* 2.30 f. and 404 nn. 2 and 5. This version seems to be present also in pseudo Ibn Qutayba (Ribera, *Colección* 2.161), but there it is exceedingly confused.

<sup>129</sup> Ribera, *Colección* 2.8.

<sup>130</sup> Lafuente, *Colección* 1.32.

<sup>131</sup> Fagnan, *Annales*, pp. 54 f.

<sup>132</sup> Fagnan, *Histoire* 2.32.

<sup>133</sup> *Fath al-Andaluṣī*, ed. González, pp. 23 f.

<sup>134</sup> Mommsen, 'Continuatio hispana a. DCCLIV', p. 356, no. 79.

<sup>135</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 353-54, no. 73.

date in accordance with the formula previously discussed.<sup>136</sup> Clearly it would have been more convenient if A.H. 94 had been equated not with Era 750 but with Era 751 (713) since nearly three quarters of its length coincided with the latter year.

Let us make an experiment and subtract the three years given by the *Chronicle* from the rough dating of °Abd al-°Azīz's death. This would yield an inaugural date for °Abd al-°Azīz between XII.93 and VII.94. From one point of view the result is highly interesting because it would dispose of the question raised by the Tudmīr treaty. This well-known document, recording the terms of peace accepted by the Gothic leader Theudimer,<sup>137</sup> reveals °Abd al-°Azīz as the contracting party on the Muslim side and bears the date Radjab 94.<sup>138</sup> Though it is possible to devise more elaborate explications of these facts, there can be no doubt that the simplest explanation of all would be provided if in Radjab of 94 °Abd al-°Azīz had gubernatorial power in Al-Andalus.

The *Chronicle of 754* ought to be taken seriously when it says that °Abd al-°Azīz governed Spain for three years from A.H. 94 to 97. As for the other sources, their opinions, as usual, vary. Ibn °Abd al-Ḥakam<sup>139</sup> is in agreement to the extent of saying that °Abd al-°Azīz was killed in 97, but gives no further information. Little is said in any source about the governor's inaugural date. Ibn al-Qūṭīya<sup>140</sup> and the *Akhbār Maǧmū'a*<sup>141</sup> have him ruling from 95 to the end of 98, so that their dates seem consistently staggered by one year in comparison with those of the *Chronicle of 754*. Apart from these, we have some statements as to the duration of the governorship and sometimes a date of death: according to the *Crónica profética* the term was two years six months;<sup>142</sup> according to Al-Rāzī,<sup>143</sup> one year ten months, which evidently is to be interpreted as the period from IX.95 to the beginning of VII.97. There was already the authority of Ibn Ḥabīb<sup>144</sup> for ascribing two years to the governor-

<sup>136</sup> See n. 112 above.

<sup>137</sup> Cf. Mommsen, 'Continuatio hispana a. DCCLIV', p. 354, no. 74, especially '... et pactum, quem dudum ab Abdilaziz acceperat (Theudimer)....'

<sup>138</sup> See Hoenerbach, *Islamische Geschichte*, pp. 54 f. (Ibn al-Khaṭīb's version of the document), and pp. 521 f. nn. 11-18; cf. also Cintra, *Crónica* 2.345 f. See further Joaquín Vallvé Bermejo, 'La división territorial en la España musulmana (II). La cora de "Tudmīr" (Murcia)', *Al-Andalus* 37 (1972) 147 f.

<sup>139</sup> Vidal, *Conquista*, p. 52.

<sup>140</sup> Ribera, *Colección* 2.8.

<sup>141</sup> Lafuente, *Colección* 1.31 f.

<sup>142</sup> Gómez-Moreno, 'Las primeras crónicas', 626.

<sup>143</sup> As cited by Ibn °Idhārī (Fagnan, *Histoire* 2.32). The *Crónica del Moro Rasis* rounds the figure to two years (Gayangos, 'Memoria', 83). In Cintra, *Crónica* 2.353, 'dez annos' would appear to be a corruption for 'dous annos', unless it is a corruption or misrendering of Al-Rāzī's one year *ten months*.

<sup>144</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, in Antuña, 'Notas', 265.

ship. The reason for shortening the period of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz from three years is not difficult to see. The purpose is to create harmony with the movements of Mūsā, supposedly still active in Spain in 95 and consequently making it (seemingly) impossible for his son to have been governor in 94. But a different solution to that problem is suggested by Ibn Abī l-Fayyāḍ<sup>145</sup> (repeated by Ibn al-Khaṭīb<sup>146</sup>). The three years of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz become the three years of Mūsā and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz together: that is, the latter's rule is understood to have begun before Mūsā's departure. This is not at all an absurd idea and may provide the answer. At any rate our best evidence leads us to the conclusion that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz did hold power as governor of Spain for about three years, having received it in 94, not later than the beginning of Radjab; and that he was murdered in 97, again no later than Radjab.

Mūsā. The main reason why insufficient attention has been paid to the chronological data of the *Chronicle of 754* is, without doubt, to be found in the strange and bewildering confusion the Chronicler creates in his account of the entry of the Muslims into Spain. The problems resulting from contradictions between the various sources are hard enough. That the main Latin source should, on this crucial topic, repeatedly contradict *itself* has seemed intolerable. Nevertheless, it will be worth our while to scrutinize carefully the relevant passages.

According to the *Chronicle of 754*, lavish here with conflicting chronological sign-posts, events occurred as follows (we ignore his regnal years for the Byzantine emperors, which, as usual, only add to the confusion):

- A. Era 749 (711),  
     A.H. 92 (= 29.X.710-18.X.711),  
     5 Al-Walid (14/15.X.90-13/14.X.91: = 26/27.VIII.709-14/15.VIII.710):  
     Rudericus became king of Spain; reigned for one year; mobilized an army  
     against Ṭāriq, 'Abuzara', etc.<sup>147</sup>
- B. Era 750 (712),  
     6 Al-Walid (14/15.X.91-13/14.X.92: = 15/16.VIII.710-3/4.VIII.711):  
     Rudericus marched to the Transductine Promontories, was defeated and  
     slain.<sup>148</sup>

Thus far, we find that in A the Era and Hidjra dates are in harmony, the more so because the Chronicler deviates from his usual formula (A.H. 92 + 656

<sup>145</sup> Sánchez-Albornoz, *Fuentes*, p. 358.

<sup>146</sup> Hoenerbach, *Islamische Geschichte*, p. 51.

<sup>147</sup> Mommsen, 'Continuatio hispana a. DCCLIV', p. 352, no. 68.

<sup>148</sup> *ibid.*

= Era 748). Since the reign of one year is distributed over two years in A and B, we expect A to give the year when Rudericus acceded and B the year of his demise. And this function is performed by the regnal years of Al-Walīd, which do not agree with the Era and Hidjra dates, but are correct both for A (Rudericus' accession) and for B (Rudericus' fall);<sup>149</sup> the *Chronicle* actually emphasizes by repetition at the end that the destruction of Rudericus and his kingdom belonged to the sixth year of that Caliph. But the Era and Hidjra dates in A do not provide an accurate indication of the year of Rudericus' accession. They are rather the dates we would expect to appear in B. The Era date that does appear in B is manifestly one year too late.

The reason for this initial muddle can be discerned. The Chronicler had a source which told him the true date for the end of Rudericus' rule and the Gothic kingdom, namely, Era 749 (711), A.H. 92, 6 Al-Walīd. But he had also received the notion that the round number Era 750 represented the year when the Gothic monarchy was terminated. His fondness for round numbers is unabashedly stated at the end of his opusculum, when he expounds at great length the attractiveness of treating 5,200 rather than 5,196 as the number of the Year of the World at Christ's Nativity (§§ 137-139). In § 67 we find the source of the number 750:

In the western regions, too, the kingdom of the Goths, firmly established with ancient solidity for almost 350 years (from Era 400, reckoning from its first beginnings), but in Spain by Livvigildus for almost 140 years, and continuing peacefully up to Era 750, he (Walīd) attacked through the leader of his army, named Mūsā, and conquered and made it tributary, abolishing the monarchy.

He adds a marginal note that the years of the Goths are actually 345, the additional five (to make 350) being computed 'in the interval of the months', a further example (along with 'Era 400' in the text) of his devotion to round numbers.

We observe that in this passage, which is introductory to his account of the invasion and conquest of Spain, he has a date for Mūsā's invasion that

<sup>149</sup> According to Al-Ṭabarī, II, II, 1172 (cf. Zotenberg, *Chronique* 4.152), the death-date of ʿAbd al-Malik (father of Al-Walīd who succeeded him directly) was a Thursday in the middle of Shawwāl of 86: i.e., the 14th (Thursday, 8.X.705). Thursday, 14 Shawwāl 86 is accordingly the date given by Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, p. 139, but he wrongly equates it with 9.X.705, which was a Friday. Fournel, *Les Berbers* 1.227 opts for 15 Shawwāl 86, which is also attested. Owing to the dependence of the Islamic calendar on observation of the new moon, it was possible for 15 Shawwāl 86 to have been a Thursday in practice (i.e., Thursday, 8.X.705), in spite of the theoretical correctness of the equation 15.X.86 = Friday, 9.X.705. (On this curious phenomenon see Ocaña Jiménez, *Tablas*, pp. xvii f., 129 ff., and also his 'Notas sobre cronología hispano-musulmana', *Al-Andalus* 8 [1943] 333 ff.) We should say, then, that Al-Walīd's first year ran from 14 or 15 Shawwāl 86 to 13 or 14 Shawwāl 87, and so forth.

apparently conflicts with B. The sources of his perplexity may be traced to the following propositions, which all have some truth in them:

- (1) Mūsā was the commander who ended the Gothic monarchy;
- (2) the Gothic monarchy was ended by the defeat and death of Rudericus;
- (3) Rudericus was defeated and killed in Era 749, A.H. 92;
- (4) Mūsā invaded Spain in Era 750, A.H. 93.

The complications are intensified when we come to the *Chronicle's* next dating sequence:

- C. Era 749 (same as A)  
 A.H. 92 (same as A)  
 5 Al-Walīd (same as A)  
 While the fighting in Spain continued, Mūsā himself arrived, battered his way to the royal capital, Toledo, etc.<sup>150</sup>
- D. Era 750 (same as B)  
 A.H. 94 (= 7.X.712-25.IX.713)  
 Mūsā, having completed fifteen months, was recalled from Spain, leaving his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in his place.<sup>151</sup>
- E. Last year of Al-Walīd (the 10th, beginning 14/15.X.95 = 2/3.VII.714, and ending with his death on 13.VI.96 = 23.II.715)<sup>152</sup>  
 Mūsā presented himself before Al-Walīd.<sup>153</sup>

In C, the combination of propositions (1) and (3), as analysed above, seems to have caused the Chronicler to deviate from the year for Mūsā's invasion which he had previously given.

In D, we find that he has returned to his formula for the equation of Era and Hidjra dates (A.H. 94 + 656 = Era 750), which, as we noticed before, tends to produce a misleading result,<sup>154</sup> and which here leads to further inconsistency. It is probable that the date A.H. 94 comes from his source. The same date is found in some of the Arabic writers for Mūsā's departure from Spain.<sup>155</sup> It is not made

<sup>150</sup> Mommsen, 'Continuatio hispana a. DCCLIV', p. 353, no. 70.

<sup>151</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 353 f., no. 73.

<sup>152</sup> Al-Walīd died on a Saturday in the middle of Djumādā II of 96, according to Al-Ṭabarī II, 1269 f. (cf. Zotenberg, *Chronique* 4.195): i.e., 13.VI.96 (Saturday, 23.II.715). This date is accepted both by Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, p. 141, and by Fournel, *Les Berbers* 1.256.

<sup>153</sup> Mommsen, 'Continuatio hispana a. DCCLIV', p. 354, no. 73.

<sup>154</sup> See n. 112 above.

<sup>155</sup> So pseudo Ibn Qutayba (Ribera, *Colección* 2.120, 122); cf. the sources cited by Fournel, *Les Berbers* 1.254 n. 5 (this is the reference intended by Sánchez-Albornoz, *El Reino* 1.466 n. 32, where a statement about Al-Faraḍī is attributed to Fournel that seems not to be there). Contrary to Gayangos, *History* 1.292, Al-Maqqarī does not have the date XII.94; the correct translation is given by Lafuente, *Colección* 1.193, 'Dhū l-ḥidjdja of the year 95' (not 94): see Dozy, *Analectes* 1.175, 9. Al-Maqqarī elsewhere cites Ibn Bashkuwāl as dating Mūsā's departure simply to 94 (cf. *Analectes* 1.182).

wholly clear, however, what the *Chronicle's* date actually refers to. The straggling sentence or period that begins with D ends in E, so that it carries two dates:

Nam in era DCCL, anno imperii eius sexto, Arabum LXLIII, Muze expletis XV mensibus a principum iussu premonitus Abdellaziz filium linquens in locum lectis Spanie senioribus, qui evaserant gladio, cum auro argentove trapezitarum studio conprobato vel insignium ornamentorum atque pretiosorum lapidum, margaritarum et unionum, quo ardere solet ambitio matronarum, conerie simulque Spanie cuncta superficie que longum est scribere, adunatis, Ulit regis repatriando sese presentat obtutibus anno regni eius extremo.

Mūsā's departure from Spain is not even explicitly signalled here, though it is of course implied. In principle, the initial date might refer to Mūsā's receipt of the notice of his recall, to his appointing his son as governor, or to his gathering together the treasures of Spain in preparation for the return home. If it does refer to Mūsā's departure from Spain, there is a problem in explaining why Mūsā did not reach Damascus until after an interval of more than a year (E). Where was Mūsā throughout 95? The answer would evidently have to be that he spent the year 95 in his province of Ifrīqiya. This is certainly not impossible. But it would undoubtedly be very strange that Mūsā should hastily depart from Spain at the Caliph's urgent summons, only to dally for twelve months or more in Qayrawān.<sup>156</sup>

It is worth-while to consider a different interpretation, viz., that the date 94 and the period of fifteen months ought to refer to Mūsā's appointment of °Abd al-°Azīz to govern Spain. In other words, fifteen months after entering Spain, Mūsā appointed his son °Abd al-°Azīz as governor, just as he had earlier appointed his son °Abd Allāh governor of Ifrīqiya.<sup>157</sup> Obviously these appointments did not entail that Mūsā, the supremo, ceased to have authority over these provinces. As indicated by Ibn Abī l-Fayyād, seconded by Ibn al-Khaṭīb,<sup>158</sup> Mūsā remained in Spain during the first part of °Abd al-°Azīz's governorship. Presumably he began his return to Ifrīqiya and then on to Syria late in 95, as is stated by several of the Arabic sources.<sup>159</sup> Consequently he arrived in Damascus not long before the death of the Caliph Al-Walīd.<sup>160</sup>

<sup>156</sup> Sánchez-Albornoz, *ibid.*, p. 467, throws out this tradition on similar grounds, perhaps over-confidently.

<sup>157</sup> Cf. Ibn °Abd al-Ḥakam (Vidal, *Conquista*, pp. 45, 53); Al-Maqqarī, trans. Lafuente, *Colección* 1.193, citing Al-Rāzī.

<sup>158</sup> See nn. 145, 146 above.

<sup>159</sup> See the citations in Sánchez-Albornoz, *El Reino* 1.469 f.

<sup>160</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 466 n. 35. (In the text '25' should be corrected to '23 de febrero'.)

Thus, when ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz put his authority to the treaty with Theudimer in Radjab 94, he did so having been invested already with the gubernatorial power. But Mūsā, supreme governor of the western Empire (which he had himself vastly augmented), was still in Spain.

It would follow that Mūsā's entry should be dated in 93, fifteen months before some point in the first half of 94. That would point to IV.93 as probably the latest admissible date for Mūsā's arrival in Spain. Certain Arabic sources actually support this dating, namely, pseudo Ibn Qutayba<sup>161</sup> and Ibn al-Faraḍī,<sup>162</sup> both apparently drawing on a biography of Mūsā written by a descendant about 800.<sup>163</sup> The former dates Mūsā's entry to 'a Thursday in Šafar 93', while the latter starts him out from Ifrīqiya in Muḥarram of 93, bringing him into Spain by way of Tangiers. Clearly these dates fit together perfectly.<sup>164</sup> From a historical standpoint a date for Mūsā's invasion early in 93 (at the end of 711 or start of 712) makes better sense than the standard 'Ramaḍān 93' repeated by one Arabic chronicler after another<sup>165</sup> and then by their modern successors. According to that version, Mūsā, seriously concerned (as well he might be) about what was going on in Spain thanks to Ṭāriq's startlingly rapid progress, nevertheless waited a whole year after the defeat of Rodericus and the collapse of the Gothic régime before coming in person to Spain to make sure that all things were put in proper order in the new province. On the contrary, Mūsā must have come as soon as he was ready. The season presented no problem along the southern coast of Spain and the work of the invasion had already been done by Ṭāriq, Mūsā's Patton. The standard dates are probably based on a merely mechanical assumption that Mūsā will have come at the same time of the year as Ṭāriq: hence the existence of the alternatives, Radjab or Ramaḍān.

If Mūsā entered Spain in Šafar of 93, the appointment of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz fifteen months later would fall in Djumādā 1 of 94. But it is better to hold to a more general formulation. Mūsā came to Spain in the first quarter of 93, and in the second quarter of 94 he appointed his son to be its governor. As for the date of

<sup>161</sup> Ribera, *Colección* 2.108.

<sup>162</sup> See Sánchez-Albornoz, *El Reino* 1.394, with nn. 7, 8, and 10.

<sup>163</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 351 n. 113, and his *Fuentes*, pp. 49 ff.

<sup>164</sup> Sánchez-Albornoz, *El Reino* 1.394, 'suspects' that these two authors (who carry weight with him), when they speak, respectively, of departure from Ifrīqiya in Muḥarram and entry into Spain in the following month, Šafar, are actually referring to Mūsā's preparations for an expedition months away in the future. Self-evidently this is not what they are referring to.

<sup>165</sup> See the citations assembled by Sánchez-Albornoz, *ibid.*, p. 367 n. 5. A few chose Radjab. The rightness of the date Šafar 93, which apparently comes from the family tradition of Mūsā, must make one less confident in rejecting the departure date in 94, which might come from the same tradition. Pseudo Ibn Qutayba, however (n. 155 above), seems to put forward different authorities, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, son of Sālim, 'who was with Mūsā in Spain', and Yazīd, son of Saīd, son of Muslim, client of Mūsā.

Mūsā's leaving Spain, the evidence is dubious. It *may* have been in 95, in the final quarter of the year.

ṬĀRIQ. The precise date of the invasion of Spain by Ṭāriq b. Ziyād is not strictly within the purview of this enquiry, for Ṭāriq had no claim to be regarded as a governor of Al-Andalus. Nevertheless it would be eccentric to omit him altogether. As pointed out by Sánchez-Albornoz,<sup>166</sup> there is broad agreement on the year of his landing, and some disagreement on the time within the year. Military logic would suggest that Ṭāriq came in the good season, and consequently, in 92, the months of Radjab, Sha<sup>c</sup>bān and Ramaḍān cover the most likely period for the invasion, and even Ramaḍān would be rather late (Radjab = 24.IV-23.V.711; Sha<sup>c</sup>bān = 24.V-21.VI.711; Ramaḍān = 22.VI-21.VII.711). A whole chain of Islamic sources<sup>167</sup> would propose to fix the date on 'Monday, 5 Radjab'. Such precision justifiably creates suspicion, which is slightly increased by the fact that 5 Radjab would normally have been a Tuesday (= Tuesday, 28.IV.711).<sup>168</sup> Other fancied dates include 21 Ayyār (= 21 May = 28 Radjab), which has a curious story attached to it,<sup>169</sup> and 8 Radjab (= May-day).<sup>170</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān, however, offers<sup>171</sup> the seductive 'a Saturday in Sha<sup>c</sup>bān 92', which recalls the Christian monk's date for the Battle of Poitiers, 'a Saturday in October 732', as well as that for Mūsā's entry, 'a Thursday in Ṣafar 93', apparently given by his descendant. It is probable, at any rate, that the landing of Ṭāriq can safely be fixed in VII/VIII.92 (between 24.IV and 21.VI.711).

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In conclusion, we may now follow the example of Lafuente and recapitulate the total of the results of this investigation in a tabular list.<sup>172</sup>

<sup>166</sup> *El Reino* 1.389 f. (the passage quoted in the text, corresponding to n. 10 above).

<sup>167</sup> See the citations accumulated by Sánchez-Albornoz, *El Reino* 1.389 n. 119, 368 nn. 7, 11, 12, 15, 19, 21, 23-25, 369 n. 35.

<sup>168</sup> But, as pointed out in n. 149 above, the discrepancy of one day of the week from another does not invalidate the date automatically.

<sup>169</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, trans. Antuña, 'Notas', 253; cf. pseudo Ibn Qutayba (Ribera, *Colección* 2.105 f.), where the author has confused the Syrian months Ayyār and Ādār; he puts the invasion on 21 Ādār (which he correctly says is equivalent to 21 March) in Radjab (which in A.H. 92 coincided with May and Ayyār).

<sup>170</sup> See Sánchez-Albornoz, *El Reino* 1.369 n. 34.

<sup>171</sup> *apud* Al-Maqqarī (Gayangos, *History* 1.267, cited by Lafuente, *Colección* 1.224, but not included in the portion translated by him: see Dozy, *Analectes* 1.142). Al-Maqqarī himself adopts this date (Lafuente, p. 175; Gayangos 1.266).

<sup>172</sup> In this list an expression such as VII/VIII.92 stands for 'a date in the 7th or 8th month (Radjab or Sha<sup>c</sup>bān) of A.H. 92'; X.711-I.712 for 'a date in the period October 711 to January 712'.

1. Tāriq VII/VIII.92 to I-III.93.  
IV-VI.711 to X.711-I.712.
2. Mūsā I-III.93 to X-XII.95 (?)  
X.711-I.712 to VI-IX.714 (?)  
overlapping with
3. °Abd al-°Azīz IV-VI.94 to I-VII.97.  
I-III.713 to IX.715-III.716.
4. Ayyūb c. one month in the period I-VIII.97 (IX.715-  
IV.716).
5. Al-Ḥurr II-VIII.97 to I-III.100.  
X.715-IV.716 to VIII-X.718.
6. Al-Samḥ I-III.100 to XII.102.  
VIII-X.718 to VI.721.
7. °Abd al-Raḥmān XII.102 to II.103.  
VI.721 to VII/VIII.721.
8. °Anbasa II.103 to VIII.107.  
VII/VIII.721 to XII.725/I.726.
9. °Udhra VIII.107 to X.107.  
XII.725/I.726 to II/III.726.
10. Yaḥyā X.107 to III.110.  
II/III.726 to VI/VII.728.
11. Ḥudhayfa III.110 to VIII.110.  
VI/VII.728 to XI/XII.728.
12. °Uthmān VIII.110 to I.111.  
XI/XII.728 to IV/V.729.
13. Al-Haytham I.111 to XII.111.  
IV/V.729 to II/III.730.
14. Muḥammad XII.111 to II.112.  
II/III.730 to III/IV.730.
15. °Abd al-Raḥmān *iterum* II.112 to VIII/IX.114.  
III/IV.730 to X.732.
16. °Abd al-Malik IX.114 to X-XII.117.  
X/XI.732 to X.735-I.736.
17. °Uqba X-XII.117 to II.123.  
X.735-I.736 to XII.740/I.741.
18. °Abd al-Malik *iterum* II.123 to XI.124.  
XII.740/I.741 to IX/X.742.
19. Baldj XI.124 to X.125.  
IX/X.742 to VII/VIII.743.
20. Tha°laba X.125 to III/IV.126.  
VII/VIII.743 to XII.743-II.744.
21. Abū l-Khaṭṭār III/IV.126 to VII-XII.128.  
XII.743-II.744 to IV-IX.746.
22. Thawāba VII-XII.128 to VII-XII.129.

	IV-IX.746 to III-IX.747.
Interregnum	VII-XII.129 to XII.129.
	III-IX.747 to IX.747.
23. Yūsuf	I.130 to XII.138.
	IX.747 to V.756. <sup>173</sup>

<sup>173</sup> Acknowledgements are due to The Canada Council, which has sponsored the research (centred on the *Chronicle of 754*) of which this study is a product; and to the University of Toronto and University College for granting me a leave of absence to pursue it. For access to their various facilities in Madrid, I owe thanks to the Institutos Jerónimo Zurita and Miguel Asín of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas and to the departments 'Africa' and 'Manuscriptos' of the Biblioteca Nacional, as well as to the Real Academia de la Historia.

#### APPENDIX

##### *Tabulation of variants concerning the dates of the governors of Al-Andalus*

The following lists are by no means intended to be exhaustive; they are meant to be representative and illustrative. The chief interest is centred on the earlier sources, but several later compilers have had to be included because of their use of such sources.

For convenience of tabulation the names of Islamic authors have been brutally abbreviated: generally, the final component of the usual form of a name is used, regardless of sense (e.g., Ḥakam = Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam). Any difficulty of recognition can be resolved by consulting the footnote to which reference is provided at the first appearance of each author's name.

A brief word is perhaps in order with regard to my somewhat sceptical attitude toward the historiography of the period, which is in sharp contrast with the noble panorama of great Hispano-Arabic historians conjured up in the voluminous and valued writings of Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz. In the first place, great; and even good, historians have frequently been neither great nor good chronologists. Secondly, the great Hispano-Arabic historians tend to be non-extant, which makes them hard to criticize and easy to romanticize. It seems more rational to hold that the considerable amount of material that survives, some of it good or competent, some mediocre, some wretched, none of it 'great' (on this subject even the great Ibn Khaldūn is relatively feeble), is built on, and is representative of, what has been lost.

[illegible]

Governors	Sources	Period of rule	Dates of rule	Other details
3. 'ABD AL-'AZİZ	Bashkuwāl <sup>15</sup>			Left Spain in 94.
	Ḍabbi			Left Spain in XII.94.
	'Idhārī <sup>16</sup>	2 years 6 months		Invaded in IX.93.
	Khaḍīb	3 years with son		
	Maqqarī	2 years 4 months		Invaded in I. or VII. or IX.93. Left in 94 or XII.95.
	<i>Chr.</i> 754	3 years	94 to 97	
	<i>Crón. prof.</i>	2 years 6 months		
	Ḥabīb	2 years		Killed in 97.
	Ḥakam			Killed at end of 97.
	'Qutayba'			Killed in VII.97.
	Rāzī	1 year 10 months		
	'Rasis' <sup>92</sup>	2 years	95 to end of 98	
	Qūḥya <sup>29</sup>		95 to end of 98	
4. AYYŪB	<i>Akhbār M.</i>			
	Fayyād	3 years with Mūsā		Killed on I.VII.97.
	<i>Fatḥ</i> <sup>23</sup>	1 year 8 months		Killed at end of 97, or in 98.
	Athīr <sup>24</sup>			
	Khaḍīb	3 years with Mūsā		Killed in 2nd year as governor.
	Khalidūn <sup>34</sup>			
	<i>Chr.</i> 754	1 month	97	
	<i>Crón. prof.</i>	1 month		
	'Qutayba'	6 months		After interregnum of x months (?)
	Rāzī	6 months		
	'Rasis'	5 months 20 days		Ruled from start of 99 to Sulaymān's death (II.99).
	<i>Akhbār M.</i>			

Governors	Sources	Period of rule	Dates of rule	Other details
5. AL-HURR	Hayyān	6 months		
	Fayyāḍ	6 months		
	<i>Faṭḥ</i>	6 months		After interregnum of 2 years.
	ʿIdhārī	6 months		
	Khaṭīb	6 months		
	Khaldūn	6 months		
	Maqqarī	6 months		
	<i>Chr. 754</i>	almost 3 years	97 to –	
	<i>Crón. prof.</i>	2 years 10 months		
	Ḥabīb	2 years 8 months		
	ʿQutaybaʿ	3 years		
	Rāzī			Arrived in XII.97.
	ʿRasīṣʿ	2 years 9 months		
	<i>Akḥbār M.</i>			Ruled from (c. II.99) to 100.
	Fayyāḍ	1 year 7 months		
	<i>Faṭḥ</i>	2 years 8 months	start of I.98 to –	
	Muḥammad <sup>28</sup>	2 years 3 months		(error, for 2 years 8 months?)
	Bashkuwāl	2 years 8 months		
	Aṭṭir	2 years 9 months	to IX.100	
	ʿIdhārī	3 years	99 ( <i>sic</i> ) to IX.100	
6. AL-SAMḤ	Khaṭīb	1 year 7 months		
	Khaldūn	2 years 8 months		
	Maqqarī	2 years 8 months		Arrived in XII.97.
	<i>Chr. 754</i>	a bit less than 3 years		
	<i>Crón. prof.</i>	2 years 9 months		(variant, 3 years)
	<i>Chr. mois.</i> <sup>105</sup>			Took Narbo in 9th year from Saracen invasion of Spain: Battle of Toulouse 3 months later in same year.

Governors	Sources	Period of rule	Dates of rule	Other details
	<i>Ann. laur.</i> <sup>105</sup>			Eudo expelled Saracens in 721.
	Ḥabīb	2 years 9 months		
	'Quṭayba'	3 years 6 months		
	'Rasis'	2 years 6 months	100 to -	
	<i>Akhbār M.</i>			
	Ḥayyān	2 years 8 months	IX.100 to -	
	Fayyād	2 years 7 months		
	<i>Faṭḥ</i>	2 years 4 months	IX.100 to 9.XII.102	
	Ḍabbī			Killed in 103.
	Muḥammad	2 years 9 months		
	Bashkuwāl			Killed on 8.XII.102.
	Aṭṭir		IX.100 to 102	
	°Idhārī	2 years 4 months, or 2 years 8 months, or 3 years	IX.100 to 9.XII.102	
	Khaṭīb	2 years 7 months		
	Khaldūn			
	Maqqārī	2 years 8 months	start of 100 to 102	
			IX.100 to -	Killed 8.XII.102.
7. °ABD AL-RAḤMĀN	<i>Chr.</i> 754	1 month		
	<i>Crón. prof.</i>	1 month		
	'Rasis'	2 years 7 months		
	<i>Faṭḥ</i>			
	°Idhārī		9.XII.102 to II.103	
	Maqqārī		XII.102 to II.103	
		1 year 8 months, or 2 years 8 months		
		4 years 6 months		
		4 years 5 months		
8. °ANBASA	<i>Chr.</i> 754		103 (Era 759) to -	
	Ḥabīb			(confusion over 1st and 2nd governorships)

Governors	Sources	Period of rule	Dates of rule	Other details
9. 'UḤRA	'Qutayba'	2 years 9 months		
	'Rasis'	4 years 4 months	II.103 to -	
	Ḥayyān			
	Fayyāḍ	4 years 5 months		
	<i>Faṭḥ</i>	4 years 7 months	II.103 to 107	
	Muḥammad	4 years 5 months		
	Bashkuwāl	4 years 4 or 8 months	to VIII.107	
	Aṭṭir	4 years 4 months		
	'Idhārī		II.103 to VIII.107	
	Khaṭīb	4 years 5 months		
	Khaldūn	4 years 4 months		
	Maqqarī	(as Bashkuwāl)	II.103 to VIII.107	
	<i>Chr.</i> 754	(interim)		
	<i>Crón. prof.</i>	1 year 1 month		Variant, 1 year (error for 1 month?).
	'Rasis'	2 months 7 days?		(figure given for 'Nohal') ('Andiacay'?)
10. YAḤYĀ	'Idhārī	2 months		
	<i>Chr.</i> 754	almost 3 years	107 (Era 763) to -	
	<i>Crón. prof.</i>	2 years 6 months		
	Ḥabīb	2 years 6 months		(variant, 1 year 6 months)
	'Qutayba'	1 year 3 months		
	'Rasis'	2 years 7 months?		(figure given for 'Udraca' in <i>Crón. geral</i> 1344).
	Ḥayyān	(cf. Bashkuwāl)		
	Fayyāḍ	1 year 6 months		
	<i>Faṭḥ</i>	2 years 10 months	X.107 to -	
	Muḥammad	2 years 6 months		
	Bashkuwāl	1 year 6 months	X.107 to -	
	Aṭṭir	2 years 6 months	XI.107 to III.(sic)110	

Governors	Sources	Period of rule	Dates of rule	Other details
11. HUDHAYFA	‘Idhārī	2 years 6 months	X.107 (or end of 109 [ <i>sic</i> ]) to –	
	Khafīb	1 year 6 months		
	Khaldūn	2 years 6 months	end of 107 to –	
	Maqqarī	1 year 6 months	X.107 to –	
	<i>Chr.</i> 754	6 months	111 (Era 766)	6 Hishām (VIII.110-VIII.111)
	<i>Crón. prof.</i>	6 months		
	Ḥabīb	1 year		
	‘Qutayba’	6 months		
	‘Rasīd’	6 months 13 days		(‘treze’ in Portuguese version misinterpreted as ‘3’ in Castilian)
	Fayyād	6 months		
	<i>Faḥ</i>	1 year	I.111 to –	
	Muḥammad	1 year		
	Bashkuwāl	1 year	III.110 to –	
	Athīr	6 months	III.110 to –	
	‘Idhārī	6 months	110 to –, or I.I.111 to –	
12. ‘UṬHMĀN	Khafīb	6 months		
	Khaldūn			
	Maqqarī	6 months	110 to –	Replaced in the year of his governorship.
	<i>Chr.</i> 754	4 months (interim)	III.110 to –	
	<i>Crón. prof.</i>	4 months	112 (Era 767)	7 Hishām (VIII.111-VIII.112)
	Ḥabīb	5 months		
	‘Qutayba’	6 months		
	Fayyād	1 year 6 months		
	Muḥammad	5 months		
	Bashkuwāl	5 months	VIII.110 to –	

Governors	Sources	Period of rule	Dates of rule	Other details
13. AL-HAYTHAM	Athir	5 months	to end of 110	
	'Idhārī	5 or 6 months	VIII.110 to -	
	Khaṭīb	6 months		(corrects Fayyāḍ)
	Khalḍūn	5 months		
	Maqqarī	5 months	VIII.110 to -	
	<i>Chr. 754</i>	10 months	112 (Era 767)	7 Hishām
	<i>Crón. prof.</i>	10 months		
	Ḥabīb	4 months		
	'Qutayba'	1 year 2 months		
	Fayyāḍ	4 months		
	<i>Faṭḥ</i>	2 years (?)	I.112 to 114	
	Muḥammad	5 months		
	Bashkuwāl	2 years 4 months, or 2 years x days	I.111 to -	
14. MUḤAMMAD	Athir	10 months, x days	I.111 to XII.111	
	'Idhārī	10 months, or 1 year 2 months, or 2 years x days	I.111 to -, or I.112 to 114	
	Khaṭīb	6 months		
	Khalḍūn	2 years	I.111 to 113	
	Maqqarī	(the same as Bashkuwāl)		
	<i>Chr. 754</i>	1 month (x days)	112 (Era 767)	7 Hishām
	<i>Crón. prof.</i>	1 month		
	'Rasīs'	2 months		
	Bashkuwāl	2 months		
	Athir	2 months	XII.111 to II.112	
	'Idhārī	2 months		

Governors	Sources	Period of rule	Dates of rule	Other details
15. <sup>c</sup> ABD AL-RAHMÂN <i>iterum</i>	Khaldûn		113 to --	
	Maqqarî	2 months		
	<i>Chr. 754</i>	3 years	113 (Era 769) --	9 Hishâm (VIII.113-VIII.114)
	<i>Crôn. prof.</i>	1 year 10 months		
	Ḥabîb	2 years 8 months		
	Ḥakam		to IX.114	(says Yahyâ and Layth date death in 115) Poitiers battle on a Saturday in X.732.
	<i>Ann. s. Amandi</i> <sup>72</sup>	4 years		
	'Qutayba'	1 year 6 months	to IX.114	
	'Rasis'			
	Ḥayyân	2 years 7 months		
	Fayyâd	1 year 8 months	II.114 to IX.115	
	<i>Fatḥ</i>	2 years 8 months		
	Muḥammad		II.112 to IX.114	
16. <sup>c</sup> ABD AL-MALIK	Athîr		113 to 115, or II.112 to IX.114	
	'Idhârî			
	Khaṭîb	2 years 7 months		
	Khaldûn	1 year 8 months	113 to IX.114	
	Maqqarî	1 year 8 months, or 2 years 8 months	to IX.114, or to 115	(confusion over 1st and 2nd governorships)
	<i>Chr. 754</i>	almost 4 years	116 to 119 (Era 772 to 775)	12 to 15 Hishâm (VIII.116-VIII.120)
	Wâqidî <sup>73</sup>	4 years		
	Ḥabîb	4 years		
	Ḥakam		IX.114 to --	(says Yahyâ and Layth date appointment to 115) (variant, 1 year 1 month)
	<i>Crôn. prof.</i>	2 years 8 months		
	'Qutayba'	4 years		

Governors	Sources	Period of rule	Dates of rule	Other details
17. 'Uqba	'Rasis'	6 years		
	<i>Akhbār M.</i>	6 months		
	Fayyāḍ	3 years 2 months		
	<i>Faṭḥ</i>	1 year	X.115 to X.116	
	Muḥammad	4 years		
	Bashkuwāl	2 or 4 years	IX.114 to -	
	Athīr	2 years		
	'Idhārī		IX/X.114 to X.116	
	Khaṭīb	3 years 2 months		
	Khaldūn	2 years	to IX.116	
	Maqqarī	2 or 4 years	IX.114 to IX.116	
	<i>Chr. 754</i>	5 years (completed)	119 to 124 (Era 775 to 780)	15 to 20 Hishām (VIII.119-IV.125)
	Habīb	5 years 2 months		
	<i>Crón. prof.</i>	4 years 5 months		
	'Qutayba'	5 years 3 months		
	Rāzī	6 years 4 months		
	'Rasis'	9 years	to II.123	
	Qūṭiya		110 to -	
	<i>Akhbār M.</i>	x years	110 to 121	
	Fayyāḍ	5 years 2 months		
	<i>Faṭḥ</i>	5 years 2 months	X.116 to 121	
	Muḥammad	5 years 2 months		
	Bashkuwāl			
	Athīr	5 years	117 to -	
	'Idhārī	5 years 2 months	117 to -, or X.116 to -	117 more exact.
			X.116 to 121	

Governors	Sources	Period of rule	Dates of rule	Other details	
18. 'ABD AL-MALIK <i>iterum</i>	Khaṭīb	5 years 2 months	IX.116 to 121, or 117 to –	'Came in 117'.	
	Khaldūn	5 years			
	Maqqarī	5 years 2 months, or 6 years 4 months	116 or 117 to 121 or II.123	20 Hishām (VIII.124-IV.125)	
	<i>Chr. 754</i>	1 year 1 month	124 (Era 780)		
	<i>Crón. prof.</i>				
	Ḥakam				
	'Qutayba'	1 year	II.123 to 123 121 to 123	Was governor when Kulthūm in Ifrīqiya (IX.123-XII.123) (says Yahyā and Layth date death 1 month [i.e., 1 year?] before death of Baldj who died in 125).	
	Rāzī				
	<i>Akhhār M.</i>	1 year 1 month	end of XII.121 to – II.123 to start of XI.123		
	Fayyāḍ				
<i>Faṭḥ</i>	1 year 10 months	121, or 122 to –			
Aṭhīr	1 year 1 month	121 to 124 121 to XI.123			
'Idhārī					
Khaṭīb					
Khaldūn					
Maqqarī					
19. BALDJ	<i>Chr. 754</i>		124 (Era 780) to –	20 Hishām Baldj still fighting at end of year.	
	Ḥabīb	11 months			
	Ḥakam		to 125	(cites Yahyā and Layth) Baldj sent to Ifrīqiya in VI.123.	
	'Qutayba'	6 months			
	Rāzī	c. 1 year	to 124		

Governors	Sources	Period of rule	Dates of rule	Other details
	<i>Akḥbār M.</i>			Kulthūm killed in 122. Baldj in Ceuta c. 1 year after: came to Spain in 123.
	Fayyād	6 months		
	<i>Faṭḥ</i>	11 months	123 to X.124	Came to Spain in XI.123, seized power on a Wednesday in 123.
	Muḥammad	11 months		
	Aṭṭir	11 months	XI.123 to X.124	
	ʿIḏḥārī	6 or 11 months	XI.123 to 124	Entered Ifriqiya in IX.123.
	Khafīb	6 months		
	Khaldūn	c. 1 year		
	Maqqarī	11 months	to X.124	Entered Spain in 124.
20. THA <sup>6</sup> LABA	Ḥabīb	5 months		
	ʿQutayba	5 months		
	<i>Akḥbār M.</i>			Broke out of siege of Mérida 1.X or 10.XII.
	Ḥayyān	10 months	to VII.125	
	Fayyād	5 months		
	<i>Faṭḥ</i>	10 months	X.124 to -	
	Aṭṭir	10 months	X.124 to VII.125	
	ʿIḏḥārī	10 months	X.124 to -	
	Khafīb	5 months		(sense not clear)
	Khaldūn	10 months, or 2 years		Broke out of Mérida on morn of some festival.
	Maqqarī	10 months	to VII.125	
21. ABŪ L-KHAṬṬĪR	<i>Chr. 754</i>		to 128 (Era 782 to 784)	Came to Spain in 1 Walid II (IV.125-IV.126).
	Ḥabīb	2 years		(variant, 1 month)
	<i>Crón. prof.</i>	2 years		
	ʿQutayba	3 years		
	Rāzī			Crossed from Tunis in I.125.

Governors	Sources	Period of rule	Dates of rule	Other details
22. THAWĀBA	Faraḍī	4 years 9 months	to 128	
	<i>Akhbār M.</i>	4 years 6 months	to 128	Appointed under Walīd II.
	Ḥayyān		VII.125 to –	Appointed under Walīd II.
	Fayyāḍ	2 years 8 months		
	<i>Faṭḥ</i>	2 years	Friday in VII.125 to VII.127	
	Muḥammad	2 years		
	Aṭṭir		VII.125 to –	
	ʿIdhārī	2 years, or 2 years 9 months, or 3 years	I.125 to –	
	Khafīb	2 years 6 months		
	Khaldūn	4 years 9 months	125 to 128	
	Maqqārī	2 years	VII.125 to VII.127	Crossed from Tunis in I.125.
	<i>Chr.</i> 754	1 year	128 (Era 784) to –	
	Ḥabīb	1 year		
	<i>Crón. prof.</i>	1 year		(variant, 1 year 2 months)
	'Qutayba'	1 year 1 month		
	Faraḍī	2 years		
	<i>Akhbār M.</i>	1 year	to 129	
	Fayyāḍ	9 years 11 months		(must be figure for Yūsuf)
	<i>Faṭḥ</i>	1 year	VII.127 to 128	
	Muḥammad	1 year		
	Bashkuwāl	c. 1 year		Confirmed in appointment at end of VII.127.
	Ḍabbī	c. 1 year		
	Aṭṭir	2 years	127 to –	
	ʿIdhārī	1 or 2 years	to VIII.128, or 128 to –	

Governors	Sources	Period of rule	Dates of rule	Other details
23. YŪSUF	Khafīb	2 years 2 months		Confirmed in appointment at end of VII.129.
	Khaldūn	x years		Confirmed in appointment at end of VII.127.
	Maqqarī	c. 1 year, or 2 years		
	<i>Chr.</i> 754		start of 130 to – (Era 785 to –)	In his 7th year in 136 (Era 792 begun).
	Ḥabīb	9 years 9 months	to 10.XII.138	(‘7 years 9 months’ in text, emended from Muḥammad)
	<i>Crón. prof.</i>	11 years		
	‘Qutayba’	10 years		
	<i>Akhbār M.</i>			
	Rāzī		to 10.XII.138	Acceded after period of disputes.
	‘Rasis’		139 ( <i>sic</i> ) to 138	Acceded after 4 months’ interregnum. (emend to 129). Preceded by 3 months’ reign of ‘Abderamen filho de Tocir’.
	Ḥayyān	9 years 9 months	IV.129 to 10.XII.138	(see 22. THAWĀBA)
	Fayyāḍ	9 years 11 months		
	<i>Faṭḥ</i>	10 years	start of XII.128 to 10.XII.138	After 4 months’ interregnum.
	Muḥammad	9 years 9 months		
	Athīr		129 to –	After 4 months’ interregnum.
	‘Idhārī	9 or 10 years	129/130 to 138, or II.129 to –	After 4 months’ interregnum.
	Khafīb	9 years 11 months		
	Maqqarī	9 years 9 months	IV.129 to 10.XII.138	Acceded after 4 months’ interregnum.

## NOTE

*J. N. Hillgarth*

Graham Vincent Sumner, who died on 18 April 1982, was born on 28 September 1924 in England and educated at Manchester Grammar School and Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Before joining the Department of Classics at University College, University of Toronto, in 1964, he had taught at Rhodes University in South Africa and at the Universities of New South Wales and Canterbury. He was Chairman of the Department in Toronto from 1968 to 1973 and Associate Chairman (Graduate) from 1976 to 1979. His many articles concern especially Roman republican history, prosopography and chronology. Several of these articles were devoted to Roman Spain. In recent years he had also become interested in the history and historiography of Spain in the seventh and eighth centuries. After his premature death Mrs. Sumner entrusted me with a number of folders containing collations of manuscripts (made during visits to Spain) and translations of chronicles of this period, notably the eighth-century *Continuationes* of John of Biclar and Isidore of Seville, which are usually cited from Mommsen's editions in volume 11 of the *Auctores antiquissimi* (*Chronica minora* 2), published in 1894. These materials have been deposited in the archives of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies and can be consulted there. Professor Sumner was especially interested in producing a new critical edition of the *Continuatio isidoriana hispana*, otherwise known as the Mozarabic Chronicle of 754. He had carefully examined the two recent editions, that of Juan Gil in his *Corpus scriptorum muzarabicorum* (1973) and that of José E. López Pereira (1980), and considered neither of them to be satisfactory. Unfortunately, his own edition lacks the final touches which only its editor could give and it would be difficult to publish the text as it stands.

Professor Sumner's work on the Mozarabic Chronicle resulted in several short and one long articles. In 'El perdido código Alcobaciense y la Crónica Mozárabe de 754', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 177 (1980) 343-46, he corrected an identification made by Mommsen between a lost manuscript of Alcobaça (known to us from sixteenth-century references) and some surviving fragments. In 'José Pellicer y la Crónica Mozárabe de 754', *Emerita* 49 (1981) 61-64, he showed that two late manuscripts of the Chronicle (saec. xvii or xviii in.), Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 2239 and 51, were mere apographs and did not deserve any independent credit. A third article, translated by Dr. Luis Vázquez de Parga, was published posthumously; 'La Crónica Mozárabe de 754 y la localización de la victoria bereber sobre el ejército de Kultum', in the *Boletín* already cited, 180 (1983) 351-54, uses the work to determine (as against Arabic sources) the site of a battle of 741.

The article published here was the most substantial written by Professor Sumner on this subject. It was submitted by him to the *Anuario de estudios medievales* in 1974. The long years during which this periodical was dormant (Sumner believed it to be dead) made a decision to withdraw the article necessary. Despite the time that has passed since

it was written, the article has not been superseded by other publications. The only objection that might be raised is that while Professor Sumner prefers the Latin *Chronicle of 754* to the Arabic sources, he uses the latter at times to correct the *Chronicle*. This might appear methodologically inconsistent. However, the fact is that the *Chronicle*, despite its authority, does not give us a complete chronology. It has lacunae and is sometimes – for instance, on the accession-date of ʿAbd al-Malik in 114/732 – demonstrably in error (as is shown above). It is, therefore, necessary to compare it with and correct it by the Arabic sources. This, it seems to me, Professor Sumner does with great discrimination. I can discover no other recent treatment of the subject, certainly none that can rival the care and thoroughness applied by Sumner to this new field (for him), the same qualities that appear in his studies of earlier Roman history.

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## TWO OLD ENGLISH LISTS OF SERFS\*

*David A. E. Pelteret*

THE English agrarian social hierarchy and the patterns of landholding to which it is related were already complex by the time of Domesday Book. Since the documentation before this period is both limited and selective in nature – almost all the sources are land charters, relating to lordship over estates rather than the rights and obligations of those living on these estates – it might appear from Domesday Book that the manorial system had simply sprung up overnight in England. Closer examination of the sources is revealing that this is far from being the case. Behind Domesday Book itself is being perceived a mass of earlier documentation upon which the Domesday Commissioners depended;<sup>1</sup> studies of the composition of manors and their discrete estates are suggesting that these are ancient in origin;<sup>2</sup> and when the written sources are used in combination with archaeological evidence, there is even a hint that there was some continuity from Roman times.<sup>3</sup> But all this concerns land usage: we must probe further into the written sources if we wish

\* I wish to express my thanks to Dr. Alexander R. Rumble for commenting on an earlier draft of this article and to Ms. Jane Davie of the University of Toronto's Cartographic Office for drawing the maps. The texts from ms. Cotton Tiberius B.v, vol. 1, and ms. A.3.5 (= Maidstone, Kent County Archives Office ms. DRc/R1) are printed with the permission of the British Library Board and the Dean and Chapter of Rochester Cathedral respectively.

<sup>1</sup> See especially Sally Harvey, 'Domesday Book and Its Predecessors', *English Historical Review* 86 (1971) 753-73.

<sup>2</sup> The extensive researches of Glanville R. J. Jones are now starting to receive recognition among Anglo-Saxon historians. For a convenient introduction to his views, see his contribution 'Post-Roman Wales' in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol. 1.2: *A.D. 43-1042*, ed. Herbert P. R. Finberg (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 279-382, and cf. Peter Sawyer, 'Anglo-Saxon Settlement: The Documentary Evidence' in *Anglo-Saxon Settlement and Landscape. Papers Presented to a Symposium, Oxford, 1973*, ed. Trevor Rowley (British Archaeological Reports 6; Oxford, 1974), p. 116 and n. 55. Some of Jones's views were earlier adumbrated by J. E. A. Jolliffe in his paper, 'Northumbrian Institutions', *English Historical Review* 41 (1926) 1-42.

<sup>3</sup> Herbert P. R. Finberg, 'Roman and Saxon Withington' in *Lucerna: Studies of Some Problems in the Early History of England* (London, 1964), pp. 21-65; P. J. Fowler, 'Agriculture and Rural Settlement' in *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. David M. Wilson (London, 1976; paperback ed., Cambridge, 1981), p. 26.

to understand anything at all about the Anglo-Saxon peasantry.<sup>4</sup> Because there is a dearth of informative written evidence, we cannot afford to overlook any of it, however insignificant it might appear at first glance.

This article will examine two such pieces of evidence: a list of persons with ties to the Ely Abbey estate of Hatfield in Hertfordshire, dating from the end of the tenth century, and another list of persons associated with the Rochester Cathedral estate of Wouldham in Kent, from the mid-eleventh century. The Hatfield list, in London, British Library ms. Cotton Tiberius B.v, vol. 1, fol. 76v, was printed in the nineteenth-century collections of Anglo-Saxon legal documents edited by Kemble, Thorpe and Earle; Thorpe also provided a translation.<sup>5</sup> Since these works are all out of print and since the Wouldham list appears only in the facsimile of the *Textus Roffensis* (Rochester, Cathedral Library A.3.5 and now lodged at Maidstone, Kent County Archives Office as ms. DRc/R1) published in the *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile* series, it needs no apology to present an edition of both texts together with a translation and commentary.<sup>6</sup>

# 1. LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY MS. COTTON TIBERIUS B.v, vol. 1, fol. 76v

The relationship of this text to the original manuscript to which it belonged has been fully described by Neil R. Ker in his *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), no. 22, pp. 35 f.,<sup>7</sup> and only a summary of his conclusions need be presented here. In Ker's view, the Hatfield list was entered c. 1000 on the lower blank verso of the last leaf of a gospel-book which was probably of Ely provenance. A part of the upper section of the same leaf is now Cambridge University Library ms. Kk.1.24. The leaf was once one of the final quire of four. ms. Tiberius B.v, vol. 1, fol. 74r-v, recording a grant of land at Potton, Bedfordshire, and the regulations of a guild of thegns at Cambridge, may represent another leaf of this quire. The entering of legal documents in gospel-books is a well-attested Anglo-Saxon diplomatic practice. The intent and reasons for this could well bear closer scrutiny.<sup>8</sup> The custom seems to be

<sup>4</sup> For a general analysis of the evidence on Anglo-Saxon agrarian social structure, see Herbert P. R. Finberg's contribution in *The Agrarian History of England 1/2*. 383-525.

<sup>5</sup> *Codex diplomaticus aevi saxonici*, ed. John M. Kemble, 6 vols. (London, 1839-48), 6.211-12, no. 1354; *Diplomatarium anglicum aevi saxonici*, ed. and trans. Benjamin Thorpe (London, 1865), pp. 649-51; *A Hand-Book to the Land-Charters, and Other Saxon Documents*, ed. John Earle (Oxford, 1888), pp. 275-77.

<sup>6</sup> *Textus Roffensis: Rochester Cathedral Library Manuscript A. 3. 5*, ed. Peter Sawyer (*Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile* 11; Copenhagen, 1962), fol. 162r-v.

<sup>7</sup> Hereafter cited as Ker, *Catalogue*.

<sup>8</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 557, s.v. *Records*, lists the gospel-books in which legal documents are to be found. On the possible origins of the custom, see Pierre Chaplais, 'Who Introduced Charters

particularly associated with Anglo-Saxon diplomatic manumissions and quittances, presumably because those concerned were not in a position to preserve their own records.<sup>9</sup> (Two extant records of quittances actually concern *geburas*, i.e., persons with the same status as those mentioned in the Hatfield list.<sup>10</sup>) The Hatfield list, therefore, probably was entered in a gospel-book because that was the place where traditionally documents concerning such persons were recorded.

### Text<sup>11</sup>

+ Dudda . wæs gebur into Hæðfelda 7 he hæfde þreo dohtor. An hatte  
 Deorwyn . oðer Deorswyð . þridde Golde . 7 Wullaf on Hæðfelda hæfð  
 Deorwynne to wife . 7 Ælfstan æt Tæccingawyrðe hæfð Deorswyðe to wife . 7  
 Ealhstan Ælfstanes broðar hæfð Goldan to wife . Hwita hatte wæs beocere into  
 5 Hæðfelda . 7 Tate hatte his dohtor wæs Wulfsiges modor scyttan . 7 Lulle hatte  
 Wulfsiges sweostar Hehstan hæfð to wife on Wealadene . Wifus 7 Dunne 7  
 Seoloe syndan inbyrde to Hæðfelda . Duding hatte Wifuse sunu sit on  
 Wealadene . 7 Ceolmund hatte Dunnan sunu sit eac on Wealadene . 7 Æðeleah  
 hatte Seolecan sunu sit eac on Wealadene . 7 Tate hatte Cenwaldes sweostor  
 10 Mæg hæfð to wife on Weligun . 7 Eadelm Hereðryðe sunu hæfð Tatan dohtor

1 Part of cross no longer visible.

10 *Weligun*: *i* very rubbed.

into England? The Case for Augustine', *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 3.10 (October 1969) 541 and cf. his 'The Origin and Authenticity of the Royal Anglo-Saxon Diploma', *ibid.* 3.2 (October 1965) 53, both reprinted in *Prisca munimenta: Studies in Archival and Administrative History Presented to Dr. A. E. J. Hollaender*, ed. Felicity Ranger (London, 1973), pp. 105-106 and 33 respectively. Wendy Davies has made a notable contribution to the study of the diplomatic of manumission-documents in her paper, 'The Latin Charter-Tradition in Western Britain, Brittany and Ireland in the Early Mediaeval Period' in *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes*, ed. Dorothy Whitelock, Rosamond McKitterick and David Dumville (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 258-80.

<sup>9</sup> A list of extant manumissions is supplied by Max Förster in Raymond W. Chambers, Max Förster and Robin H. Flower, *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry* (London, 1933), p. 45 and nn. 3-7, supplemented by the addition of several more manuscripts in his *Der Flussname Themse und seine Sippe. Studien zur Anglisierung keltischer Eigennamen und zur Lautchronologie des Altbritischen* (Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Abt. 1; Munich, 1941), p. 794 and n. 3.

<sup>10</sup> Berne, Burgerbibliothek ms. 671, fol. 77v (Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 5, no. 6c), edited by Herbert D. Meritt, 'Old English Entries in a Manuscript at Bern', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 33 (1934) 343-51 at p. 346, and Förster, *Der Flussname*, pp. 794-95.

<sup>11</sup> The punctuation of the manuscript has been retained but place- and personal names have been capitalized and conventional word division has been employed in preference to the manuscript spacing. OE *wynn* is reproduced as *w*. In the translation and elsewhere in the article personal names have been normalized to an early West-Saxon form (except for well-known names such as Edgar and Æthelwold) to facilitate references to onomastic works.

- to wife : - Wærlaf hatte Wærstanes fæder wæs riht æht to Hæðfelda Heold ða grægan swyn : + Brada hatte wæs gebur to Hæðfelda . 7 Hwite hatte þæs Bradan wif wæs gebures dohtor to Hæðfelda . Seo Hwite wæs Wærstanes 7 Wærðryðe . 7 Wynburge þridde modor 7 s < e > Wærstan sit æt Wadtune hæfð
- 15 Winnes sweostor to wife 7 Wine hæfð Wærðryðe to wife . 7 Dunne sæt on Wadtune wæs inbyrde to Hæðfelda . 7 Deorwyn hatte hire dohtor hæfð Cynewald on Munddene to wife . 7 Deornað hatte hire broðar bið mid Cynewalde . 7 Dudde hatte Wifuse dohtor sit æt Wilmundeslea . Cynelm hatte Cenwaldes fæder wæs gebur into Hæðfelda . 7 Manna hatte Cenwaldes sunu sit æt Wadtune under Eadwolde : - + Buhe hatte wæs Dryhtlafes moddrige Wæs
- 20 af < a > ren ut of Hæðfelda into Eslingadene . 7 Æpelwyn 7 Eadugu 7 Æpelgyð heo wæran ðreo gesweostra . 7 Tilewine 7 Duda wæron ealle þære Buge bearn . 7 Ealhstan Tiliwine sunu 7 Wulfsige Eaduge sunu 7 Ceolem Æpelgyðe sunu 7 Ceolstan 7 Manwine . Þis cyn com of Felda Deorulf Cyneburhe sunu 7 his twa sweostar 7 Cynric æt Clæfring is heora eam . Þas men synd Tatan magas æt Hæðfelda ðæs gebures : -
- 25

14 s ms.; presumably a scribal error for *se* as Kemble suggests. 21 *afaren*: initial *a*, *f*, and *r* rubbed; in the case of the second *a*, only the lobe is now visible.

### Translation

+ Dudda was a *gebur* belonging to Hatfield. And he had three daughters. One was called Deorwyn, a second Deorswith, a third Golde. And Wulflaf at Hatfield has Deorwyn as wife and Ælfstan at Datchworth has Deorswith as wife and Ealhstan, Ælfstan's brother, has Golde as wife. Hwita was a beekeeper belonging to Hatfield. Tate, his daughter, was mother of Wulfsige, [the] archer. And Lulle, Wulfsige's sister, Heahstan has as wife at Walden. Wifhusu and Dunne and Seoloe are *nativi* of Hatfield. Duding, son of Wifhusu, resides at Walden. And Ceolmund, son of Dunne, also resides at Walden. And Æthelheah, son of Seoloe, also resides at Walden. Tate, Cyneweald's sister, Mæg has as wife at Welwyn and Ealdhelm, son of Herethryth, has Tate's daughter as wife. Wærlaf, Wærstan's father, was lawfully possessed by Hatfield. He kept the grey pigs.

+ Brada was a *gebur* belonging to Hatfield. And Hwite, wife of that Brada, was daughter of a *gebur* belonging to Hatfield. That Hwite was great-grandmother of Wærstan and Wærthryth and Wynburg. And that Wærstan residing at Watton has Wine's sister as wife. And Wine has Wærthryth as wife. And Dunne who resided at Watton was a *nativus* of Hatfield. And Deorwyn, her daughter, Cyneweald at Munden has as wife. And Deornoth, her brother, lives with Cyneweald. And Dudde, daughter of Wifhusu, resided at Wymondley. Cynehelm, Cyneweald's father, was a *gebur* belonging to Hatfield. And Manna, Cyneweald's son, resides at Watton under Eadweald.

+ Buge was Dryhtlaf's aunt. She left Hatfield for Essendon. And Æthelwyn and Eadugu and Æthelgyth, who were three sisters, and Tiliwine and Dudda were all

children of that Buge. And Ealhstan [is] Tiliwine's son and Wulfsige Eadugu's son and Ceolhelm Æthelgyth's son and Ceolstan and Manwine. This family came from Hatfield: Deorwulf, Cyneburh's son, and his two sisters, and Cyneric at Clavering is their uncle. These persons are kinsmen of the *gebur* Tata at Hatfield.

Though the document does not explicitly state that all the persons mentioned are *geburas*, it seems reasonable to assume that they all held this status. I have described the socio-economic and legal position of the *gebur* elsewhere, and it will suffice to give only an outline of the main features of the status here.<sup>12</sup> He was granted land (usually thirty acres), equipment, and livestock by an overlord in return for fairly heavy renders and services. This property reverted to the overlord on the death of the *gebur*. He was probably still a freeman within the meaning of the term as used in the Anglo-Saxon law codes, but evidence from the middle of the tenth century shows that he could not break the contractual relationship with his lord by simply leaving the land without his lord's

<sup>12</sup> For a review of the evidence on the *gebur* (I avoid the Modern English cognate 'boor' because of its negative connotations), see David A. E. Pelteret, 'The *Coliberti* of Domesday Book', *Studies in Medieval Culture* 12 (1978) 43-54. On p. 49 of the latter article I state that *gebur* first appears in the eighth-century Épinal Glossary. It is used, of course, in Ine 6.3: 'Gif ðonne on gafolgeldan huse oððe on gebures gefeohte, CXX scill. to wite geselle 7 þam gebure VI scill.' ('If, however, he fights in the house of a taxpayer or of a *gebur*, he shall pay 120 shillings as a fine, and 6 shillings to the *gebur*'). (Text in *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. Felix Liebermann, 3 vols. [Halle, 1903-16], 1.92; translation in *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, ed. Frederick L. Attenborough [Cambridge, 1922], p. 39.) The word *gebur* has cognates in several Germanic languages (OHG *gibur*, OFris *bur*, Olcel *huri*) and it could have existed in early Old English, but I am not entirely convinced that it was part of the original wording of the law: *oððe gebur* has the appearance of a gloss that could have slipped into the Alfredian recension, leading to a replacement by it in the same clause of a second use of *gafolgelda*. (It must be remembered that the earliest manuscripts of the laws of Ine date from the tenth century.) *Gebur* does not appear elsewhere in Ine's laws, whereas *gafolgelda* is used again in Ine 23.3. Dr. Paul Hyams has pointed out to me that the paper by C. van der Kieft, 'Les "Colliberti" et l'évolution du servage dans la France centrale et occidentale (x<sup>e</sup>-xii<sup>e</sup> siècle)', *Tijdschrift voor rechtsgeschiedenis* (= *Revue d'histoire du droit*) 32 (1964) 369-70, which I cited with approval, has been criticized by J. Balon in 'Le statut juridique des Colliberts du Val de Loire', *Revue bénédictine* 77 (1967) 298-324; *pace* M. Balon and Dr. Hyams, I still prefer the synthesis of Dr. van der Kieft. Since the appearance of my paper, Hiroshi Hayashi has published 'Gafolgelda and Gebur in Ine 6.3', *Hosheishi-kenkyu* (*Journal of the Japanese Legal History Association*) 26 (1976) 4-8 (English) and 45-85 (Japanese). He independently reaches some conclusions that are similar to those reached earlier by Dorothy Whitelock in *English Historical Documents c. 500-1042*, 2nd edition (English Historical Documents 1; London, 1979), p. 399 n. 4: Ine 6.3 does not include the whole of the *ceorl* class but specifically those whose independent status had declined and whose rights to peace in the house had become obscure and needed reinforcement, a valid interpretation in my view. He seems, however, to regard the *gafolgelda* and *gebur* as distinct in some way, rather than regarding the words as synonyms at the time of the extant recension, which seems the simplest postulate. (I wish to thank Mr. Ken Mizumoto for providing me with a substantial abstract of this paper.)

permission.<sup>13</sup> In terms of the estate on which he lived, therefore, he was not a freeman in that he did not have freedom of movement, and had only the use rather than the ownership of the immoveables and moveables that his lord supplied him. He was, in short, a serf.

What has been described is the legal theory that can be legitimately deduced from the extant evidence. Reality was inevitably rather different. Clearly it was assumed that the economic status of the *gebur* would not change and that he would remain settled in one place. The Hatfield list shows that this was far from being the case. J. Ambrose Raftis has already proved that in the High Middle Ages the peasant's world was not limited to the horizons visible from his humble cot, as is popularly believed.<sup>14</sup> The Hatfield document reveals that the peasant mobility attested in the thirteenth-century court rolls was no new social phenomenon but one that had existed at least as far back as the tenth century. As will be seen later, this mobility indeed provides the very *raison d'être* for the document.

No less than seventeen persons are recorded as having left Hatfield.<sup>15</sup> Of these Buge (f) and Deorwulf and his two sisters moved to Essendon, the name of a parish adjacent to Hatfield, and Tate (f) went to Welwyn, just north of Hatfield. Deorswith (f) and Golde (f), two sisters, married brothers, one of whom (and presumably the other as well) lived at Datchworth, on the eastern side of Welwyn parish. A brother and sister, Wærstan and Wærthryth (f), also married siblings from Datchworth's neighbouring parish, Watton-at-Stone. Northwest of Hatfield (either St. Paul's Walden, nearly four miles at its nearest point from Hatfield, or King's Walden, six miles away) Lulle (f) from Hatfield was married to Heahstan. Three other males descended from Hatfield *geburas* were to be found there. Moving yet further afield, Deorwyn (f) was married to Cyneweald at Munden (either Great or Little Munden, at least seven miles to the northeast), while her brother was also resident there with Cyneweald, and Dudde (f) was to be found at Wymondley (either Great or Little, at least eight miles away). Even further removed was the uncle of Deorwulf and his sisters, who lived at Clavering in Essex, a good seventeen miles away from Hatfield at its nearest point. These mileages understate the distance moved since they are map readings, measuring the distance as the crow flies between the two nearest boundary points of Hatfield and the other parish, rather than the actual road mileage between estates. At first glance this seems a surprising degree of mobility. A close examination of the medieval topography, however, reveals

<sup>13</sup> above, n. 10; Pelteret, 'The Coliberti', 48.

<sup>14</sup> J. Ambrose Raftis, *Tenure and Mobility: Studies in the Social History of the Mediaeval English Village* (Studies and Texts 8; Toronto, 1964), chaps. 6-8.

<sup>15</sup> For the geographic basis of the discussion that follows, see Map 1 and Table 1.

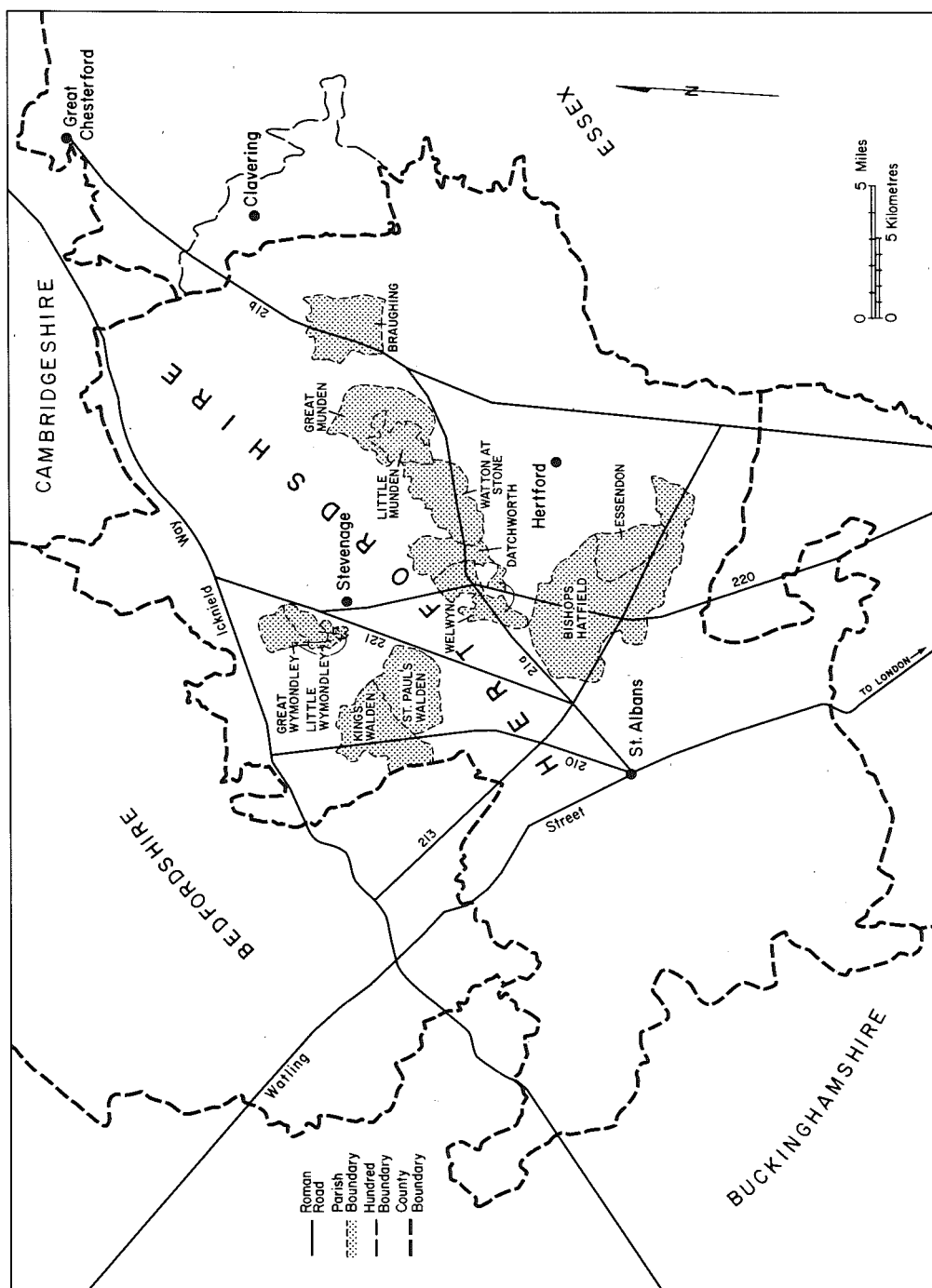
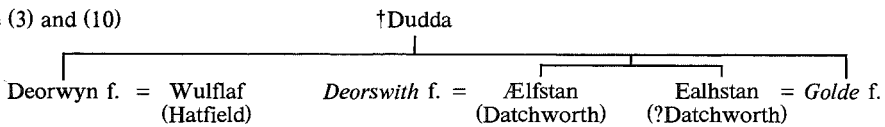


TABLE 1

The names of those serfs associated in the document with the estate at Hatfield but who are recorded as residing elsewhere are italicized. A dagger indicates that the person is deceased.

## DATCHWORTH

(1) See (3) and (10)



## WALDEN

(2)

†Hwita the beekeeper (*into Hæðfelda*)

†Tate f.

Wulfsige the archer

Lulle (f) = Heahstan  
(Walden)

(3) See (10)

Wifhusu (f) = ?Dudda (see [1])

*(inbyrde to Hæðfelda)*

?

Dudde (f)  
(Wymondley)

Duding  
(Walden)

(4)

Dunne f.

*(inbyrde to Hæðfelda)*

Ceolmund  
(Walden)

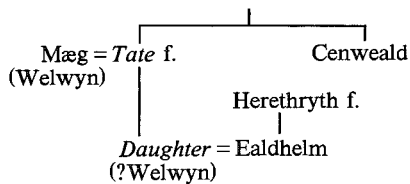
(5)

Seoloe f.

Æthelheah  
(Walden)

## WELWYN

(6)



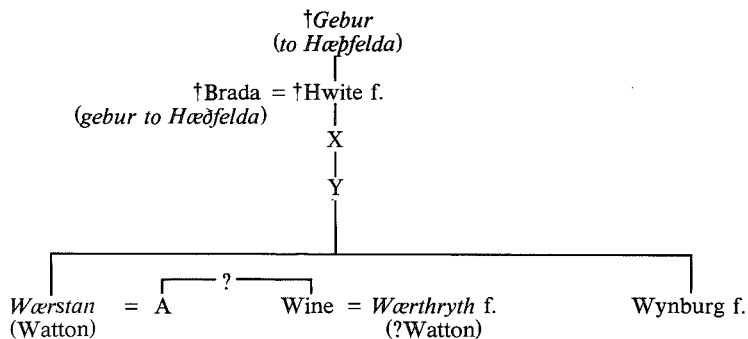
## HATFIELD (?)

(7)

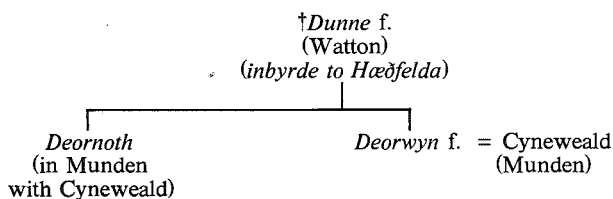
†Wærlaf  
*(riht æht to Hæðfelda)*

Wærstan

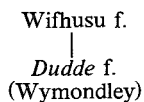
WATTON  
(8)



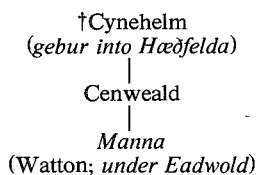
MUNDEN  
(9)



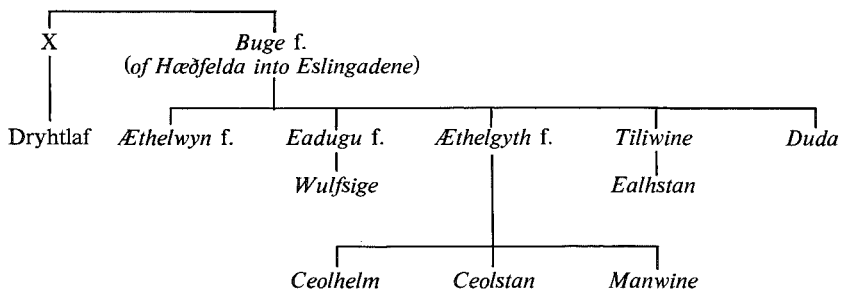
WYMONDLEY  
(10) See (3) above



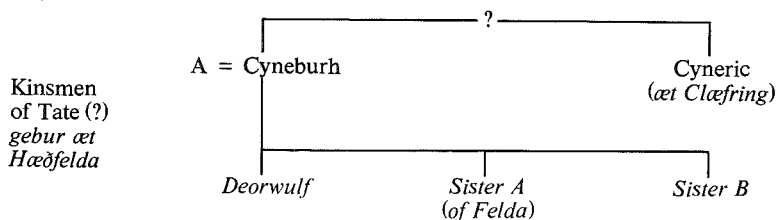
WATTON  
(11) Cf. (6)



ESSENDON  
(12)



(13)



that there were likely to be fewer impediments to movement in this region than in, say, the Kentish weald.<sup>16</sup> Hertfordshire was criss-crossed by a number of Roman roads that radiated out from London and St. Albans, the former Roman town of Verulamium.<sup>17</sup> (The frequent mention of a *stræt*, 'a metalled road', in the Anglo-Saxon land charters may well refer to Roman roads still in use in the period.<sup>18</sup>) The Roman road from London to Stevenage actually passed along the edge of the manor of Hatfield and thence on through to near Welwyn. There it was crossed by the road from Verulamium that went via Braughing to Worsted Lodge in Cambridgeshire.<sup>19</sup> This latter route (Margary Route 21a and b) skirted Datchworth and Watton-at-Stone and acted as the boundary at the southeastern corner of the ecclesiastical parish of Great Munden. Clavering was only two and a half miles from this road; if one walked directly to it, one would join the road about seven miles from its terminus at Great Chesterford. Both the parishes of Little Wymondley and St. Paul's Walden are bounded on the east by Margary Route 221 which ultimately joins Margary Route 213, a road that ran along the southern edge of the manor of Hatfield. King's Walden at its most eastern tip reached Margary Route 210, which similarly connected with Mar-

<sup>16</sup> K. P. Witney, *The Jutish Forest: A Study of the Weald of Kent from 450 to 1380 A.D.* (London, 1976).

<sup>17</sup> See Ivan D. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain*, 3rd edition (London, 1973), p. 193, map 7b.

<sup>18</sup> On the association of the word *stræt* with roads of Roman origin in the West Midlands, see Della Hooke, *Anglo-Saxon Landscapes of the West Midlands: The Charter Evidence* (British Archaeological Reports, British Series 95; Oxford, 1981), pp. 300-307. On the Modern English translation of the word, see my paper, 'The Roads of Anglo-Saxon England', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 79 (1984) 155-63 at p. 160, where I also discuss some of the sources of evidence on Anglo-Saxon roads. It is to be hoped that by the time David Hill publishes a second edition of his stimulating book, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford-Toronto-Buffalo, 1981), sufficient work will have been done on charter boundaries and other sources for him to be able to provide more detailed maps of the roads of Anglo-Saxon Britain. Christopher Taylor has a brief chapter on the subject in his *Roads and Tracks of Britain* (London, 1979), pp. 84-110.

<sup>19</sup> Margary, *Roman Roads*, pp. 201 (Route 220), 198-200 (Routes 21a and b). A more detailed analysis is provided by The Viatores, *Roman Roads in the South-East Midlands* (London, 1964), pp. 185-201 (Route 220) and 79-92 (Route 21a).

gary Route 213.<sup>20</sup> From Clavering to Hatfield was thus just over twenty-three miles, a journey that would take less than two days to make on a reasonable road. From Hatfield to Welwyn was about six miles, to Datchworth seven, to Watton-at-Stone nine and to Great Munden twelve. From Hatfield to Little Wymondley was sixteen miles, to St. Paul's Walden eleven and a half, and to King's Walden just over twelve miles.

The possible continued use of Roman roads might explain how these peasants were able to move round but it does not explain why they did so. There seem to be three possible answers, all of which gain some support from this document and from external sources. The first is that marriage dictated removal from one area to another; the second that assarting and extended cultivation required additional labour, which encouraged peasants to move of their own volition; the third that changing manpower requirements led some landlords to encourage their men to go elsewhere and others to seek extra staff for their estates.

As far as marriage is concerned, the opposition of the Church to consanguineous unions is attested in a number of Anglo-Saxon sources.<sup>21</sup> This was probably more frequently honoured in the breach than in the observance since marriage within the sixth degree was proscribed; among the aristocracy it was often just a convenient device to annul a marriage that political considerations rendered imprudent to preserve. But if these regulations were observed strictly at any time, it was in the latter half of the tenth century when the first monastic reformers such as Dunstan and Æthelwold and subsequently the archbishop of York, Wulfstan, encouraged the enforcement of ecclesiastical regulations.<sup>22</sup> Failure to permit mobility among the peasantry under these circumstances would have meant that many would have been forced to remain single. Yet most scholars are agreed that the population of Europe (including England) had started to rise in or by the tenth century, so enforced celibacy seems improbable.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Margary, *Roman Roads*, pp. 201-202 (Route 221), 178-79 (Route 213); The Viatores, *Roman Roads*, pp. 93-99 (Route 221), 165-79 (Route 213), 73-79 (Route 210).

<sup>21</sup> On Anglo-Saxon marriage customs and the Church's attitude towards them, see Dorothy Whitelock, *The Beginnings of English Society* (Pelican History of England 2; Harmondsworth, 1952), pp. 149-52.

<sup>22</sup> On Dunstan and Æthelwold, see J. Armitage Robinson, *The Times of Saint Dunstan* (Oxford, 1923); on Wulfstan, see Dorothy Whitelock, 'Archbishop Wulfstan, Homilist and Statesman', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th Ser., 24 (1942) 25-45, rpt. as item xi in a volume of her collected papers, *History, Law and Literature in 10th-11th Century England* (London, 1981).

<sup>23</sup> Josiah C. Russell, *British Medieval Population* (Albuquerque, N.M., 1948), pp. 246-60, especially p. 259.

The Hatfield list suggests that marriage was the reason for the removal of some of the descendants of Hatfield *geburas* to other parts of the country. Seven of those who left Hatfield (Deorswith [f], Lulle [f], Tate [f], Wærstan, Wærthryth [f], and probably Dunne [f] and Buge [f]) are directly or indirectly recorded as married to persons elsewhere and it is reasonable to deduce that marriage was the cause of their departure from the estate. Deorswith's sister married her husband's brother; since Deorswith moved to Datchworth, it is probable that her sister moved there as well. Significantly, there is but a single male among this group (and he and his sister married siblings). Considered from an anthropological point of view, the number of women migrating suggests that a patrilocal kinship system obtained among the peasantry, though the example of Wærstan above and of Deornoth, who is discussed in the next paragraph, shows that the system was not rigid. Patrilocal kinship is well suited to a farming community.<sup>24</sup>

Marriage will not account for all the departures from Hatfield. There is, for instance, no record of the marital status of Duding, Ceolmund and Æthelheah at Walden; of Deornoth at Munden; of Dudde (f) at Wymondley; of Manna at Watton; or of Deorwulf and his two sisters at Essendon. Of these, Deornoth is recorded as living at Munden with his brother-in-law, Cyneweald, and Manna is reported as being at Watton 'under' Eadweald. The most plausible explanation for this is that they moved in order to provide the necessary labour to extend the arable: this would explain why a whole kin group, Deorwulf and his two sisters, took themselves off to Essendon. Evidence from other sources shows that this is at least a justifiable, if speculative, interpretation. For an indication that serfs themselves had men who worked for them, one has to turn to what is admittedly a rather late source, the *Liber Niger* of Peterborough Abbey, compiled between 1116 and 1125. Among the various categories of workers on Peterborough's estates were some called *undersetes*, an English word not otherwise attested in the sources. It is clear that these men worked 'under' *villani* on the estates.<sup>25</sup> Since the *geburas* normally engaged in mixed farming on their thirty acres of land, the need for additional helpers is not surprising.

That some of these persons decided to move, not just to work with or under someone else, but also because they had the opportunity quite literally to break new ground, is also a real possibility. There are two sources that suggest that this is what some *geburas* did. The first provides rather tenuous evidence. In

<sup>24</sup> For the terminology, see Robin Fox, *Kinship and Marriage: An Anthropological Perspective* (Harmondsworth, 1967), pp. 81-82 (Case 3) and 84-85.

<sup>25</sup> *Liber Niger monasterii sancti Petri de Burgo*, ed. Thomas Stapleton, in *Chronicon petrobургense* (Camden Society, Publications 47; London, 1849), p. 166.

one of the versions of an alleged Abingdon charter, there is mention of Welford 'mid heora geburatumum', which is glossed 'id est cum appendiciis suis'.<sup>26</sup> The charter (the body of which is in Latin) would, if genuine, date from 821, but was considered by Stenton to be spurious.<sup>27</sup> Yet it seems to be based on early material for it mentions a number of place-names that have since been lost. N. P. Brooks considers it to be the work of a pre-Conquest rather than a post-Conquest forger who was possibly drawing on a ninth-century charter of immunity. If he is correct, the reference to Welford then suggests that it dates from after the tenth-century reform and should probably be ascribed, like other *pancartae* forged for Anglo-Saxon reformed monasteries, to the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century.<sup>28</sup> But it does indicate that *geburas* were living as a group at some point on *appendicii*, which suggests that these were perhaps outlying lands that had been allotted to them to develop. More direct evidence that this happened occurs in Domesday Book, where it is mentioned that there were thirty acres of land that had been worked 'in firma regis' by a *colibertus* 'in the forest' in Hampshire. This was clearly an assart which happened to receive mention in Domesday Book because the lordship of the land had come into dispute.<sup>29</sup>

Overlords as well as serfs could promote mobility. It is apparent that in the tenth century landowners were showing considerable flexibility in their use of land and labour. This seems to have included the release of increasingly large numbers of slaves and the working of the demesne by tenant farmers.<sup>30</sup> An

<sup>26</sup> British Library ms. Cotton Claudius B.vi, fol. 9v, a cartulary of the late thirteenth century according to Godfrey R. C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain: A Short Catalogue* (London, 1958), p. 2, no. 4. The charter is no. 183 in Peter H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography* (Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 8; London, 1968) (hereafter cited as Sawyer, *Charters*). The text of the Old English phrase as printed by Walter de G. Birch, *Cartularium saxonicum*, 3 vols. and index (London, 1885-99), 1.505-506, no. 366, at p. 506 n. 4, is clearly wrong. I have quoted the reading given in Margaret Gelling, *The Early Charters of the Thames Valley* (Studies in Early English History 7; Leicester, 1979), p. 26, no. 18.

<sup>27</sup> Frank M. Stenton, *The Early History of the Abbey of Abingdon* (Reading, 1913), p. 23.

<sup>28</sup> On its authenticity, see Gelling, *The Early Charters*, pp. 26-27. I owe this reference and the suggestion of the date to the (unnamed) referee of this paper.

<sup>29</sup> *Domesday Book*, ed. Abraham Farley et al., 2 vols. (Record Commission; London, 1783), 1.50b; cf. Pelteret, 'The Coliberti', 46. S. P. J. Harvey suggests that the bordars in Domesday Book were a group that was particularly involved in the expansion of cultivated land ('Evidence for Settlement Study: Domesday Book' in *Medieval Settlement: Continuity and Change*, ed. Peter H. Sawyer [London, 1976], pp. 195-99 at pp. 197-99). Christopher Dyer discusses the existence of settlements of peasants dependent upon towns in 'Towns and Cottages in Eleventh-Century England' in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. H. C. Davis*, ed. Henry Mayr-Harting and R. I. Moore (London-Ronceverte, West Va., 1985), pp. 91-106.

<sup>30</sup> David A. E. Pelteret, *Late Anglo-Saxon Slavery: An Interdisciplinary Approach to the Various Forms of Evidence* (Diss. Toronto, 1976), p. 197 and Table 4, 'Slaves freed in the Wills'; on *geburas* working the demesne, see Pelteret, 'The Coliberti', 47-48.

owner might not always have wished to retain all the men resident on his estate. Expanding population, improved technology or changing land-use patterns could lead to his having a superfluity of manpower whom he might be only too glad to see move elsewhere. The manor of Hatfield was noted for being well wooded. Though Domesday Book reveals an increase in the arable immediately after the Conquest, the abbey of Ely in the late tenth century may have felt that it was in its interests to retain its woodland for both its timber and its pannage. If the numbers living on the estate increased and there was to be no increase in the arable, departures from the manor would have been the only feasible way of releasing the population pressure.

Landlords could also have reason to increase their manpower, especially if they set about reorganizing their holdings. It is interesting to note that of the settlements mentioned in the list, manors at Clavering and Great Wymondley were owned by Sveinn of Essex in 1066, at Essendon and St. Paul's Walden by St. Albans Abbey, and at Datchworth and Watton-at-Stone by St. Peter's Abbey, Westminster.<sup>31</sup> Unfortunately, we cannot trace the sources of Sveinn's estates back to the tenth century but we must at least allow for the possibility that they were acquired by one person or institution in that century or earlier.<sup>32</sup> St. Albans seems to have acquired St. Paul's Walden at the end of the ninth century and Essendon probably in the tenth.<sup>33</sup> Westminster was granted both of its estates by King Edgar (959-975).<sup>34</sup> Æthelgifu's will, which dates from c. 990, grants half of an estate at Munden to Welwyn 'minster' after the death of the legatee, thus also establishing a link between properties in these two places. The acquisition of several estates may well have acted as an incentive to a dynamic overlord to seek labourers to develop them as a group.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>31</sup> *Domesday Book* 2.46b (Clavering), 1.141b (Great Wymondley), 135b (St. Paul's Walden), 135a (Watton-at-Stone and Datchworth). London, British Library ms. Cotton Nero D.vii, fol. 90r, records the gift of a manor at Essendon to St. Albans, but nothing further is recorded about the monastery's having any such holding there. Essendon is not mentioned in Domesday Book.

<sup>32</sup> Edward A. Freeman, *History of the Norman Conquest*, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1867-79), 4.734-36 (2nd edition), and J. Horace Round, 'The Domesday Survey' in *The Victoria History of the County of Essex* (Victoria History of the Counties of England [hereafter cited as VCH]; London, 1903), 1.345-46, both discuss Sveinn.

<sup>33</sup> The grant of Walden (which might, however, be Abbot's Walden) is no. 220 in Sawyer, *Charters*. See further, VCH *Hertfordshire* 2.405. The probable date of the Essendon grant is that suggested by Eleanor J. B. Reid in VCH *Hertfordshire* 3.459.

<sup>34</sup> The charter granting Westminster its lands is spurious (Sawyer, *ibid.*, no. 774), but the traditions it embodies may be genuine. See Florence E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (Manchester, 1952), pp. 337-39, and Barbara Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and Its Estates in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 23-24 and n. 1, and p. 346.

<sup>35</sup> *The Will of Æthelgifu: A Tenth Century Anglo-Saxon Manuscript*, ed. Dorothy Whitelock et al. (Roxburghe Club; Oxford, 1968), pp. 8 and 9, lines 19-24, and p. 67.

As for family size, one must allow for the fact that the list is incomplete because it is primarily concerned with the living descendants of Hatfield serfs who had moved elsewhere. Those who remained at Hatfield and their descendants in collateral lines are thus not likely to be mentioned. And among serfs who had moved, there may be some recorded who were not yet of an age to produce children. There are thirteen family groups that are listed.<sup>36</sup> It is possible that this number should be reduced to eight. The name Wifhusu appears three times; there is a daughter called Dudde and also a son named Duding. The last name is a patronymic. The list also records a Dudda who had three (named) daughters. It is highly probable that Wifhusu was Dudda's wife. It was perhaps Dudda's second marriage, which would explain why the three daughters are mentioned separately from Dudde and Duding. If this is so, stemmata 1, 3, and 10 should be merged. The name Wærstan also appears twice (stemmata 7 and 8) and may refer to the same person. The possibility must also be entertained that Cenweald/Cyneweald refers to one person (stemmata 6, 9, and 11, and see Appendix 1, 1.C.1 below), and the common name-elements Tate (f), Cyne- and Deor- may even indicate that stemma 13 should be linked with 6 and 9. Of these family groups a single offspring in the latest generation is recorded for Dunne, Seoloe, Tate, Wærlaf, Cyneweald (stemma 11), Eadugu, and Tiliwine. In the case of the penultimate generation listed, Hwite the beekeeper, Cynehelm, and Herethryth are the only children recorded, and only a single child is recorded in the three generations preceding the father of Wærstan, Wæthryth, and Wynburg. Because of the qualifications mentioned, these are probably highly misleading indicators of fertility. Tate, possibly Wifhusu, the unnamed parent of Tate and Cyneweald (stemma 6), Dunne, the grandparents of Dryhtlaf and Æthelwyn and of Deorwulf all had at least two children. Four of these had one son and one daughter. Dudda had three daughters (and possibly another daughter and a son); the grandchild of Hwite and Cyneburh both had a son and two daughters; Buge had no less than five children, three daughters and two sons, and one of her children had three offspring, all sons.

The same principles of name-giving employed by the aristocracy seem to have been followed by the *geburas*. The use of alliteration and the employment of the same first or second element for siblings with dithematic names were widespread among the Germanic-speaking peoples and can be found in this text.<sup>37</sup> Two of the daughters of Dudda were named Deorwyn and Deorswith;

<sup>36</sup> For the discussion that follows, see Table 1 (pp. 477-79 above). This differs in some details from the stemmata provided by Henry B. Woolf in *The Old Germanic Principles of Name-Giving* (Baltimore, 1939), p. 140.

<sup>37</sup> George T. Flom, 'Alliteration and Variation in Old Germanic Name-Giving', *Modern Language Notes* 32 (1917) 7-17; Woolf, *ibid*.

the latter's husband Ælfstan had a brother Ealhstan; Hwite's great-grandchildren were Wærstan, Wærthryth and Wynburg, where the first two names share the same initial element and the last alliterates with the other two; Dunne's children were called Deornoth and Deorwyn; two of Æthelgyth's children were called Ceolhelm and Ceolstan, while the third, Manwine, had the same first element in his name as his maternal uncle, Tiliwine; Cenweald's father was called Cynehelm (see Appendix 1, 1.C.1 below); and finally, one may assume that Cyneburh's brother was Cyneric of Clavering. The above examples show that alliteration and common elements were used for male and female alike.<sup>38</sup> Initial assonance as a principle in the choice of names is to be seen in three of the names of Buge's five children, Æthelwyn, Eadugu and Æthelgyth. There are quite a few monothematic names: Brada, Buge/Buhe, Dudde (f), Golde (f), Hwita, Hwite (f), Lulle (f), Mæg, Manna, Tate (f) and Win(n)e. Until a more reliable onomasticon than Searle's is available, however, it would be unwise to assert that the use of monothematic names is more characteristic of the peasantry than the nobility.<sup>39</sup> There is one patronymic, Duding; Dudde may have been his sister. Of the names listed, Deorwyn, Dryhtlaf, Dudde, Eadugu, Golde, Mæg, Seoloe, and Wifhusu do not appear to be recorded in any other Anglo-Saxon source.

From the evidence analyzed so far the following conclusions may be drawn. Among the non-slave peasantry there was a fair measure of geographic mobility in spite of customary obligations that would tend to inhibit such movement. It could be in the interests of both the peasantry and their overlords for such mobility to occur. In the case of the peasants, marriage would have provided an incentive to movement and among the more ambitious the possibility of developing assarts and/or the more intensive farming of land with the aid of kinsmen would have made departure from an existing estate attractive. The interests of the ambitious would, of course, have coincided with

<sup>38</sup> The principles behind the giving of names to Anglo-Saxon women are examined by Henry B. Woolf in 'The Naming of Women in Old English Times', *Modern Philology* 36 (1938-39) 113-20.

<sup>39</sup> Since I wrote the above, Dr. Alexander R. Rumble has kindly sent me his paper, 'The Status of Written Sources in English Onomastics', *Nomina* 8 (1984) 41-56, where on p. 50 he also notes the alliteration and common elements in the names in this text. He includes in his list Buge and her daughter Eadugu, whose names share a common syllable. So far as I know, no one has investigated whether the use of common syllables was employed in the giving of names within a kin group. See Appendix 2 for an analysis of the names and n. 99 below for references to monographs on Anglo-Saxon onomastics. For current research on Anglo-Saxon names, see the *Forschungsberichte* of Herbert Voigt, 'Die englische Personennamenkunde: ein Forschungsbericht', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 199 (1963) 158-67 and 200 (1964) 108-18, 436-50, and 'Die englischen Personennamen: der Fortgang ihrer Erforschung in den letzten zwölf Jahren', *ibid.* 213 (1976) 47-60, and the journal *Nomina*.

innovative landlords who might have wanted the arable extended. On the other hand, there would also have been overlords who in reorganizing the use of manpower on their estates found themselves with a surplus of people; it would have been to their advantage to encourage the latter to leave (while attempting to retain their rights in them by prudently keeping a record of where they moved to). No statistically valid conclusions can be drawn about family size. A large number of single children are recorded in the latest generation but that might be a factor of the age of the parents. A number of families had at least two children, and one had as many as five, well above the replacement level of the population. As for the principles of name-giving, the peasantry show no discernible difference from the aristocratic levels of Anglo-Saxon society.

In order to deduce further evidence from this text, it is necessary to understand the purpose of this document and the significance of its contents. Here we must turn to an examination of the history of the estate at Bishop's Hatfield.

Hatfield was, as has already been mentioned, in a wooded area in the south of Hertfordshire. The *Liber Eliensis* explains that King Edgar granted Ely Abbey forty hides of land there because its timber could be used for building the monastic church and satisfying other needs of its monks.<sup>40</sup> Food for the monastic table was undoubtedly one of these needs. The woods of Hatfield were well suited for providing pannage for pigs, which formed an important part of the estate;<sup>41</sup> the Hatfield list mentions that one of the serfs, Wærstan, kept a herd of grey pigs. King Edgar had received the property from one Ordmer and his wife Ælthe on their deaths.<sup>42</sup> The abbey held the land without contest during Edgar's lifetime, but during the period of the anti-monastic reaction following Edgar's death in 975, Æthelwine (ealdorman of East Anglia from c. 962 to 992 and son of Athelstan 'Half King') claimed the property in concert with his brothers.<sup>43</sup> The grounds for this action were that Æthelwine's

<sup>40</sup> 'quia saltuosa regio erat ibi, materiam ad opus ecclesie satisque lignorum suos usus ad explendos fratres inde habere possent' (*Liber Eliensis* 2.7, ed. E. O. Blake [Royal Historical Society, Camden 3rd Ser., 92; London, 1962], p. 79 and cf. Appendix D.3, pp. 419-20).

<sup>41</sup> Edward Miller, *The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely: The Social History of an Ecclesiastical Estate from the Tenth Century to the Early Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, N.S. 1; Cambridge, 1951), p. 79.

<sup>42</sup> Blake, *Liber Eliensis*, p. 79 n. 6, suggests that this may be the Ordmer who was the father of Edgar's first wife, Æthelflæd. See William of Malmesbury, *De gestis regum Anglorum* 2.159, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols. (RS 90; London, 1887-89), 1.180.

<sup>43</sup> For a general background to this period, see D. J. V. Fisher, 'The Anti-Monastic Reaction in the Reign of Edward the Martyr', *Cambridge Historical Journal* 10 (1950-52) 254-70 and Eric John, 'War and Society in the Tenth Century: The Maldon Campaign', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Ser., 27 (1977) 173-95, especially pp. 176-80. On Athelstan and his son, see Cyril Hart, 'Athelstan "Half-King" and His Family', *Anglo-Saxon England* 2 (1973) 115-44.

father had received the land in Hertford in return for his patrimony in Devon but King Edgar had seized it. The monks, realizing that they would be short of wood, made an agreement with Æthelwine to exchange forty-one hides at Hemingford Abbots, Wennington and Yelling in Huntingdonshire in return for the Hatfield estate.<sup>44</sup> This transaction must have taken place between 975, the year of Edgar's death, and 983, when an ealdorman mentioned in the *Liber Eliensis* chapter on the Hatfield dispute died.<sup>45</sup>

The anti-monastic reaction underlined the importance of keeping careful records if a monastery was to hold on to its property, be it lands or men. The need to keep track of those who were born on its lands and thus had legal ties with the Abbey comes out in another dispute whose details are preserved in the *Liber Eliensis*.<sup>46</sup> It is perhaps not coincidental that this matter also concerns the Hatfield estate. The story is a complicated one, and it will be necessary to take our leave of Hatfield for a little while in order to understand the issues and the personalities involved.

Ely was one of several monastic houses re-established by St. Æthelwold in the reign of Edgar, and it benefited from the bishop's diligent acquisition of property. One such holding consisted of two streams and a hide of land at Mardleybury, Hertfordshire. This, the *Liber Eliensis* tells us, was bought for twenty *aurei* from a certain Ælfweald.<sup>47</sup> The transaction took place in the presence of the citizenry of Cambridge and Ælfweald provided two sureties, presumably to guarantee that he had good title to the land. Bishop Æthelwold must then presumably have made over the land to Ely, though this is not explicitly stated. On the death of Edgar Ælfweald broke this agreement, as so many others did at this time. His excuse was that 'he had been coerced into this [transaction] and that force and rapine had been brought to bear on him';<sup>48</sup> he was willing to return the money he had received in return for the land.

The abbot of Ely at this time was Brihtnoth, a disciple and appointee of Æthelwold. He was an energetic prelate, who vigorously advanced the interests of his house: Ælfric, the abbot of Eynsham, mentions that 'he enriched it very

<sup>44</sup> Based on Domesday Book values, the estates (excluding Wennington, for which no value is recorded) were worth £27/10/- over against the £25 for Hatfield. See Blake, *Liber Eliensis*, p. 420. Ann Williams has an illuminating discussion of the political circumstances that led to the case's being heard at Slaughter in Gloucestershire in her paper, 'Elfhere, Ealdorman of Mercia, 956-83', *Anglo-Saxon England* 10 (1982 for 1981) 164-66.

<sup>45</sup> Blake, *Liber Eliensis*, p. 419.

<sup>46</sup> *Liber Eliensis* 2.10 (pp. 82-84).

<sup>47</sup> Hart suggests a date of c. 971 for the transfer. See Cyril R. Hart, *The Early Charters of Eastern England* (Studies in Early English History 5; Leicester, 1966), p. 215, no. 170.

<sup>48</sup> 'dicens se coactum ad hoc fuisse et vim ac rapinam sibi illatum esse' (*Liber Eliensis* 2.10 [p. 83]).

abundantly with buildings and lands'.<sup>49</sup> He was not one to let Ælfweald's claim go unchallenged.

The dispute was adjudicated at Hertford, at first sight a surprising location, given that the original transaction had been witnessed by men from Cambridge. The reason for hearing the dispute there becomes evident from Brihtnoth's counterclaim which brings Hatfield back into the story. He declared that Ælfweald's wife and children had been *innati* of Hatfield and that in order for Ælfweald to have them 'free and without claim' the latter had sold the land to the bishop in return for twenty pounds. We note that Brihtnoth did not call Ælfweald's spouse and offspring 'slaves' (*servi*) of Hatfield but *innati*, a precise Latin translation of the Old English *inbyrde*, which occurs in the Hatfield list under examination. The Old English word appears to mean 'those having legal ties with an estate through their birth there'. In the Hatfield list the word is used in association with *gebur*, so it is reasonable to assume that Ælfweald's family held this status.<sup>50</sup> The freedom that he was alleged to have sought for them through the sale of his land, therefore, was the release from any legal obligation (presumably labour services) that they had incurred through being born on the Hatfield estate. This explains why the case was heard at Hertford: Brihtnoth's case hinged on the alleged willingness of Ælfweald to enter into the transaction, but this in turn depended on his having a motive for the sale. The motive, Brihtnoth evidently argued, lay in Ælfweald's desire to change his wife's status, which was known in Hertford. According to the *Liber Eliensis* account, Ælfweald began to desist on hearing Brihtnoth's plea. We are entitled to a certain measure of scepticism here: after all, the Ely reporter did not want the saintly founder of his institution to appear to have engaged in blackmail in order to acquire the property. It seems unlikely, in fact, that Ælfweald was cowed in the face of this alleged evidence in that the result of the case was that Brihtnoth paid him an additional forty gold *solidi* (i.e., shillings) for the land.<sup>51</sup> Two representatives of the abbot handed over the money to two sons of

<sup>49</sup> 'locum ... affluentissime ditavit edificiis ac terris' (*Three Lives of English Saints*, ed. Michael Winterbottom [Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 1; Toronto, 1972], p. 24, c. 17, lines 9-10 [fol. 78r]).

<sup>50</sup> The word occurs in one other text, a Winchester charter of A.D. 902 (Sawyer, *Charters*, no. 1285), printed in Florence E. Harmer, *Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1914), pp. 29 and 60 (text and translation), where it appears at line 17 in the phrase *þa inberðan menn* in association with *burbærde* 'boor-born' (line 22). I have argued in *Late Anglo-Saxon Slavery*, p. 290, that in this context it also refers to *geburas*.

<sup>51</sup> This appears to be a measure of weight rather than a monetary unit. Reckoned at 20 shillings to the pound, the payment by Brihtnoth thus amounted to two pounds of gold. Pamela Nightingale in 'The Ora, the Mark, and the Mancus: Weight-Standards and the Coinage in Eleventh-Century England, Part 2', *Numismatic Chronicle* 144 (1984) 234-48, at p. 235, has argued that the English pound in the tenth century weighed 367.5 g. Brihtnoth's settlement therefore amounted to .735 kg of gold. For shillings of gold, see *ibid.*, pp. 236-37.

Ælfweald, Ælfwine and Æthelmær, in the presence of several leading persons of the shire. It thus looks as if the abbot's claims were not convincing and that Ælfweald had received rather a raw deal in the original transaction.

The names of Ælfweald's two sons do not appear in the Hatfield list and the name of their mother is not recorded, so it cannot be argued that this list was used in the dispute as evidence. The existence of the dispute, however, would certainly explain why such a list was compiled. It is apparent that Ælfweald's wife was no longer at Hatfield at the time of the court case. The abbey's evident failure to prove that she had originally come from there and had legal ties with the estate had cost them money. Written evidence of her status might have carried weight. Thus a list of others who, like her, had moved elsewhere was a useful insurance policy in the event of another dispute arising in the future – and since the descent of the Hatfield estate itself had been a source of litigation, the wisdom of this is doubly apparent. The controversy over Ælfweald's land thus provides a motivation for the compilation of the Hatfield list. The legal case must have taken place some time between Edgar's death in 975 and Brihtnoth's in 996, presumably nearer the earlier date but after Ely had assured itself of its possession of the Hatfield estate; a date of c. 980 would be plausible. This is not incompatible with Ker's ascription of the document to the turn of the tenth century, given the imprecision inevitably attendant upon palaeographical dating.<sup>52</sup>

If it be correct that this document lists persons in whom Ely possessed rights in virtue of the birth of an ancestor on Ely property, the question naturally arises as to whether this right extended to descendants through the male or the female line – or both. A close examination of the stemmata provided in Table 1 shows that such claims must have been made over descendants of both sexes. The first family to be mentioned in the list descended from a male *gebur* named Dudda and the four families at Walden also had male ancestors who had been attached to Hatfield. On the other hand, the large clan living at Essendon (five siblings with five named children) all descended from a woman called Buge who first settled there (*afaren into Eslingadene*). This is not out of line with anthropological studies of Germanic society in general and the Anglo-Saxons in particular. Stephen B. Barlau in his study of Germanic kinship terminology has shown that in the historical period Germanic societies have been based primarily on the kindred, an ego-based group bounded usually by a well-defined line of ancestors and collateral relatives.<sup>53</sup> Lorraine Lancaster has illustrated how Anglo-Saxon society had a bilateral or cognatic kinship system

<sup>52</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 36, no. 22.

<sup>53</sup> Stephen B. Barlau, 'An Outline of Germanic Kinship', *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 4 (1976) 97-130, at p. 99.

(defined by her as '[one] in which descent from ancestors and affiliation to a set of kinsmen may be traced through both females and males').<sup>54</sup> The practice in Anglo-Saxon society of giving children names with elements derived from males or females related to either parent supports this.<sup>55</sup> The contradictory evidence on the legal status of the descendants of mixed marriages between slaves and free persons also suggests that neither sex was preferred over the other in matters of descent. The *Confessionale Pseudo-Egberti*, an English vernacular penitential derived from Continental sources and extant in a version from the third quarter of the tenth century, states that the offspring of a slave woman remained a slave even if his free father liberated the wife.<sup>56</sup> On the other hand, the *Leges Henrici Primi*, a compilation completed probably between 1116 and 1118 but based on Anglo-Saxon sources,<sup>57</sup> lays down that slaves by birth acquired their status from their fathers.<sup>58</sup> In this it accords with the eighth-century *Poenitential Theodori*, which is also of Anglo-Saxon origin.<sup>59</sup> The sources give no indication of how disputes between two parties claiming rights in the same person were resolved.<sup>60</sup>

We should note that the Hatfield list is presented not from the point of view of the peasantry concerned but from that of a ruling group. That Anglo-Saxon society was in general based on a cognatic kinship system thus worked in favour of the subjugation of the peasantry into serfdom, since claims potentially could be made by an overlord on the descendants of both males and females holding *gebur* status. It should also be observed that in tracing back one of these groups to a *þridde modor*, the abbey of Ely was not transgressing the bounds of

<sup>54</sup> Lorraine Lancaster, 'Kinship in Anglo-Saxon Society', *The British Journal of Sociology* 9 (1958) 230-50, 359-77, at p. 232.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. above, pp. 484-85, especially Manwine (stemma 12).

<sup>56</sup> *Das altenglische Bussbuch (sog. Confessionale Pseudo-Egberti)*, ed. Robert Spindler (Leipzig, 1934), p. 182, 16.d, lines 223-24. For the practice of penance in England and penitential texts in use there, see Allen J. Frantzen, *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1983) and 'The Tradition of Penitentials in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England* 11 (1983 for 1982) 23-56. The *Confessionale* is discussed on pp. 133-39 and 40-45 respectively.

<sup>57</sup> *Leges Henrici Primi*, ed. and trans. L. J. Downer (Oxford, 1972), pp. 34-37.

<sup>58</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 242-43, c. 77.

<sup>59</sup> *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. Arthur W. Haddan and William Stubbs, 3 vols. in 4 (Oxford, 1869-78), 3.173-204. On the date, sources and influence of this text, see Frantzen, *The Literature of Penance*, pp. 63-69, and 'The Tradition of Penitentials', 27-30; on its contents, see Margaret Deansley, *The Pre-Conquest Church in England*, 2nd edition (An Ecclesiastical History of England 1; London, 1963), pp. 126-30.

<sup>60</sup> Thirteenth-century practice concerning villeins is not relevant as is evident from Paul R. Hyams' study, *Kings, Lords and Peasants in Medieval England: The Common Law of Villeinage in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Oxford Historical Monographs; Oxford, 1980), especially chap. 13.

Anglo-Saxon kinship terminology, which extended to the *fifte modor* and the *sixta fæder* (great-great-great-great-grandfather).<sup>61</sup>

Since *geburas* were not slaves (*þeowas*), they were technically free men in terms of the tribal laws. The existence of controls over those who were supposedly free naturally poses the question as to when such restrictions started to be imposed. The Hatfield list is able to provide an approximate *terminus ante quem*. In the case of the siblings Wærstan, Wærthryth and Wynburg (stemma 8), Ely claimed rights in the family through their association with Hatfield back over five generations. Since two members of the latest generation were married, it is obvious that the personal restrictions characteristic of a manorial economy were already evident in the latter part of the ninth century at the latest, even if it is assumed that there were as many as four generations to a century at this period.

Should the Hatfield list be seen as exceptional? Hardly. With the accumulation of land that had started in the ninth century and expanded considerably in the time of the monastic reforms under Edgar, there must have been a large number of administrative records made by prudent and well-organized landowners. Since most were of an ephemeral nature, it was inevitable that the majority would fall victim to the vagaries of history and not survive. Yet a few early lists of peasants have been preserved. The best examples come from after the Conquest, as might be expected: witness the lists of names with the respective dues owing in British Library ms. Cotton Vespasian B.xxiv, an Evesham Abbey cartulary of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century but containing earlier documents.<sup>62</sup> Two late ninth-century records suggest that lists were of wide provenance and served varied purposes. The first claims to record an act of A.D. 880 that involved the transfer of land to the Oxfordshire church of Pyrton. Preceding the bounds the document states: 'These were the names of the men who were granted in writing from Bensington to Pyrton in the diocese of Worcester with their family and that progeny which descends from them, for an everlasting possession: Ealhmund, Tidwulf, Tidheah, Lull, Lull, Eadwulf.'<sup>63</sup> A second document of A.D. 889

<sup>61</sup> Lancaster, 'Kinship', 236. It is interesting to note that Anglo-Saxon monarchs fostered for their families something more akin to the Omaha system by claiming descent from a mythical ancestor such as Woden, thus preserving their special status. (See Kenneth Sisam, 'Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 39 [1953] 287-348 and Floyd G. Lounsbury, 'A Formal Account of the Crow- and Omaha-Type Kinship Terminologies' in *Explorations in Cultural Anthropology: Essays in Honor of George Peter Murdock*, ed. Ward G. Goodenough [New York, 1964], pp. 351-93.)

<sup>62</sup> Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*, p. 44, no. 381.

<sup>63</sup> 'Þis earon þara manna noman þe gewritene earon from Bynsincgtune to Readanoran in ƿ bisceoprice to Uueorgerna cestre mid heara teame 7 mid þy tudre þe from him cume a on ece yrfewardnysse. Alhmund. Tidulf. Tidheh. Lull. Lull. Eaduulf' (Birch, *Cartularium saxonicum*

records the lease by the bishop of Worcester to an ecclesiastical community of land in Gloucestershire 'with the men attached to it whose names have been written a little below'.<sup>64</sup> The ephemeral nature of such records is underlined in the latter document since the promised list is not forthcoming in the extant text. The contents of these two lists are not irrelevant to our examination of the Hatfield document. They mention 'men', not 'slaves', yet refer to them in possessory terms. There is no reason to believe that these men were slaves, any more than the *homines* mentioned by twelfth-century landlords were. These two lists are found in documents dealing with the transfer of land; clearly possession of that land bestowed rights in the persons living there. The 'men' concerned were thus essentially serfs. Their ambiguous status placed the overlord in a potentially weak position: they could always move or deny that the overlord possessed any rights in them. Prudence, therefore, dictated that the names of these persons should be recorded. The existence of these two ninth-century lists lends support in all respects to our interpretation of the Hatfield document.

## 2. ROCHESTER, CATHEDRAL LIBRARY A.3.5, fol. 162r-v

The *Textus Roffensis* is a composite volume. The documents to be examined are found in the latter part, which is a cartulary of Rochester Cathedral, written, if one can judge from a list of the archbishops of Canterbury that appears in it, sometime after 1122.<sup>65</sup> The list in question appears on fol. 162r-v. The preceding documents are of no relevance, but the list is followed by a rather unusual quittance-document. This contains the name of one of the persons mentioned in the list, which proves to be germane to its interpretation. The quittance-document has previously been edited but the list has been published only in facsimile form.<sup>66</sup> Ker records the list of serfs in his *Catalogue* but does not mention the quittance-document.<sup>67</sup> Because there is an evident relationship between the two texts, both documents are appended.

2.167, lines 9-12 [Sawyer, *Charters*, no. 217]). If this is authentic, it must date from 887: see *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, ed. William H. Stevenson (Oxford, 1904; rpt. 1959), p. 300. A list of slaves contained in a tenth-century will edited by Dorothy Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Cambridge Studies in English Legal History; Cambridge, 1930, rpt. New York, 1973), pp. 12-14, no. 3 (Sawyer, *Charters*, no. 1539) is printed with a translation and commentary by Rumble, 'Status of Written Sources', 50-51.

<sup>64</sup> 'cum hominibus ad illam pertinentibus quarum [sic] Nomina pau < lis > p < er > inferius scripta sunt' (Birch, *Cartularium saxonicum* 2.198, lines 1-2 [Sawyer, *Charters*, no. 1415]).

<sup>65</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 446, no. 373A.38 and p. 447.

<sup>66</sup> Kemble, *Codex diplomaticus* 4.305, no. 975 (text); Thorpe, *Diplomatarium*, p. 644 (text and translation); Sawyer, *Textus Roffensis* (cited above, p. 471 and n. 6).

<sup>67</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 446, no. 373B.

*Texts*<sup>68</sup>

- + Þis wæron ða æhtemen into Wuldaham 7 heora ofspring . Ðas man dyde  
 þider of Æglesforda . Tottel . 7 Eadwig his broðor . 7 heora ofteam . 7 Tottes  
 suster 7 hire cild . 7 his suster dohtor 7 hire twa cild . Ðas coman suðan of  
 Cincestune . Æpelflæd 7 hire cild ; 7 of Æglesforda . Sigburh 7 hire cild . 7  
 5 Garwig 7 his wif . 7 Boia 7 his wif . 7 Guðhelm 7 his wif . 7 heora ofteam ; 7  
 þas coman of Cealce . Bunel 7 his wif . 7 Hidda 7 his wif . 7 Noðbald . 7 his wif  
 . 7 heora ofteam ; Ða gebohte Ælfstan þ land Ælfehes fæder æt Eadmunde cince  
 mid eallum ðam þe ðaron stod on ece yrfe mid hundtwelftigan mancesan goldes  
 . 7 mid prittigan pundan ;  
 10 + Her geswutelap on þisum gewrite þæt Ægelsi on Wuldeham hæfð gelened be  
 Siwordes dægge bispes his dohter 7 hiore dohter ut of Tottes cynne . 7 hæfð  
 oþra mænn þærinn gedon be þære burhwara gewitnysse on Hrouecæstre . 7 be  
 ealle þæs bispes geferan ;

*Translations*

+ These were the *æhtemen* at Wouldham and their offspring. These persons were sent there from Aylesford: Tottel and Eadwig, his brother, and their offspring and Tottel's sister and her child, and his sister's daughter and her two children.<sup>69</sup> These came from the south from Kingston: Æthelflæd and her child. And from Aylesford: Sigeburh and her child, and Garwig and his wife, and Boia and his wife, and Guthhelm and his wife and their offspring. And these came from Chalk: Bunel and his wife, and Hidda and his wife, and Nothbeald and his wife and their offspring. Then Ælfstan, Ælfheah's father, bought the land from King Eadmund together with all the things which were there as an eternal possession, for 120 mancuses of gold and thirty pounds.<sup>70</sup>

+ Here is published in this document that Æthelsige at Wouldham has lent for Bishop Sigeward's lifetime his daughter and her daughter from Tottel's kin, and has placed other persons in there, in the presence of the burgesses at Rochester, and all the companions of the bishop.

<sup>68</sup> For textual conventions, see n. 11 above.

<sup>69</sup> I have taken 'cild' to be singular and 'ofteam' to indicate two children. The reference to 'twa cild' in line 3 suggests that the first is a correct assumption; that 'ofteam' refers, however, only to two children is probably far too conservative. I have taken 'heora ofteam' in line 5 to refer only to the children of Guthhelm and his wife, and the same phrase in line 7 to indicate those of Nothbald and his spouse, whereas the phrase may well embrace the children of other couples mentioned in lines 4-6.

<sup>70</sup> If Pamela Nightingale is correct in her view that the gold mancus weighed just over 4.5 g, this payment then amounted to over half a kilo of gold and 11 kgs of silver. See Nightingale, 'The Ora, the Mark, and the Mancus', 237.

The Wouldham list can be seen to consist of two unrelated parts. The first and major portion names a number of *æhtemen* and gives their geographic origins. The second part, starting with the words 'pa gebohte', records a land transaction involving the Wouldham estate. The latter clearly has no connection with the former: the syntax indicates that 'pa' must be translated as 'then' rather than 'when', indicating that this sentence has no syntactic connection with the list that precedes it.<sup>71</sup> The scribe of the Textus Roffensis seems to have recognized that there was a break here as he has partly rubricated the thorn in the word 'pa'. In addition to these syntactic and textual indications that an early document was being drawn on here, one might also note that the mancus of gold, a regular weight measure in the tenth century, does not appear in charters and wills after c. 1020.<sup>72</sup> It will be convenient to examine this reference to the land transaction first, then examine the quittance-document, and finally return to the list itself.

It is fortunate that this fragment of the history of the Wouldham estate can be placed in context by means of a vernacular document (now London, British Library Cotton Charter VIII.20) that relates the history of the estate from the time when it was first granted by Æthelberht II of Kent (748-762) to the time of Archbishop Dunstan (964 × 988).<sup>73</sup> The charter describes how the estate came into the hands of St. Andrew's, Rochester. One Ælfheah leased the estate first to his brother, then to his brother's wife, and then to the latter's son, Ælfheah's nephew, Eadric. On Eadric's death, Ælfheah leased it to Eadric's widow, but when Ælfheah fell ill he made a will in the presence of Archbishop Dunstan in which he bequeathed Wouldham to St. Andrew's. But Eadric's widow had remarried and her husband, Leofsunu, took possession of the estate and was ousted only after Dunstan had brought a legal action against him. Copies of Eadric's testament were held by his widow, Christ Church, Canterbury, and St. Andrew's, Rochester, and this written evidence was used by Dunstan in the process of proving title to the property.

None of these three copies survives but a close examination of the Cotton charter and the final sentence in the Wouldham list reveals that there are striking verbal parallels between them. The relevant portion of the charter reads (with common phrases italicized) as follows: 'ða gebohte hit *Ælfstan Heahstaninc æt ðæm cince mid hundtwelfstigan mancesan goldes. 7 ðrittigan pundan. 7 ðat him sealde mæst eal Ælfheh his sunu. after Eadmunde cince ða*

<sup>71</sup> Bruce Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1984), 2.294 and 296, ¶¶ 2539 and 2543.

<sup>72</sup> Nightingale, 'The Ora, the Mark, and the Mancus', 238.

<sup>73</sup> Sawyer, *Charters*, no. 1458; *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. and trans. Agnes J. Robertson, 2nd edition (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 84-87, no. 41 (text and translation). On the date of the document, see *ibid.*, p. 332.

gebocode hit Eadred cinc Ælfstane *on ece yrfe*.' In spite of the words and phrases that they share, neither document could have been dependent on the other. The Textus Roffensis record, for instance, preserves a common legal phrase not found in the charter, 'mid eallum ðam þe ðaron stod'. The charter, on the other hand, preserves Ælfstan's patronymic, 'Heahstaninc', whereas the Wouldham list refers to Ælfstan as 'Ælfehes fæder'. The shared phraseology, nevertheless, suggests that they were derived from a common source, and the reference to the patronymic in one instance and to Ælfheah's father in the other points to a solution of the problem.

Lying behind these two records must have been not merely the three copies of Ælfheah's testament but also the charter in which King Eadred confirmed King Eadmund's earlier grant to Ælfstan. The reference to Ælfstan 'Heahstaninc' suggests that the writer of the Cotton charter drew on the latter in compiling his history of the Wouldham estate. On the other hand, the Textus Roffensis document was quite possibly drawing on the St. Andrew's copy of Ælfheah's will. This may have included a summary account of Ælfstan's purchase of the land which would have been recounted in Eadred's confirmation, but of course it would have been reported from *Ælfheah's point of view*. In other words, it would have referred to Ælfstan as 'min fæder' or something of the like, which the writer of the Roffensis document simply transformed into the third person 'Ælfehes fæder'. This would explain how both the extant documents have phrases and words in common, yet employ a slightly different word order and contain additions peculiar to themselves. If this explanation is correct, we have imbedded in the Textus Roffensis account a fragment of one of the three lost copies of Ælfheah's will.

This Wouldham estate must have been important to the Cathedral in the eleventh century. The bishopric had been ravaged by Æthelred in 986<sup>74</sup> and the Vikings had subsequently routed a Kentish force there in 999.<sup>75</sup> Since the Cathedral apparently never underwent the monastic revival that a church like Ely had experienced in the tenth century, the absence of evidence for its history in the early eleventh century is probably an indication of its poverty. This was certainly the case when Bishop Sigeweard died. The incumbent of the see from 1058 to 1075, he left on his death but four secular canons reduced to begging

<sup>74</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 986: *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. Charles Plummer, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1892), 1.125 (text); *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. Dorothy Whitelock, David C. Douglas and Susie I. Tucker (London, 1961), p. 81 (translation), from mss. C, D and E. The scanty evidence on Æthelred's relationship with Rochester and its bishop, Ælfstan, is analyzed by Simon Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'The Unready' 978-1016: A Study in Their Use as Historical Evidence* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 3rd Ser., 13; Cambridge, 1980), pp. 178-80.

<sup>75</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 999 (mss. C, D and E): *Two of the Saxon Chronicles* 1.131 (text); *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. Whitelock et al., p. 84 (translation).

for their food.<sup>76</sup> This weakness in the Cathedral finances needs to be remembered when we examine the second document. It records that a woman and her daughter were 'lent' for the duration of Sigeweard's lifetime from Tottel's kin at Wouldham and attests their replacement by others. A Tottel appears in the Wouldham list, and the uniqueness of the name makes it almost certain that the same person is being referred to.<sup>77</sup> On this assumption, since the Wouldham list states that those mentioned (including Tottel and his relatives) are *æhtemen*, one can reasonably postulate that the woman and her daughter who were 'lent' from that kin group held the same status. This will be important in assessing the nature of the second document. Before this can be done, however, it is obviously necessary to investigate quite what the word *æhtemann* denoted in Old English.

The first element of the word is derived ultimately from the verb *agan* 'to own', from which a feminine substantive *æht* developed. *Æht* frequently glosses or is glossed by the Latin word *possessio*; usually it refers to moveable possessions.<sup>78</sup> Twice it is used unambiguously of humans as possessions. The distinction between the two examples is instructive and indeed vital to our understanding of the range of meaning of the word *æhtemann*. The *Poenitential Pseudo-Egberti*, which, as mentioned earlier, is ascribed to the latter half of the tenth century, states in book 2, clause 3: 'Be þam men þe his þeowan ofslyhð for þyðe butan his hundredes gewitnesse. — Gif hwylc man his æht ofslehð, 7 he nane gewitnesse næbbe þæt he forworht sy, butan he hine for his hatheortnesse 7 for his gymleaste ofslyhð, fæste II ger' ('Concerning the man who kills his slave for theft without its being witnessed by the Hundred. If any man slays his *æht*, and he has no witness that he be guilty, except that he slew him because of his anger and carelessness, let him fast for two years').<sup>79</sup> The context clearly shows that the man's possession is a person, and so *æht* is here being used in a secondary sense of 'slave'. This is proved by the corresponding section of Halitgar's *Penitential* on which the *Poenitential Pseudo-Egberti* was based: 'De his qui servos suos extra iudicem necant...: Si quis servum proprium sine conscientia iudicis occiderit, excommunicationem vel poenitentiam biennii reatum sanguinis emundabit.'<sup>80</sup> The second instance is

<sup>76</sup> R. A. L. Smith, 'The Early Community of St. Andrew at Rochester, 604-c. 1080', *English Historical Review* 60 (1945) 299 and n. 1.

<sup>77</sup> On the name, see Appendix 2.

<sup>78</sup> For citations of *æht*, see Richard L. Venezky and Antonette diPaolo Healey, *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English* (Publications of the Dictionary of Old English 1; Toronto, 1980).

<sup>79</sup> For the Old English and Latin texts, see *Die altenglische Version des halitgar'schen Bussbuches* (sog. *Poenitential Pseudo-Egberti*), ed. Josef Raith (Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 13; Hamburg, 1933, rpt. Darmstadt, 1964), p. 17. Where translations are not ascribed, they are my own.

<sup>80</sup> *ibid.*, p. 17.

also from the latter part of the tenth century: it is to be found in the Hatfield document just analyzed above. In line 11 we are told, 'Wærlaf ... wæs riht æht to Hæðfelda....' It is evident that the Hatfield text deals with *geburas* – and *geburas* were not slaves, as has been demonstrated, but were persons legally bound to the land. Significantly, Wærlaf is declared to be 'æht to Hæðfelda'. He was thus not a slave with a legal bond to a person or institution, but a serf with a legal bond to an estate, a 'possession of Hatfield'. By the late tenth century, the idea of possession with regard to persons was undergoing a change. This state of flux is reflected in these two uses of *æht*.

The compound *æhtemann* is not very common in Old English texts, though some examples of personal names from the late twelfth century onwards that point to a lost Old English doublet \**æhtmann* suggest that the word was less rare than the extant texts would indicate.<sup>81</sup> The genitival form of the first element points to its original meaning as being 'a person associated with or belonging to (someone's) property'. The word occurs three times in the works of Ælfric, whose writings date from the thirty years before his death in c. 1020; once in the anonymous tract on the personnel and management of a manorial estate known as *Rectitudines singularum personarum*, which probably dates from sometime in the fifty years before the Conquest;<sup>82</sup> and in the Wouldham list. The compound thus starts to appear at a time when the manor was beginning to take the forms it would have in the post-Conquest centuries and when the legal ties to the land over men who were formerly freemen in terms of the tribal laws of the Anglo-Saxons were tightening.

In Ælfric's homily on Saints Alexander, Eventius and Theodolus, the word is synonymous with 'slave': 'He wearð ða gefullod æt ðam foresædan papan mid wife and mid cildum and mid gesibbum mannum and mid æhtemannum, ealles twelf hundred manna and fifti, ða he gefreode ealle and mid æhtum gegodode on ðæm halgan Eastordæge' ('He was then baptized by the aforementioned pope with his wife and children and relatives and *æhtemen*, twelve hundred and fifty persons all told, all of whom he freed and endowed with their possessions on that holy Easter day'). The Latin source, the *Acta Alexandri papae* 1.1, indicates that Ælfric deemed *æhtemann* to be a suitable word to represent the Latin *servus*: '... et Præfectum Urbis quoque, Hermen, cum uxore et sorore et filiis, baptizaret, cum mille ducentis quinquaginta servis suis, uxoribus quoque et

<sup>81</sup> Olof von Feilitzen, 'Some Unrecorded Old and Middle English Personal Names', *Namn och Bygd* 33 (1945) 72, s.v. *Ehtmann*.

<sup>82</sup> Dorothy Bethurum has suggested in her paper 'Episcopal Magnificence in the Eleventh Century', in *Studies in Old English Literature in Honor of Arthur G. Brodeur*, ed. Stanley B. Greenfield (Eugene, Ore., 1963), pp. 162-70, that the *Rectitudines* originated in the circle of Archbishop Wulfstan of York and probably had reference to the estates of the See of Worcester, which Wulfstan held in plurality with his archdiocesan see of York.

filiis eorum, quos omnes in die sancto Paschæ prius fecit fieri ingenuos, et ita baptizari: quibus postea etiam multa ... dona concessit.<sup>83</sup>

Ælfric also uses the word in his account of the Passion of St. Sebastian: 'Ða wearð gefullod fæder and sunu mid heora innhyrede and heora æhtemannum, ægðres hades menn, ma þonne an ðusend' ('Then were baptized father and son, with their household servants, and æhtemen, persons of either sex, more than a thousand').<sup>84</sup> Ælfric's source, the *Passio* ascribed to St. Ambrose, reads: '... suscepit Chromatius sacri baptismatis novitatem; et cum eodem ex familia ejus promiscui sexus mille quadringentæ animæ, quos omnes prius manumissionis gratia a servitutis nodo exsolvit, et donis optimis instruxit, dicens hoc: Illi qui Deum incipiunt habere patrem, servi hominis non debent esse.'<sup>85</sup> Ælfric has paraphrased this passage: *familia* has been accurately transformed into *innhyrede* but *æhtemannum* is not to be found in the Latin. One can only assume that Ælfric felt that the phrase 'manumissionis gratia a servitutis nodo' (and possibly Chromatius' comment that follows) needed some word with stronger overtones of servitude than *innhyred* possessed. This word was *æhtemann*, which here too must mean 'a slave'.

In Ælfric's *Treatise on the Old and New Testament*, he provides the following definition: 'Laboratores sind þe us bigleofan tiliað, yrðlingas 7 æhtemen to þam anum betæhte' ('Laboratores are those who labour to feed us, husbandmen and æhtemen dedicated to that end alone').<sup>86</sup> Here it is possible to interpret *æhtemen* as 'slaves', since slaves hold that status in order to provide free labour for their lord. But it is possible that Ælfric is using *and* in this sentence in its very common function in Old English of linking two virtual synonyms, in which case *æhtemann* could be interpreted as 'husbandman'. It is probably safest to interpret it here as 'bondsmen', which does not indicate whether a person is tied to another person or to an estate.

In the *Rectitudines*, *æhtemann* appears in clause 9.1: 'Eallum æhtemannum gebyrð Midwinters feorm 7 Eastorfeorm, sulhæcer 7 hærfesthandful toeacan heora nydrihte' ('All æhtemen ought to have food at Christmas and Easter, a

<sup>83</sup> For the Latin and Old English texts, see *The Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection* 23.37-41, ed. John C. Pope, 2 vols. (EETS OS 259-60; London, 1968), 2.738.

<sup>84</sup> Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* 5.307-309, ed. Walter W. Skeat (EETS OS 76, 82; London, 1881-85, rpt. in 1 vol., 1966), pp. 136 (text) and 137 (translation). I have adopted the reading *æhte* from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College ms. 198 rather than that which is found in London, British Library ms. Cotton Julius E.vii, which reads *æhta*.

<sup>85</sup> *Acta sanctorum*, Jan. 2.629-42 (20 January) at p. 639 c. 63, rpt. in PL 17.1111-50 at col. 1140. See further, J. H. Ott, *Über die Quellen der Heiligenleben in Aelfrics Lives of Saints I* (Diss. der Vereinigten Friedrichs-Universität Halle-Wittenberg; Halle a. S., 1892), pp. 17-20.

<sup>86</sup> *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch; Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament and His Preface to Genesis*, ed. S. J. Crawford (EETS OS 160; London, 1922, rpt. 1969), p. 71, lines 1208-1209 (text).

strip of land for ploughing and a "harvest-handful" besides their dues').<sup>87</sup> This immediately follows two clauses on the feeding of male and female slaves, so it is logical to assume that for the compiler of this document the *æhtemann* was a slave. This is confirmed by clause 7 of the same text: 'Be æhteswan. Æhteswane, ðe inhe[or]de healt, gebyrð stifearh 7 his gewirce, ðonne he s[p]lic behworfen hæfð, 7 elles ða gerihtu, ðe ðeowan men to gebyriað' ('Concerning an *æhteswan*. An *æhteswan*, who keeps the demesne herd, ought to have a young pig kept in a sty, and his perquisites when he has prepared the bacon and also the dues that belong to a slave'). This clause follows one discussing the *ðeowswan* 'slave swineherd' and *ðeowbeocere* 'slave beekeeper', and the writer obviously considers the *æhteswan* to have the status of a slave as 'ðe ðeowan men to gebyriað' indicates. Such an *æhteswan* had two important characteristics: first, he did not possess any property, unlike the *gafolswan*, who paid *gafol* or rent for the right to keep his pigs on the estate; second, he was associated completely with the lord's demesne since his was the task of keeping the demesne herd (*innheord*). The prefix *æhte-* was appropriate for those associated entirely with the lord's demesne, since their economic position was so weak that they could be viewed as essentially their lord's 'possession'. For the compiler of the *Rectitudines*, such persons could only be slaves; he did not know of the *famulus* or day-labourer, who was to be an important part of the manorial economy in the twelfth century.<sup>88</sup>

What these uses indicate is that the word *æhtemann* was used of those employed as labourers in the manorial economy and in particular, it would seem, the demesne. Since in the tenth and early eleventh century such persons were usually slaves, the word was used on occasion as a virtual synonym for *þeow* or 'slave'. But this association with the legal status of a slave would have disappeared as lords began to view all those on their estates as their possessions and as the number of persons on the demesne that held the status of slaves declined. This is what I suggest has happened by the time the word is used in the Wouldham list. As will be seen, the meaning that best fits the evidence of the two texts is 'serf'. Domesday Book provides the clearest corroboration for this being the correct interpretation. That survey lists only six slaves but thirty-four *villani* and *bordarii* at Wouldham in 1086.<sup>89</sup> The Textus Roffensis list indicates the existence of at least eighteen adults and a further eleven children. Unless there had been a radical change in the manpower of the estate in the

<sup>87</sup> For the text of the *Rectitudines*, see *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. Felix Liebermann, 3 vols. (Halle, 1903-16), 1.445-53 (text); EHD 2.875-79 (translation).

<sup>88</sup> Michael M. Postan, *The Famulus: The Estate Labourer in the xth and the xth Centuries* (Economic History Review, Supplements 2; London, [1954]).

<sup>89</sup> *Domesday Book* 1.5b.

relatively few intervening years, the *æhtemen* are more likely to have fallen into the latter two Domesday Book categories.

That the *æhtemen* were serfs rather than slaves is in keeping with the wording of the second document. Though the diplomatic form of the record resembles that of a manumission-document reporting the freeing of slaves,<sup>90</sup> a close examination of the wording shows that it does not attest a change in legal status but simply records that those concerned received permission temporarily to remove themselves from the kin group – and presumably thus also their persons or their labour from the manorial estate – on condition that they were replaced by other persons. It is difficult to understand how or why slaves could do this, but it is quite explicable that an overlord who possessed rights in a person's *labour*, rather than in the person himself, should sanction such a transaction, since he would be losing nothing by it.

The second Textus Roffensis document should thus be seen as a record of a temporary quittance from Rochester's estate at Wouldham. So that the act should not be forgotten, the burgesses of the town as well as the ecclesiastical community at Rochester ('ealle þæs biscepes geferan') were present and the act was also recorded, most probably in a gospel-book originally, where almost all the other extant Anglo-Saxon quittance- and manumission-documents are to be found.

Another general deduction one can make is that the list was compiled in order to corroborate the quittance-document by providing written evidence of the status of Tottel and others like him *vis-à-vis* Wouldham. The compiler evidently decided, however, to make the list more extensive by naming other peasants who had migrated to Wouldham (unlike the Ely one which lists mainly those who had departed for elsewhere). None of the estates from which they came appears to have been owned by St. Andrew's. They were thus not slaves belonging to the church who had been relocated. It would seem probable that they were instead persons who had been recruited onto the estate to develop it. Since Wouldham had earlier been subject to litigation and the Cathedral was in a shaky financial condition, it is readily understandable that the church should want to compile a list of all those in whom it had acquired rights, especially when some of these wanted to move out of its control again. Given the Cathedral's poverty, the act and the consequent written records are thus readily explicable: those wishing to leave the estate were permitted only to do so for a temporary period; they had to be replaced by others; the transaction was witnessed by the burgesses of Rochester; and records were made of the legal proceedings themselves and of all those of like status who had moved onto

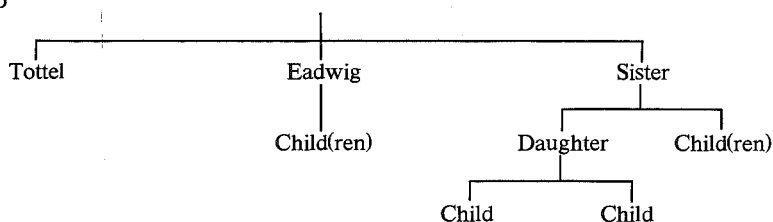
<sup>90</sup> For editions of such documents, see n. 9 above.

the estate from elsewhere so that the Cathedral could retain its claims over its work force.

The list accords with the Hatfield document in suggesting that there was a high degree of geographic mobility among the peasantry. The largest group to arrive at Wouldham, which included Tottel's clan, came from Aylesford, just off the Roman road that runs south from Rochester past Maidstone (see Map 2).<sup>91</sup> Aylesford was some five miles from Wouldham. A number of others came from Chalk, about seven miles from Wouldham and five miles from Rochester on Watling Street, the Roman road termed by Margary 'the most important thoroughfare in Roman Britain' that ran from Dover via Canterbury and Rochester to London.<sup>92</sup> Æthelflæd and her child, however, came from much farther afield: they were from Kingston. This is just off the Dover-to-Can-

TABLE 2

FROM AYLESFORD  
(1)



SOUTH FROM KINGSTON  
(2)

Æthelflæd  
|  
Child(ren)

FROM AYLESFORD  
(3)

Sigeburh  
|  
Child(ren)

(4) Garwig = Wife

(5) Boia = Wife

(6) Guthhelm = Wife

|  
Child(ren)

FROM CHALK

(7) Bunel = Wife

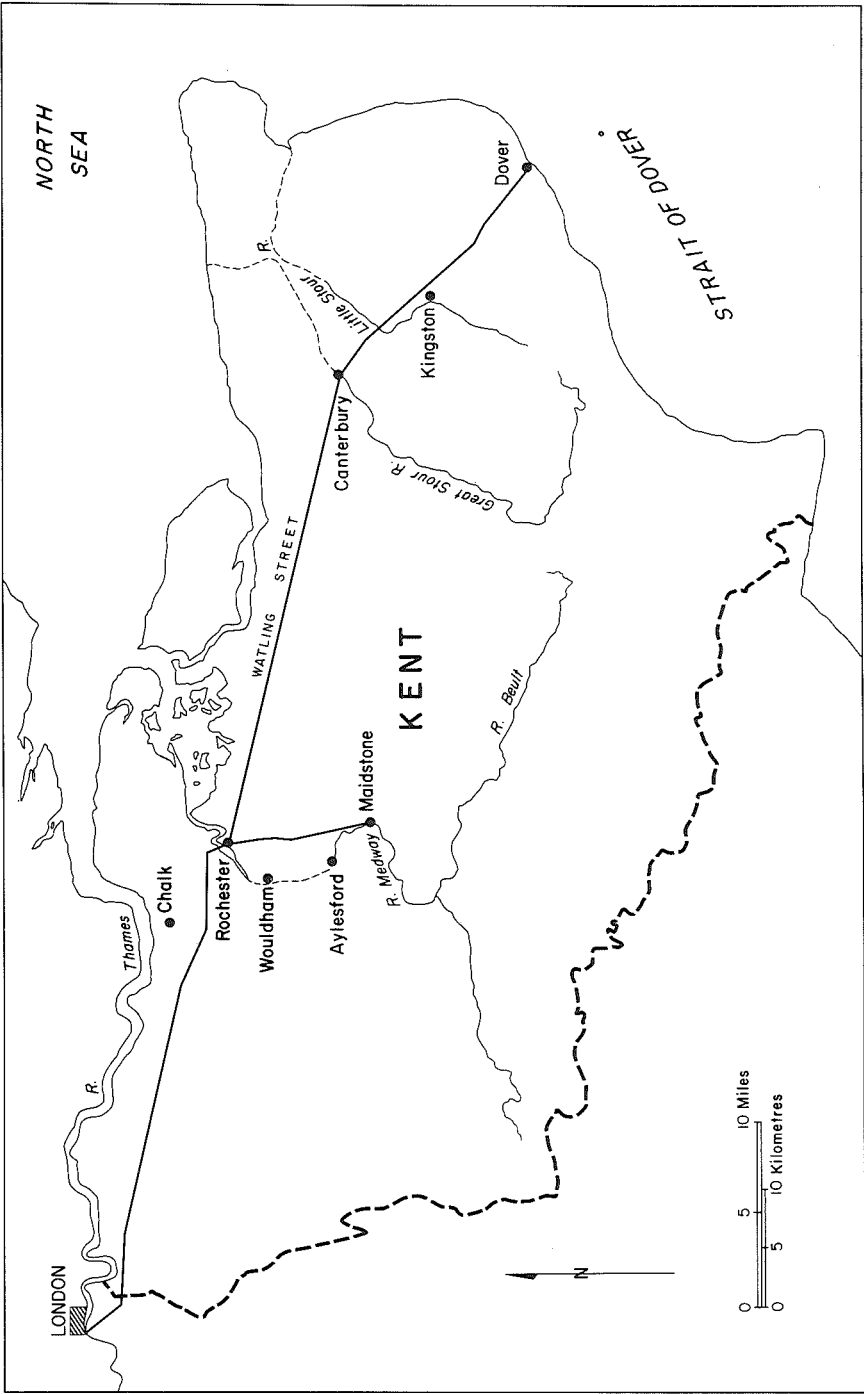
(8) Hidda = Wife

(9) Nothbald = Wife

|  
Child(ren)

<sup>91</sup> Margary, *Roman Roads*, pp. 44-47, Route 13.

<sup>92</sup> *ibid.*, p. 42. On Watling Street, see *ibid.*, pp. 35-36 (Route 1a), pp. 42-44 (Route 1b) and 51-52 (Route 1c).



MAP 2: Kent

terbury leg of Watling Street.<sup>93</sup> Access to Rochester was thus not difficult from there, but they would have had to travel some thirty-one miles to get to the city and then go on another couple of miles to reach Wouldham. This high mobility among the womenfolk is another point of similarity with the Hatfield document, as is the importance of kinship ties.

It would be a mistake, however, to confuse geographic with social mobility.<sup>94</sup> In terms of the latter, these two lists, composed nearly a century apart, point to very different social phenomena. The Hatfield document is an assertion that flies in the face of reality: Ely claimed suzerainty over persons who were in fact living elsewhere. In their new locations these peasants do not appear to have been living under institutional control: indeed, as we have seen, some had migrated to live with other family members. In them we might see the *ceorlas* discussed by F. M. Stenton who had the potential to thrive.<sup>95</sup> Their social designation of *gebur*, which in origin meant someone who 'dwelt' on the land,<sup>96</sup> was thus an accurate one. The Wouldham documents, on the other hand, are the written proof of a reality: whatever their station in life had been before, the persons listed who had moved to Wouldham had lost the right to move away without permission and some kind of compensation to their institutional overlord. And so truly they were *æhtemen*, 'owned persons'. These documents may thus be seen as supporting evidence for W. G. Runciman's view that there was increasing social mobility in England between the early eighth and the mid-eleventh centuries (especially in the post-Alfredian period) and that the Normans restricted social mobility, particularly among peasants.<sup>97</sup>

\* \* \*

The chance survival of these seemingly mundane estate documents from late Anglo-Saxon and early Norman England provides us with some of the clearest insights into the nature of the servile peasantry of the period. We might have

<sup>93</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 35-36, Route 1a.

<sup>94</sup> For an analysis of the concept and the related idea of 'social distance', see W. G. Runciman, 'Accelerating Social Mobility: The Case of Anglo-Saxon England', *Past & Present* 104 (August 1984) 1-30, at pp. 4 and 6 respectively.

<sup>95</sup> Frank M. Stenton, 'The Thriving of the Anglo-Saxon Ceorl' in *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England: Being the Collected Papers of Frank Merry Stenton*, ed. Doris M. Stenton (Oxford, 1970), pp. 382-93.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. the Old Icelandic cognates *bú* 'a house', *búa* 'to live, dwell' and *bær* 'a town, village', in Richard Cleasby and Gudbrand Vigfusson, *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, 2nd edition with Supplement by William A. Craigie (Oxford, 1957). See further, Hans Schabram, 'Bezeichnungen für "Bauer" im Altenglischen' in *Wort und Begriff 'Bauer'*, ed. Richard Wenskus, Herbert Jankuhn and Klaus Grinda (Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, *Abhandlungen, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 3rd Ser., 89; Göttingen, 1975), pp. 74-88, at pp. 79-80, and n. 12 above.

<sup>97</sup> Runciman, 'Accelerating Social Mobility', 4 and 23-26.

assumed some of these features but it is nice to be able to verify them. Kinship ties and onomastic practices seem to have been the same among the peasantry as they were among the aristocracy. The ties of serfdom were being asserted in the late tenth century, as Domesday Book proves them to have been in the eleventh. In a patrilocal society, women tend to be the mobile ones; this was so with the Anglo-Saxon aristocracy but it was also the case with the peasantry.

Where the documents are most valuable is in showing that the peasantry were capable of a fair degree of geographic mobility. The Anglo-Saxons were well-known as great travellers, especially as missionaries, pilgrims and traders.<sup>98</sup> These documents show that it was not only the middle and upper levels of the society who explored unfamiliar territory. But travel can bring its hazards as well as its opportunities, and we may suspect that those who moved to an institutional estate were fated to have fewer freedoms than those who managed to move away from its controls.

#### APPENDIX 1

##### THE LANGUAGE OF THE TEXTS<sup>99</sup>

###### 1. *The Hatfield List*

The language of the text is basically literary West-Saxon with some late linguistic features, most notably one instance of shortening of a long vowel with graphic

<sup>98</sup> W. J. Moore, *The Saxon Pilgrims to Rome and the Schola Saxonum* (Doct. ès Lettres Diss. Fribourg; Fribourg, 1937); Wilhelm Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946).

<sup>99</sup> Abbreviations used in Appendices 1 and 2: (a) linguistic: acc. = accusative; dat. = dative; eKt. = early Kentish; e/1OE = early/late Old English; e/1W-S = early/late West-Saxon; fem./f. = feminine; gen. = genitive; Gmc = Germanic; indic. = indicative; INorth. = late Northumbrian; masc./m. = masculine; Merc. = Mercian; neut./n. = neuter; nom. = nominative; ODan. = Old Danish; OHG = Old High German; OSw. = Old Swedish; OWScand. = Old West Scandinavian; pl. = plural; pron. = pronoun; sg. = singular; (b) texts and monographs: *BCS* = *Cartularium saxonicum*, ed. Walter de G. Birch, 3 vols. and index (London, 1885-99); Boehler = Maria Boehler, *Die altenglischen Frauennamen* (Germanische Studien 98; Berlin, 1930); Bosworth-Toller = *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Based on the Manuscript Collections of the late Joseph Bosworth*, ed. T. Northcote Toller (Oxford, 1898), *Supplement*, ed. T. Northcote Toller (Oxford, 1921), *Enlarged Addenda and Corrigenda to the Supplement*, ed. Alistair Campbell (Oxford, 1972); Campbell = Alistair Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford, 1959); Clark Hall = *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary for the Use of Students*, ed. John R. Clark Hall, 4th edition, with a Supplement by Herbert D. Meritt (Cambridge, Mass., 1960); Colman, *N & Q* = Fran Colman, 'The Name Element *ædel-* and Related Problems', *Notes and Queries* N.S. 28 (1981) 295-301; Ekwall, *ELPN* = Eilert Ekwall, *Early London Personal Names* (Skrifter utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund 43; Lund, 1947); Forssner = Thorvald Forssner, *Continental-Germanic Personal Names in England in Old and Middle English Times* (Diss. Uppsala; Uppsala, 1916); Hallander, *SN* = Lars-Gunnar Hallander, 'Old English Dryht and

consonant doubling (*moddrige* 20),<sup>100</sup> which is usually dated to the mid-eleventh century. The form *Cenwaldes* (gen.) 9, 19 (2 ×) (W-S *Cyne*-) is characteristic of Kentish.

#### A. Accuracy of the Text

1. The single letter *s* 14 for the demonstrative adjective *se* is probably a scribal error.

#### B. Syntax

1. Parataxis in a name + *hatte* (Mitchell 1.616-17, ¶¶ 1473, 1475): *Hwita hatte wæs*, etc., 4, 5 (2 ×), 7, 8 (2 ×), 9, 11, 12 (2 ×), 16, 17, 18 (2 ×). In line 1 *hatte* is used regularly with its passive meaning (see Mitchell 1.230, ¶ 600 [1] and 1.305, ¶ 746).

2. Non-expression of a personal pron. subject (Mitchell 1.627-34, ¶¶ 1503-16, especially 1513): *he* is omitted before *heold* in line 11. That this is not due to haplography caused by successive *h*'s in the original (*Hæðfelda [He] heold*) is proved by the repetition of the same syntactic pattern in line 20, where *heo* is omitted before *wæs afaren ut*.<sup>101</sup> It should be noted, however, that the pointing of the manuscript does not support my use of capital letters in *Heold* 11 and *Wæs* 20. It is possible, therefore, that these words form part of a *double* parataxis following the use of a name and so should be included in the previous paragraph. (Mitchell 1.616-17, ¶¶ 1473-75 does not note any examples of double parataxis in a naming construction).

Its Cognates', *Studia neophilologica* 45 (1973) 20-31; *KCD* = *Codex diplomaticus aevi saxonici*, ed. John M. Kemble, 6 vols. (London, 1839-48); *KG* = Julius Zupitza, 'Kentische Glossen des neunten Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 21 (1877) 1-59; Mitchell = Bruce Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1984); *Orosius* = *The Old English Orosius*, ed. Janet Bately (EETS SS 6; London, 1980); Redin = Mats Redin, *Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English* (Diss. Uppsala; Uppsala, 1919); *Ru*<sup>1</sup> = Mercian glosses to Matthew and parts of Mark and John in the Rushworth Gospels, *The Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels*, ed. Joseph Stevenson and George Waring, 4 vols. (Surtees Society 28, 39, 43, 48; London, 1854-65); Sawyer = Peter H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography* (Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 8; London, 1968); *SBCI* = Veronica Smart, *Cumulative Index of Volumes I-20* (Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles 28; London, 1981); Searle = William G. Searle, *Onomasticon anglo-saxonicum* (Cambridge, 1897); Smith, *EPNE* = Albert H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, 2 vols. (English Place-Name Society 25-26; Cambridge, 1956); von Feilitzen, *NoB* = Olof von Feilitzen, 'Some Unrecorded Old and Middle English Personal Names', *Namn och Bygd* 33 (1945) 69-98; von Feilitzen, *PNDB* = Olof von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names in Domesday Book* (Nomina germanica 3; Uppsala, 1937); von Feilitzen, *WEMA* = Olof von Feilitzen, 'The Personal Names and Bynames of the Winton Domesday' in *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages: An Edition and Discussion of the Winton Domesday*, ed. Martin Biddle (Winchester Studies 1; Oxford, 1976), pp. 143-229; Whitelock = *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. Dorothy Whitelock (Cambridge Studies in English Legal History; Cambridge, 1930, rpt. New York, 1973). I am heavily indebted to Campbell for the analysis that follows in Appendix 1.

<sup>100</sup> Unless otherwise stated, all substantives cited in Appendices 1 and 2 are in the nom. case.

<sup>101</sup> The omission of the personal pron. is discussed by Ashley Crandell Amos, *Linguistic Means of Determining the Dates of Old English Literary Texts* (Medieval Academy Books 90; Cambridge, Mass., 1980), pp. 132-35, where she concludes that it offers no criterion for dating a text.

## C. Orthography

1. The presence of the form *Cenwaldes* (gen.) 9, 19 (2 ×), characteristic of Kt., beside *Cynewald(e)* 17, 18, suggests that the various *Cyn(e)-* forms of names may represent conservative orthographic practice rather than pronunciation. But see Appendix 2 s.v. CYNEWEALD.

2. Graphic simplification of consonants at the end of a word or an element of a compound (Campbell ¶ 66): *sit* 7, 8, 9, 14, 18, 19, *Wynburge* 14, *Deorwyn* 16, *Æpelwyn* 21, *men* 25.

3. The form *Winnes* 15 (beside *Wine* 15) can perhaps best be described as graphic confusion with the word *wynn*.

4. Confusion of *y* for *i* (cf. Campbell ¶ 317): *syndan* 7, *swyn* 12, *synd* 25.

## D. Phonology

## I (a) Variants not dialectally specific.

1. Absence of breaking in the second element of OE unaccented syllables with retraction of *æ* (< Gmc *a*) before *l/r* and a consonant > *a* (Campbell ¶ 338): *Cenwaldes* (gen.) 9, 19 (2 ×), *Cynewald* 17, *Cynewalde* (dat.) 18.

2. Loss of *-i-* in unaccented syllables (Campbell ¶ 348): *Cenwaldes* (gen.) 9, 19 (2 ×), *Cynric* 25.

3. *i* > *e* in unaccented syllables (Campbell ¶ 369): *Tilewine* 22 (beside *Tiliwine* [gen.] 23).

4. Simplification of a double consonant (Campbell ¶ 457): *Duding* 7, *Duda* 22 (beside *Dudda* 1, *Dudde* f. 18). This may be influenced by a strong (graphic) form *Dud*.

5. Loss of *h* and *w* in second elements of compounds, including names ending in *-helm* and *-wulf* (Campbell ¶ 468): *Wifus* 6, *Wifuse* (gen.) 7, 18, *Æðeleah* 8, *Eadelm* 10, *Cynelm* 18, *Ceolem* 23, *Deorulf* 24.

## I (b) Variants specific to West-Saxon.

1. *-wyrð* < *-worð* by *i*-mutation (Smith, *EPNE* 2.274, s.v. *worð* [5]); *Tæccingawyrðe* (dat.) 3.

2. Dat. pl. *-um* in nouns and adjectives appears fairly frequently in eW-S as *-un* (Campbell ¶ 378); *Weligun* 10.

## II. Late West-Saxon features.

1. Smoothing (Campbell ¶ 312): *Hehstan* 6. This is not evidenced in *Æðeleah* 8 because *-ea-* appears in an unaccented syllable.

2. *ī* > *ȳ* in the neighbourhood of labials (Campbell ¶ 318): *Deorswyð* 2, *Deorswyðe* (acc.) 3.

3. Shortening of a long vowel before a consonant group with graphic consonant doubling to indicate length (Campbell ¶ 329 [1] and p. 135 n. 1): *moddrige* 20 (W-S *mōdrige*). This spelling and the quantitative vowel change it denotes is usually dated to the mid-eleventh century.

4. Late shortening of *ō* to *a* (Campbell ¶ 356 [4] and [5]): *Deornað* 17.

5. Unaccented *o* confused with *e* (Campbell ¶ 379): *Seolecan* (gen.) 9 (beside *Seoloce* 6). This is usually considered to be an eleventh-century change.

6. Loss of a consonant in a group of three unlike consonants (Campbell ¶ 477 [6]): *Wullaf* 2.

7. Nom. pl. *-sira* for regular indeclinable nom. pl. form of *sweostor* (Campbell ¶ 629): *gesweostrā* 22 (with regular collective *ge-* added) (beside *sweostar* 25; cf. 1.D.III.1 below).

8. Extension of masc./fem. nom./acc. pl. *-e* to neut. nom./acc. pl. form of adjectives (Campbell ¶ 541): *ealle* 22.

### III. Features common to Late West-Saxon and the *Kentish Glosses* (tenth century).

1. Confusion of *-a* for *-o/-u* (Campbell ¶ 377): *sweostar* 6, *broðar* 17, *sweostar* (nom. pl.) 25, (beside *dohtor* 1, 5, 10, 13, 16, 18, *sweostor* 9, *sweostor* [acc.] 15, *modor* 14).

2. *-an* for *-on* in past indic. pl. (Campbell ¶ 377): *syndan* 7, *wæran* 22 (beside *wæron* 22).

3. Unvoicing of West Gmc *ȝ* [ɣ] to *h* [χ] (Campbell ¶ 446): *Buhe* 20 (beside *Buge* [gen.] 22), *Cyneburhe* (gen.) 24.

### 2. The Wouldham List and Quittance-Document

The language of these texts is basically literary West-Saxon. Certain late West-Saxon and Kentish features are evident, as might be expected.

#### A. Syntax

1. Concord (Mitchell 1.130-31, ¶¶ 324-25): in line 1, neut. sing. nom. *þis* is followed by a pl. verb *wæron*, which takes its number from the plural complement.

2. Fem. acc. pl. *opra* is followed by masc. acc. pl. *mænn* in line 12. Here *mænn* in the sense of 'a human being of either sex' may be interpreted as having a natural gender and thus considered to be fem. since (apparently) women are being referred to. Possible, but less likely, is the use of *a* as an equivalent graph for *e* because of the development of a schwa vowel in unaccented syllables (Campbell ¶ 379).

#### B. Orthography

1. Because all front vowels except *i* appear in Kt. as *ē*, *æ* and *y* are sometimes used as equivalent graphs for *e* in Kt. texts (Campbell ¶ 288). Inverted spellings are to be found in *mænn* (acc. pl.) 12 (W-S *menn*), *þærinn* 12 (W-S *þerinn*), *gewitnysse* (dat. sg.) 12 (W-S *gewitnesse*).

#### C. Phonology

##### I. Variants not dialectally specific.

1. Absence of breaking in the second element of OE unaccented syllables with retraction of *æ* (< Gmc *a*) before *l/r* and a consonant > *a*, later > *o* (Campbell ¶ 338): *Noðbald* 6, *Siwordes* (gen.) 11.

2. eOE loss of unaccented *-i-* (Campbell ¶ 348): *Sigburh* 4, *Ægelsi* 10, *Siwordes* (gen.) 11.

3. Loss of a medial vowel after a short syllable (Campbell ¶ 389): *biscpes* (gen.) 11. That this is not a scribal error is clear from several examples of the dat. form *biscpe* that appear in Wulfstan texts in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College ms. 201.<sup>102</sup>

4. Simplification of consonants in low-stressed demonstratives (Campbell ¶ 457): *pisum* (dat.) 10 (normally *pissum*).

5. Gemination of consonants (sporadic in OE; see Campbell p. 183 n. 4): *dægge* (dat.) 11 (W-S *dæge*).

6. Assimilation of a liquid and a following consonant (Campbell ¶ 484): *Hidda* 6. This is only valid if *Hidda* is indeed from *hild* f. 'war, combat' (see Appendix 2, s.v. *HIDDA* below). Such assimilation was sporadic in OE.

7. Endingless locative in place-names in *-hām* (Campbell ¶ 572): *into Wuldaham* 1, *on Wuldeham* 10.

8. Variation of *-er*, *-or*, *-ur* in final syllables of nouns of relationship (Campbell ¶ 629): *suster* 3, *suster* (gen.) 3, *dohter* 11 (2 ×) (beside *dohtor* 3, *broðor* 2).

## II. Late West-Saxon features.

1. Combinative back umlaut of W-S *swiostor* (found only once in the OE *Orosius* p. 69 line 5) to 1W-S *swustor* (Campbell p. 89 n. 3): *suster* 3, *suster* (gen.) 3. This change may not be particularly late but in extant W-S texts forms in *u* are late.

2. Shortening of a long vowel with compensatory consonantal gemination (Campbell ¶ 287): *prittigan* (dat.) 9.<sup>103</sup>

3. *ēa* > *ē* before *χ* (Campbell ¶ 312): *Ælfehes* (gen.) 7.

4. *y* > *i* in some areas by isolative change (Campbell ¶ 317): *Cincestune* (dat.) 4, *cince* (dat.) 7.

5. In dat. pl. of nouns and adjs. *-um* > *-an* (Campbell ¶ 378, cf. ¶ 572): *hundertwelf-tigan* 8, *mancesan* 8, *prittigan* 9, *pundan* 9, *geferan* 13.

6. Coalescence of unaccented back *a* and *u* with unaccented *e* (Campbell ¶ 379): *mancesan* (dat. pl.) 8, *Wuldeham* (dat.) 10 (beside *Wuldaham* [dat.] 1).

7. Loss of an unaccented vowel after a short syllable before a consonant group (Campbell ¶ 391): *Cincestune* (dat.) 4, *cince* (dat.) 7 (1W-S *cyng*; cf. [Appendix] 2.C.II.4 above and 2.C.IV.3 below).<sup>104</sup>

8. *Æpel-* > *Ægel-* (Colman, *N & Q* and cf. Ekwall, *ELPN* 13-14, von Feilitzen, *WEMA* 147 s.v. *Ailflet*, contra Campbell p. 195 n. 5): *Æglesforda* (dat.) 2, 4, *Ægelsi* 10.

9. Variation of *ðar* for *ðær* (Campbell ¶ 678): *ðaron* 8.

10. *w* is lost before *u* when medial after a consonant: *suster* 3, *suster* (gen.) 3. This is usually considered to be a Middle English sound change.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>102</sup> See *Die 'Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical': ein Werk Erzbischof Wulfstans von York*, ed. Karl Jost (Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten 47; Berne, 1959), p. 257, cc. 237 and 239.

<sup>103</sup> This is evidenced in other dialects besides 1W-S.

<sup>104</sup> *Cyng* appears in Ru<sup>1</sup> and the phenomenon is also to be found in INorth.

<sup>105</sup> See Karl Brunner, *An Outline of Middle English Grammar*, trans. Grahame K. W. Johnston (Oxford, 1963), p. 35, ¶ 32.1. This feature was not limited to the former W-S dialect area.

III. Features common to Late West-Saxon and the *Kentish Glosses* (tenth century).

1. *Sig-* > *Sī* in eKt and 1W-S (Campbell ¶ 267): *Siwordes* (gen.) 11.<sup>106</sup>
2. Confusion of unaccented back vowels *o/u* and *a* in unaccented syllables, e.g., in past indic. pl. (Campbell ¶ 377): *coman* 3 (eW-S *comon*).
3. Unvoicing of West Gmc *ȝ* [ȝ] to *h* [χ] (Campbell ¶ 446): *burhwara* (gen. pl.) 12 (eW-S *burg-*).
4. Loss of a consonant in a group of three (Campbell ¶¶ 476-77): *Ælfehes* (gen.) 7.

## IV. Kentish features.

1. Absence of diphthongization of front vowels after palatals (Campbell ¶ 187): *Hrouecæstre* (dat.) 12 (W-S *ceastre*).<sup>107</sup>
2. *ǣ* (< *i*-mutation of *ā*) > Kt. *ē* (Campbell ¶ 288): *gelened* 10 (W-S *gelæned*).
3. In *KG* many nouns end in *-inc* for W-S *-ing* (Campbell ¶ 450): *ofsprinc* 1, *Cincestune* (dat.) 4, *cince* (dat.) 7.
4. *KG* have fem. gen. sg. *hiore* beside *hire*, *hiora* (Campbell ¶ 703): *hiore* 11 (beside *hire* 3 [2 ×], 4 [2 ×]).
5. *KG* have masc. dat. sg. *ðam* for W-S *ðæm* (Campbell ¶ 708): *ðam* 8.
6. Loss of *n* before *h*, common in Kentish place-names consisting of a personal name (normally in the gen. sg.) followed by *-hām*: *Wuldaham* (dat.) 1, *Wuldeham* (dat.) 10 (cf. [Appendix] 2.C.II.6 above).<sup>108</sup>

## APPENDIX 2

## 1. THE NAMES OF THE HATFIELD LIST

ÆLFSTAN m.: *Ælfstan* 3, *Ælfstanes* (gen.) 4. Searle 21-53; von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 180-81; Ekwall, *ELPN* 10; von Feilitzen, *WEMA* 148 s.v. *Alestanus*; SCBI 28, 4-5. On the first element, OE *ælf* m./f. 'elf, sprite, fairy, goblin, incubus',<sup>109</sup> see Redin 3, Boehler 15, von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 172; on the second, OE *stān* m. 'stone', see von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 371 and cf. Boehler 116.

ÆDELGYÐ f.: *Æpelgyð* 21, *Æpelgyðe* (gen.) 23. Searle 39; Boehler 29; von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 183-84. On the first element, OE *ædele* 'noble', see Boehler 24-25, von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 182; on the second element, OE *gýð* f. 'combat, battle, war', see Boehler 161-62, von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 280-81.

<sup>106</sup> *Si-* is not present as an element in *KG* but does appear in eKt.; *KG* do, however, have the forms *wilung* 'sorcery', *wi* 'way' and *hlisa* 'sound, rumour, report, reputation', and both *-ig-* and *-i-* are to be found in unaccented syllables: Campbell ¶ 267.

<sup>107</sup> This also applies in Merc. except for Ru<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>108</sup> On this change see Eilert Ekwall, *Studies on English Place- and Personal Names* (Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund 1930-31 1; Lund, 1931), pp. 20-30 and cf. Smith, *EPNE* 1.229, s.v. *hām* (4) (b) (xi).

<sup>109</sup> Modern English glosses to OE words are mostly drawn from von Feilitzen, *PNDB*.

- ÆDELHĒAH m.: *Ædeleah* 8. Searle 39; SCBI 28, 8. On the second element, OE *hēah* 'high', see Redin 50, von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 287 and cf. Boehler 81-82.
- ÆDELWYN(N) f.: *Æpelwyn* 21. Searle 61; Boehler 32-33. On the second element, OE *wynn* f. 'joy, rapture, pleasure', see Boehler 153-54, von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 428.
- BRĀDA m.: *Brada* 12; *Bradān* (gen.) 13. OE *brād* 'broad'. Searle 112-13; Redin 73.
- BUGE f.: *Buhe* 20; *Buge* (gen.) 22. Searle 119; Boehler 213-14. This is more likely to be the fem. form of OE *Buga* than the ODan. byname *Buggi*, OSw. *Bugge* (on which forms, see von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 210-11). Cf. Redin 74, who connects *Buga* with OE *bugan* 'to bow', *boga* m. 'bow'. SCBI 28, 20 lists *Buga* s.v. *Boga*, *Boia*, which I feel is erroneous.
- CĒOLHELM m.: *Ceolem* 23. Searle 130. On the first element, OE *cēol* m. 'keel, ship', see Redin 5, Boehler 43-44, von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 214; on the second element, probably OE *helm* m. 'protection, defence; helmet; protector', see Boehler 84-85 and von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 288, who lists as a variant *-(l)m* in the Domesday Book form *Ailm* < *Ædelhelm*, and cf. Boehler 84-85.
- CĒOLMUND m.: *Ceolmund* 8. Searle 130-31. On the second element, OE *\*mund* m. 'guardian', see von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 330.
- CĒOLSTĀN m.: *Ceolstan* 24. Searle 132; von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 214.
- CYNEBURH f.: *Cyneburhe* (gen.) 24. Searle 154; Boehler 47-48. On the first element, OE *cynn* n. 'family, kin', see Boehler 46-47, von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 220; on the second element, OE *burg*, *burh* f. 'fortress, castle', see Boehler 137, von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 211.
- CYNEHELM m.: *Cynelm* 18. Searle 156; SCBI 28, 25.
- CYNERIC m.: *Cynric* 25. Searle 157; von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 220-21; SCBI 28, 25. On the second element, OE *\*rīc* m. 'ruler', see Boehler 109, von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 348-49.
- CYNEWEALD m.: *Cynewald* 17; *Cenwaldes* (gen.) 9, 19 (2 ×); *Cynewalde* (dat.) 18. Searle 158; SCBI 28, 25. *Cen-* may, however, represent OE *cēne* 'keen, fierce, bold, brave, warlike' (Bosworth-Toller). See Boehler 45 s.v. *Cōēn-* and Searle 140.
- DEÖRNÖÐ m.: *Deornað* 17. Searle 165. On the first element, OE *dēor* 'brave, bold, ferocious' or *dēore* 'dear', see Redin 12, Boehler 51-52, von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 223; on the second element, OE *\*nōð* 'daring, bold', see von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 332 and cf. Boehler 149.
- DEORSWİÐ f.: *Deorswyð* 2; *Deorswyðe* (acc.) 3. Searle 165. On the second element, OE *swīð* 'strong, mighty', see Redin 54, Boehler 166-67, von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 382.
- DEORWULF m.: *Deorulf* 24. Searle 166; von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 223; SCBI 28, 26. On the second element, OE *wulf* m. 'wolf', see Redin 10, von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 418 and cf. Boehler 132.
- DEORWYN(N) f.: *Deorwyn* 2; *Deorwyn* (acc.) 16; *Deorwynne* (acc.) 3. Searle 166 and Boehler 52 cite only the two women from this text.
- DRYHTLĀF m.: *Dryhtlafes* (gen.) 20. Searle 169 cites only this example. On the first element, OE *dryht* 'multitude, army, company, body of retainers' (Clark Hall), see Hallander, *SN*; on the second element, OE *\*lāf* m., probably meaning 'survivor, son', see von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 307.
- DUDDA m.: *Dudda* 1; *Duda* 22. Searle 170; SCBI 28, 27. Redin 63 compares *Dod(d)a*

- (Redin 62-63) and relates it to *Dud(d)* (Redin 16), a name of unknown etymology, possibly a lall-name. See also von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 223-25 s.v. *Dod(d)a*.
- DUDDE f.: *Dudde* 18. Searle 170; Redin 126, who refers to *Dud(d)* (Redin 16); Boehler 216.
- DUDING m.: *Duding* 7. Searle 171 and cf. 170 s.v. *Dudding*; Redin 169-70; SCBI 28, 27. Cf. Redin 16 s.v. *Dud(d)*, von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 225 s.v. *\*Dod(d)ing*, and DUDDA/DUDDE above.
- DUNNE f.: *Dunne* 6, 15; *Dunnan* (gen.) 8. Searle 172; Boehler 217. Redin 122 relates it to *Dunn*, probably OE *dunn* 'dun, dingy brown, dark-coloured' (Redin 12-13); for examples of the strong form *Dun(n)*, see also SCBI 28, 27.
- ĒADHELM m.: *Eadelm* 10. Searle 182; SCBI 28, 28. On the first element, OE *ēad* n. 'riches, prosperity, good fortune, happiness', see Redin 40, Boehler 53, von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 229.
- ĒADUGU m.: *Eadugu* 21; *Eaduge* (gen.) 23. Searle 189 cites only this example. Redin 41 derives it from OE *ēadig* 'wealthy, happy'.
- EALHSTĀN m.: *Ealhstan* 4, 23. Searle 206-207; Ekwall, *ELPN* 37; SCBI 28, 32-33. On the first element, OE *ealh* m. 'temple', see Boehler 62, von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 242.
- GOLDE f.: *Golde* 2; *Goldan* (acc.) 4. Searle 266; Redin 114; Boehler 21; cf. also Boehler 80. On the root element, OE *gold* n. 'gold', see von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 273. For the masc. equivalent, see Redin 49, von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 273, Ekwall, *ELPN* 44.
- HĒAHSTĀN m.: *Hehstan* 6. Searle 283-84; SCBI 28, 45. On the first element, OE *hēah* 'high', see Redin 50, Boehler 81-82, von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 287.
- HEREDRYÐ f.: *Heredryðe* (gen.) 10. Searle 294; Boehler 86. On the first element, OE *here* m. 'troop, army', see Redin 155, Boehler 85, von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 290; on the second element, OE *ðryð* f. 'might, power, force', see Boehler 167-68, von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 397.
- HWĪTA m.: *Hwita* 4. Searle 310; SCBI 28, 47. OE *hwīt* 'white'. Redin 50 mentions that this is also used as a byname.
- HWĪTE f.: *Hwite* 12, 13. Searle 310; Redin 114; Boehler 223. Cf. HWĪTA above.
- LULLE f.: *Lulle* 5. Searle 341; Redin 117, who interprets the masc. strong form as a lall-name (Redin 31-32); Boehler 225. For the strong masc. form, see also SCBI 28, 57 and the document containing the names of persons of servile status cited above, p. 491 and n. 63.
- MÆG m.: *Mæg* 10. Searle 344 and Redin 8 cite this as the only example. OE *mæg* m. 'male kinsman' (Redin). Redin 8 n. 1 states: 'It is not quite certain whether this is a name or not. Cf. Thorpe p. 650.' I am satisfied, however, that it is a name; cf. Ekwall, *ELPN* 141 s.v. *Brother* and Redin 41 s.v. *Swuster*. For *Mæg-* as a first element, see Boehler 97-98.
- MANNA m.: *Manna* 19. Searle 348; Redin 52; von Feilitzen, *WEMA* 165; SCBI 28, 58. Weak form of OE *man(n)* m. 'man', on which see Redin 8.
- MANWINE m.: *Manwine* 24. Searle 349; SCBI 28, 59. On the first element, OE *man(n)* m. 'man', see Redin 8, von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 324; on the second element, OE *wine* m. 'friend, protector, lord', see Redin 10, von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 415.
- SEOLOCE f.: *Seoloce* 7; *Seolecan* (gen.) 9. Searle 415 and Boehler 228 cite only this example. Redin 117 refers to *Seolca*, which s.v., p. 158, he lists under 'Unintelli-

- gible Diminutive Names'. Boehler, however, derives it from OE *seolh* m. 'seal', with the addition of the diminutive suffix *-oc* < *-uc*, which is possible. I would prefer, however, to interpret it as a fem. weak form of *seol(o)c* m. 'silk'. For other examples of *Seolca*, see SCBI 28, 65, and as the first element in a masc. name, see Boehler, loc. cit.
- TATE f.: *Tate* 5, *Tate* (acc.) 9; *Tatan* (gen.) 10, 25. Searle 441; Redin 114; Boehler 230-31. Redin refers to *Tata*, and s.v., pp. 54-55, lists examples. He links the latter with OHG *zeiz* 'dear, beloved', OWScand. *teitr* 'glad, cheerful' (Bosworth-Toller). For other examples of *Tata*, see SCBI 28, 71.
- TILIWINE m.: *Tilewine* 22; *Tiliwine* (gen.) 23. Searle 454; SCBI 28, 73 s.v. *Tilwine*. On the first element, OE *til* 'good' (Redin), see Redin 124-25 s.v. *Til(l)i* and cf. Redin 55 s.v. *Tila*.
- WÆRLĀF m.: *Wærlaf* 11. Searle 475. On the first element, OE *wær* f. 'faith, fidelity', see Boehler 122-23, von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 410 s.v. *Wærhelm*.
- WÆRSTĀN m.: *Wærstan* 14; *Wærstanes* (gen.) 11, 13. Searle 475; SCBI 28, 75.
- WÆRDRYÐ f.: *Wærdryðe* (acc.) 15; *Wærdryðe* (gen.) 14. Searle 475; Boehler 124.
- WIFHUSU f.: *Wifus* 6; *Wifuse* (gen.) 7, 18. On the first element, OE *wif* 'woman, wife', see Boehler 154-55 and cf. von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 412. Von Feilitzen, *NoB* 33 (1945) 91, records s.v. *Wifrun* the only other name in which *wif* appears as a first element. On the second element, though *KCD* IV, 31, no. 741 (Sawyer 961; A.D. 1024) lists a *Winhus minister*, which form Redin considers to be, 'perhaps, only due to the etymological fancy of some scribe', and the prefix *Huse-* appears in *Husebald* (see SCBI 28, 47 s.v. *Hysebeald*), the genitival form *Wifuse* points to a fem. *ō*-stem noun *\*husu* 'daughter, young woman', equivalent to OE *hyse* m. 'son, young man, warrior' (on the latter, see von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 297). The nom. *Wifus* is difficult to explain: it may simply be a scribal slip or, more likely, the conversion of an unfamiliar name element into the more common word, *hūs* n. 'house'. I suspect that the same name appears in the curious form *Pifus* (a slave in Dorset) in a careless late tenth- or early eleventh-century copy of a will of c. 950 printed in Whitelock 12, line 4 (Sawyer 1539), with *P* for *wynn*. This is the only fem. form *\*husu* that I have been able to trace.
- WINE m.: *Wine* 15; *Winnes* (gen.) 15. Searle 499-500; Redin 9-10; von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 415; SCBI 28, 77-78.
- WULFLĀF m.: *Wullaf* 2. Searle 584; SCBI 28, 79. On *Wulf-* as a first element, see Boehler 132.
- WULFSIGE m.: *Wulfsige* 23; *Wulfsiges* (gen.) 5, 6. Searle 517-18; von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 424-25; Ekwall, *ELPN* 71; SCBI 28, 81. On the second element, OE *sige* m. 'victory', see Redin 54, von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 360 and cf. Boehler 114.
- WYN(N)BURG f.: *Wynburge* (gen.) 14. Searle 523.

## 2. THE NAMES OF THE WOULDHAM DOCUMENTS

- ÆLFHEAH m.: *Ælfeges* (gen.) 7. Searle 10-11; von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 174; Ekwall, *ELPN* 7; von Feilitzen, *WEMA* 155 s.v. *Elfegus*; SCBI 28, 2.

- ÆLFSTĀN m.: *Ælfstan* 7. Searle 21-23; von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 180-81; Ekwall, *ELPN* 10; von Feilitzen, *WEMA* 148 s.v. *Alestanus*; SCBI 28, 4-5. Cf. ÆLFSTĀN above.
- ÆDELFLĒD f.: *Æpelflæd* 4. Searle 36-37; Boehler 26-28; von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 183. On the second element, OE \**flæd* f. 'beauty', see Boehler 157-58, von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 251.
- ÆDELSIGE m.: *Ægelsi* 10. Searle 50-51; von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 187-88; Ekwall, *ELPN* 16; von Feilitzen, *WEMA* 147 s.v. *Ailsi* and cf. *WEMA* 155 s.v. *Elsi*; SCBI 28, 10. On the form of the first element *Ægel-*, see Colman, *N & Q* and cf. Ekwall, *ELPN* 13-14, von Feilitzen, *WEMA* 147 s.v. *Ailflet*.
- BOIA m.: *Boia* 5. Searle 110; Forssner 51-52, 282 and 286 s.v. *Maneboia*; Redin 73; von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 205; SCBI 28, 20.<sup>110</sup>
- BUNEL m.: *Bunel* 6. Searle 120; Redin 141. Cf. *Buna* in Redin 87 and *Bynna* in Searle 123 and Redin 61-62. Redin lists the name under 'Unintelligible Diminutives'.
- ĒADMUND m.: *Eadmunde* (dat.) 7. Searle 183-84; von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 233; Ekwall, *ELPN* 27-29; von Feilitzen, *WEMA* 155; SCBI 28, 28-29.
- ĒADWIG m.: *Eadwig* 2. Searle 191; von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 238; Ekwall, *ELPN* 33; von Feilitzen, *WEMA* 155; SCBI 28, 31. On the second element, OE \**wīg* m. '(?) warrior', see von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 412.
- GĀRWIG m.: *Garwig* 5. SCBI 28, 37. On the first element, OE *gār* m. 'spear', see von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 258.
- GŪÐHELM m.: *Guðhelm* 5. Searle 273. On the first element, OE *gūð* f. 'combat, battle, war', see Redin 50, von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 278.
- HIDDA m.: *Hidda* 6. Searle 296. Redin 67 derives this from OE *hild* f. 'war, combat', on which see von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 291. Boehler 87 also derives the element *Hid-* from *hild*.
- NŌÐBEALD m.: *Noðbald* 6. Searle 359. On the first element, OE \**nōð* 'daring, bold', see von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 332; on the second element, OE *beald* 'bold, brave', see von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 193 and cf. Boehler 35-36 and DĒORNŌD.
- SIG(E)BURG f.: *Sigburh* 4. Searle 418; Boehler 114. On the first element, OE *sige* m. 'victory', see Redin 54, Boehler 114, von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 360 and cf. WULFSIGE.
- SIGWEARD m.: *Siwordes* (gen.) 11. Searle 423; von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 361-62; Ekwall, *ELPN* 62; von Feilitzen, *WEMA* 172; SCBI 28, 67. On the second element, OE *weard* m. 'keeper, watchman, protector; lord, king', see von Feilitzen, *PNDB* 410.
- TOTTEL m.: *Tottel* 2; *Totteles* (gen.) 2, 11. Searle 459 and Redin 140 cite this as the only example. Redin lists it under 'Unintelligible Diminutives' and links it with *Tot(t)la*, s.v. 70-71, and the latter perhaps with *Tutta*, s.v. 111. Cf. SCBI 28, 74 s.v. *Tota*. The form appears as an initial element in *Totelbied*: see von Feilitzen, *WEMA* 174.

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<sup>110</sup> On the name Boia, see also Olof von Feilitzen and Christopher Blunt, 'Personal Names on the Coinage of Edgar' in *England before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 189-91.

## A NEW SOURCE FOR PERKIN WARBECK'S INVASION OF 1497

*Lorraine C. Attreed*

NEW information about Perkin Warbeck's bid for the English throne is contained in an unpublished letter recently sold to a private collector (transcript follows below).<sup>1</sup> Written in September 1497 by Henry VII to Edward Courtenay, earl of Devon, the document illustrates the king's deep concern over the pretender. It describes the strategy Henry wished Courtenay to use to defeat the rebel forces, lately landed in Cornwall and believed to be planning an attack on the city of Exeter. Throughout the 1490s, Henry had maintained a studied nonchalance in the face of Warbeck's threat and European support of the youth who pretended to be Edward IV's only surviving heir.<sup>2</sup> In reality, Henry considered the threat a real one, able to be crushed only by the declaration of full-scale war that had disastrous economic and political consequences. As the number of battlefronts increased, he proceeded to plan his defence along lines both traditional and innovative. The year before the invasion, and to an even greater extent in 1497, he established a system of posts to improve the lines of communication throughout the country. He also relied upon more traditional lines of patronage, between Crown and nobility, and between nobility and town. The letter of September 1497 thus provides new details of Henry's

<sup>1</sup> The letter is now in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Harry Spiro of New York City. I am grateful to them for allowing me to study the document. A summary of the communication was included by H. H. Drake in his edition *Hasted's History of Kent*, part 1: *The Hundred of Blackheath* (London, 1886), p. xiv. Since the 1490s, the letter appears to have resided in the Boconnoc residence of the Courtenays before its sale by Christie's in February 1983.

<sup>2</sup> The story of Perkin Warbeck and his bid for Henry's throne is a familiar one and need not be repeated here. See, for example, J. Gairdner, *History of the Life and Reign of Richard the Third, to Which Is Added the Story of Perkin Warbeck*, 2nd edition (Cambridge, 1898), for the basic narrative as well as research into Warbeck's Tournai origins. Particularly helpful for sources are F. Madden, 'Documents Relating to Perkin Warbeck, with Remarks on His History', *Archaeologia* 27 (1838) 153-210, and J. E. Cussans, 'Notes on the Perkin Warbeck Insurrection', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 1st Ser., 1 (1875) 61-77. For modern narrative and analysis, see M. V. C. Alexander, *The First of the Tudors. A Study of Henry VII and His Reign* (Totowa, N.J., 1980), pp. 97-119.

defence and the ways in which the king planned to crush a threat that had plagued him for too many years.

Dated 16 September 1497, the letter states that the king is aware that Courtenay has raised men against Warbeck and those west country rebels who now followed him. News of the earl's movements came from commissioners in the west, who had been appointed earlier that year to investigate rebellion and insurrection.<sup>3</sup> Courtenay and his men, mustered outside Okehampton, decided to withdraw into the city of Exeter twenty miles to the east. Ignorant of the true size of Warbeck's forces, the men agreed that it was better to defend the most important borough in the west country than to attack the rebels and perhaps suffer a defeat. The king agreed with the plan, and particularly urged Courtenay's forces to protect the city.

Courtenay was a natural choice for the role of west country champion. For over 200 years his family had been the largest landholders and most influential figures in county justice and politics. Their position and connections had been recognized by the city of Exeter, whose officials sought Courtenay patronage in return for gifts of food and wine. The worst vicissitudes a comital family could suffer during the fifteenth century afflicted the Courtenays but did not destroy their power irrevocably. Although the fourteenth-century earls of Devon were wealthy and well-connected at court, the balance of power shifted during the following century. One earl went blind, another endured a long and powerless minority, and all members suffered the effects of the rise of a rival family, the Bonvilles. Adherence to the Lancastrian cause cost the Courtenays the earldom in 1461, and power passed to a cousin, Sir Hugh of Boconnoc. This family member in turn lost favour, as did his heir Edward when the latter joined Buckingham's rebellion in 1483. Suffering attainder and forfeiture, Edward joined Henry Tudor in Brittany. He returned to England with him in 1485, received his knighthood after Bosworth, and married his son to a daughter of Edward IV. Most importantly, he was restored to the earldom in October of that year. By 1497 Edward Courtenay was a considerable force in the west, not least because of Henry's memory of shared exile and a family tradition of influence over the city of Exeter.<sup>4</sup>

Despite Courtenay's power, however, Henry could not depend on the earl alone. The king particularly urged him to join the forces commanded by Lord

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1494-1509*, pp. 115, 118, 145.

<sup>4</sup> J. A. F. Thomson, 'The Courtenay Family in the Yorkist Period', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 45 (1972) 230-35; M. Cherry, 'The Courtenay Earls of Devon: The Formation and Disintegration of a Late Medieval Aristocratic Affinity', *Southern History* 1 (1979) 71-72, 92-94. In the Devon Record Office at Exeter, Receivers' Rolls record the gifts and favours exchanged by the earls and the city annually during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Chamberlain Giles Daubeney, until recently leader of the vanguard against Scotland but now recalled to fight the western rebels at Blackheath and complete the campaign in the west against Perkin's forces. Joining Daubeney were Richard Beauchamp Lord St. Amand and Sir John Cheney, the king's loyal servants and military commanders. Although Courtenay and Daubeney were to be in contact, the earl was specifically advised not to abandon Exeter.

In his letter Henry provides details of the strategy he wished Devon to employ against the rebels. The king argued that if Warbeck moved forward and passed the city, Courtenay's men should follow the rebels and move in on them from behind. The earl therefore was instructed to take a few men and attack Warbeck's rear guard, keeping the rebel forces together by harassment on all sides and preventing food supplies from reaching them. The rebels were to be kept in a state of constant watchfulness and apprehension, exhausted by Devon's feints calculated to break their spirit. Most important, they would be trapped between two armies, for Daubeney's forces would be before them while Courtenay attacked from the rear. To this end, Henry urged Devon to write to the chamberlain and keep him advised of all movements and threats. Only full coordination of the two armies could hope to break Warbeck's power.

Henry was prepared to spend money in order to achieve his ends. Wages for Courtenay's troops were disbursed by Richard Empson, financial overseer of the commissions established in the west country earlier in 1497. Empson was an appropriate choice for paymaster: a council member and speaker of the House of Commons, he served as legal officer of the Duchy of Lancaster and gained notoriety for the zeal with which he collected the king's debts. Such energy cost him his life early in Henry VIII's reign, but to the first Tudor Empson was 'a vigorous, competent, and ruthless administrator' well-suited to oversee a campaign Henry took so seriously.<sup>5</sup>

Propaganda and communications played an important role in the campaign, particularly when they were used to advertise the monetary reward Henry established for Warbeck's capture. After the pretender's abortive but threatening landing on the Kent coast in July 1495, and following the warm welcome James IV of Scotland gave the Yorkist party that same month, Henry established a national circuit of posts to make communication more rapid and reliable.<sup>6</sup> Posts lying between Courtenay's base at Exeter and Henry's Woodstock command center would have carried the letter of September 1497 and two

<sup>5</sup> Alexander, *The First of the Tudors*, pp. 36, 64, 73, 137, 201-204.

<sup>6</sup> London, Public Record Office E 101/414/6, fol. 40r (27 July 1496). For mention of posts and their upkeep for the rest of 1496, see fols. 42r (9 August), 54v (29 November), 55v (11-16 December), 56v (31 December). For details and expenses of the seven posts lying between Exeter and Bodmin, and the twenty-four posts lying northwards to the troubled Scottish border, see E 101/414/16, fols. 1v, 2v, 3v.

replies, all written within forty-eight hours and transported at truly remarkable pace.<sup>7</sup> Equally important to Henry were placards distributed in the west denouncing Warbeck and advertising the reward the king would pay for Perkin to be captured alive. In the letter to Courtenay, Henry urges the earl to renew or call increased attention to the placards already established in the area. He reaffirms his intention to keep the promises they make, so that any individual who acted on the signs' message would benefit as fully as Henry himself. The 'benefait' is not described further, but it probably refers to the reward of 1000 marks offered to the Irish and to a Spanish mariner earlier that summer for Perkin's capture.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, Henry ordered proclamations be made in western ports, reminding subjects that 'the reward and benefit specified in our said placardes' was still valid if they prevented the pretender's escape by sea.

Henry's desire for Warbeck to be taken alive is mentioned several times in the letter. Trapping him between two armies was to be done in such a way that left Perkin no opportunity to escape. Warbeck's wife, who had accompanied him from Scotland, was ordered to be removed from St. Michael's Mount in St. Buryan parish, Cornwall and either kept safely or sent to Henry. Special attention was to be paid to the ships that brought the couple to England. They were to be captured, burned, or their bottoms damaged ('bouged') and made unseaworthy to prevent the pretender's escape, 'ffor it is the chief thing we desire to haue hym broughte vnto vs a lyve.'

Henry left Courtenay with two final instructions. He reminded the nobleman to cooperate with the commission established in the west and directed by Sir William Hatcliff. Under-treasurer in Ireland a few years previously and clerk of accounts in the royal household, Hatcliff helped convey and distribute money for troop wages.<sup>9</sup> Finally, Henry hoped Courtenay would show special concern for the civic officials of Exeter, not only safeguarding their city but respecting their opinion in the matter.

Henry's postal service achieved prompt delivery of the letter, but probably not before Warbeck's first attack. The rebel forces were so strong and crafty that the king's plan almost failed. Warbeck's forces marched on Exeter, arriving 17 September in the early afternoon. Arrayed around the castle and the north and east gates, they called upon Courtenay to surrender the city. Undeterred by the earl's refusal, Perkin laid siege, setting fire to the gates. As a Milanese

<sup>7</sup> This is presumed from the entry for 16 September in the account book of Henry's chamber (London, Public Record Office E 101/414/6, fol. 87v). Entries for the 16th and 17th list the ridings and messages undertaken, but the letter to the earl did not receive specific mention as a communication independent of the posts.

<sup>8</sup> Madden, 'Documents', 187; J. O. Halliwell, ed., *Letters of the Kings of England*, 2 vols. (London, 1848), 1.174-75.

<sup>9</sup> Drake, *Hasted's History*, p. 219 n. b.

eyewitness later reported, the citizens increased the blaze to prevent entry, dug ditches inside the gates, fired guns from the walls, and repelled attacks made with ladders. The next morning, the rebels renewed attack. They managed to enter via the east gate and make for the castle, so surprising the earl of Devon that he was wounded as he came out of his lodgings. By late morning of 18 September, the rebels retreated from Exeter and headed for Cullompton over ten miles to the north.<sup>10</sup> Courtenay took the opportunity to send the second of two replies to Henry's letter of the 16th. The earlier missive does not survive, but in the latter the earl regrets that his men are too weary to chase and defeat the rebels as they retreat north. Courtenay assured the king that only Perkin's forces suffered fatal injuries, but the news must have been small comfort to a monarch who had specifically stated his desire for the capture of the pretender alive.<sup>11</sup>

The plan was not a total failure. Warbeck's men reached Taunton by 20 September, only to learn the frightening news that Daubeney's forces were at Glastonbury, about twenty miles away. Although it was not the coordinated trap Henry planned with Courtenay, the news of the chamberlain's proximity as well as the approach of a fleet under Lord Willoughby de Broke meant Warbeck was cornered. On the night of 21-22 September, the pretender and a few supporters rode out of camp to the Hampshire coast in hopes of fleeing to the continent. With the ports blocked, the rebels took sanctuary in Beaulieu Abbey, but realizing the hopelessness of their position they surrendered to the king's mercy within a few days. Under the circumstances, it is unlikely that anyone received the reward Henry had promised on the placards.

Taken in chains back to Exeter to confront the king and his own Scottish wife, Warbeck suffered a punishment at first more humiliating than penal. Desirous of continuing his show of indifference towards the pretender's challenge, especially after a suspiciously fierce campaign, Henry had little choice but to deny Warbeck and the west country a martyr's death. Only in 1499 after a few years' imprisonment and participation in a dangerous conspiracy plot did Warbeck lose his life.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Exeter, Devon Record Office mss. Book 51, 'The Commonplace Book of John Vowell, alias Hoker', fols. 328r-v and Book 55, 'The Freeman's Book', fol. 66r; *Calendar of State Papers, Milan*, vol. 1: 1385-1618, ed. A. B. Hinds (London, 1912), pp. 327-29 (letter of 30 September from the Milanese ambassador in England to the duke of Milan, reporting the eyewitness account of Messer Fra Zoan Antonio de Carbonariis); Halliwell, *Letters* 1.183-84; *Original Letters Illustrative of English History*, ed. H. Ellis, 3 vols. (London, 1824), 1.34-35. See Ian Arthurson, *1497 and the Western Rising* (D.Phil. thesis, Keele, 1981), for a full account of the attack and the risings that preceded it, caused by what Dr. Arthurson believes was a bankruptcy of Henry's government policies in the 1490s.

<sup>11</sup> *Original Letters* 1.36-37.

<sup>12</sup> Gairdner, *Richard the Third*, pp. 327-28.

Perkin Warbeck, the Yorkists, and Warbeck's foreign connections combined to pose a serious threat to Henry's throne. Francis Bacon, never trustworthy on details, was psychologically accurate when he described the situation as 'one of the longest playes of that kind that hath been in memorie, and might perhaps have had another end, if [Perkin] had not met with a King both wise, stout, and fortunate'.<sup>13</sup> Despite these attributes, Henry was almost overwhelmed by the pretender's forces. The king in association with one of the realm's leading nobles planned a trap that was neat and economical, but which was almost sprung by the surprising strength of Warbeck's army. For all the placards and the rewards promised on them, no one prevented Perkin from slipping away once more, planning to fight another day. Only Henry's trust in the earl of Devon was not betrayed. Calling upon a relationship with the city of Exeter that had existed for over two centuries, Courtenay rallied the citizens and held the borough for the king. As the letter of 16 September reveals, the preservation of Exeter and the capture of Warbeck were of equal importance to the king, and in the end he was not disappointed.

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The editor of the letter has tried to preserve its form and appearance as far as possible. The original paragraphing and capitalization have been retained, and indication made (by a slash) of the ends of manuscript lines. The letter has been lightly punctuated in modern form (with commas and full stops) so its sense is not obscured by long and confusing sentence structure. In many instances a suprascript line appears over part of a word; often this mark refers to a missing consonant which must be supplied, while at other times no such addition is needed to understand the word and the line has then been taken as a flourish and ignored.

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By the king

HR

Right trusty and right welbeloued cousin and trusty and right welbeloued We grete you well/ And by writing lately comen vnto vs from oure great commissioners in thoes parties we haue wel/ vndrestande howe on Wednesday last ye made youre mustres besides the towne of Okehampton/ and there toke counseill and sad aduis amonges yourselves what was best for you to doo against/ Perkyn and oure Rebelles his adherentes. Wherupon afre long debating and reasonyng of the/ matier It was thought in conclusion bettre and

<sup>13</sup> Madden, 'Documents', 191.

moore sure way for you to drawe into our Citie/ of Excestre for the defens and sauf keping therof to oure vse than by way of bataill with the said/ Perkyn to sette the tryall therof vpon an vnlikelihode.

We thanke you that ye of youre wisdoms haue taken soo wise a direction, ffor moore acceptable/ it is vnto vs to haue oure said Citie surely kept to oure behoof than that any mysaduenture or/ distrusse shulde haue happened vnto you. And soo sithens ye haue taken that wey as to resorte/ vnto oure said Citie, We praye you Cousin that for any oure former writing vnto you that ye/ shulde drawe you vnto oure Chambrelain notwithstanding ye kepe yourself with the othre noble/ men of thoes parties in oure said Citie for the suretie therof as it is abouesaid.

And in caas the said Perkyn comme forward and be oonys athisside our said Citie and haue the same/ at his bak, Then we praye you that leving alwayes a good company of sure folkes in that our/ Citie soo as it maye be always in a good suretie, ye take with you all the nobles of your said company/ with their retynewes to folowe and for to be at the bakkes of oure said rebelles and traitours and to/ sende out befor you a certain nombre of wel horsed men to ride the said Perkyn and his company/ for to kepe theym toguydre that they stragle not, And to kepe also vitailles from theym on bothe/ sides their way. And over that to kepe theym watching and waking by mean of scryes and/ nere approches as thoes horsemen maye wel and wisely doo without any their great daungier in/ that behalue.

And soo by the mean therof oure said Chambrelain being befor theym and ye behinde theym/ shal encombre the said Perkyn and oure traitours that they shalbe half discomfited without/ any stroke or perill. And therfor Cousin We praye you in oure affectuous wise and all thoes noble/ men with you to folowe oure mynde in this behalf. And if the said traitours geve bak or flee, that/ Perkyn escape you not in any wise, ffor it is the chief thing we desire to haue hym broughte/ vnto vs a lyve.

And we for oure part shalbe with Goddes leve over and besides the puis-saunce of SouthWales, Gloucestre-/shire, Wiltshire, Somersetshire, Hampshire and Dorsetshire being with oure Chambrelain with the/ Lord Seyntmond and with Sir John Cheyne suche an armee royall of people soo furnisshed with/ artilleryes and ordenaunces for the felde as shalbe hable to defende any prince Christien with Goddes/ favour.

And asto youre wages we haue sent money onwardes with Richard Empson oon of oure counseill/ and shal furnishe you from tyme to tyme as the caas shal require.

And over this we wol ye write vnto oure Chambrelain suche thinges as shalbe occurrent with you/ from tyme to tyme, ffor we haue commaunded hym to doo in like wise vnto you to thentent ye/ maye the moore assuredly

annoye Perkyn and oure said Rebelles by joynnyng you togyuyders when/ the caas shal soo require.

Furthremore we thinke it good that ye cause oure placcardes whiche haue been proclamed to be/ newly and often remembred for the taking of the said Perkyn whiche as it is thought vnto vs/ shal by som maner of practik of wit or pollecye take good effect if it be wisely and secretely/ ordred. For we be and shalbe stil in the same mynde to perfourme alwayes that is conteyned/ in the said plackardes, any thing doon sithens the date therof notwithstanding soo that they that/ wolbe partyners of the benefait therof doo in dede for thentent of the same.

And where as we see wel that oure Citie of Excestre shalbe kept for vs and for oure vse by your/ being there, We ascertayne you that We therewith be right glad and pleased eftsones to your especial/ thanks.

In any thing that our said Commissioners orelles oure servaunt William Hattecliff shal haue to doo in thoes/ parties be it for conveyaunce of money or othrewise, We praye you to geve vnto theym youre/ especial favour and assistance, Wherin ye shal ministre vnto vs right good and singulier pleasour.

Item it is thought vnto vs that ye shulde in anywise doo the wife of Perkyn being in Saint/ Buryans to be taken by see or by land out therof and to be sauflly kept in ward or sent vnto vs,/ And that also the shippes that passed Perkyn be they at Saint Ives, Pensance or in othre/ places shulde eithre be taken, bouged or elles brent. Herunto We praye you to haue an/ especial regard, ffor it is the thing we haue greatly at hert.

Item our mynd is that open proclamacions be made in all our poortes of thoes west parties according/ to theeffect of the said placardes, that whosoeuer take Perkyn in fleyng or going bakward by see/ or by land to haue the reward and benefit specified in our said placardes.

Finally We praye you that vnto the Mair and Citezins of our Citie of Excestre in all theire/ reasonable suytes to you and requestes especially in suche as touche the defens and saufgard/ of theym and of the same our Citie, ye geve all the favour, strength and assistance that ye/ can or maye from tyme to tyme as the caas shal require. Yeven vndre our signet at oure Manoir/ of Wodestok the xvj day of Septembre at viij of the klok in the nyght.

(Endorsement, verso:)

To oure Right trusty and right welbeloued cousin/ Therle of Devonshire, and to oure trusty and/ right welbeloued the othre noble men assembled/ to serue vs in his company.

(Paper, 270 × 420 mm., seal missing)

*Harvard University.*

## RUTILIUS NAMATIANUS, CONSTANTIUS III AND THE RETURN TO GAUL IN LIGHT OF NEW EVIDENCE\*

*Hagith S. Sivan*

RUTILIUS Namatianus, a Gaul of high distinction who attained in A.D. 414 the dignity of *praefectus urbi*, had to leave Rome unexpectedly in order to return to Gaul.<sup>1</sup> Bidding a touching and justly famous farewell to the eternal city, Rutilius set sail late in the year, around the end of September, at an inclement season for navigation.<sup>2</sup> Though he left somewhat precipitately, Rutilius seemed to have been in no great hurry to reach home, for he stopped on the way to visit friends and relatives and to pay homage to worthy sights. The impressions of this journey from Rome to Gaul along the western coast of Italy were recorded by Rutilius in a poem that consists of two books. The first one contains 644 lines but the second book ends abruptly after 68 lines as the sight of Luna and the Apennines emerged. The apparently unfinished state of the poem gave rise to various conjectures such as Rutilius' untimely death, his possible decision to discontinue the composition and the loss of the rest of the manuscript.

None of these conjectures could be confirmed or refuted until 1973 when Mirella Ferrari discovered and published two fragments which clearly belong to the second, now lost, part of the poem.<sup>3</sup> Her discovery led to a lively debate concerning the meaning of the fragments and their contribution to such basic 'Rutilian problems' as the date of the poem and the route Rutilius had chosen after Luna.<sup>4</sup> Surprisingly, this important discovery and its implications have

\* The research for this article was supported, in part, by a Senate Research Grant from the University of the Witwatersrand. I am very grateful to Professors Italo Ronca and Vincenzo Tandoi for their helpful comments.

<sup>1</sup> On the career of Rutilius see the various editions of his poem, among them those of J. Vessereau (Paris, 1904), C. H. Keene (London, 1907), I. Lana (Turin, 1961), E. Castorina (Florence, 1967), E. Doblhofer (Heidelberg, 1972), and F. Corsaro (Bologna, 1981).

<sup>2</sup> *De reditu suo* 1.37 ff.

<sup>3</sup> M. Ferrari, 'Spigolature bobbiesi', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 16 (1973) 15-30.

<sup>4</sup> A. Bartalucci, E. Castorina, E. Cecchini, I. Lana, and V. Tandoi, 'Il nuovo Rutilio Namaziano', *Maia* 27 (1975) 3-26; F. Della Corte, 'Rutilio Namaziano ad Albingaunum',

had no echo outside Italy. Yet its significance should not be underrated. For in addition to bringing to light portions of the lost second book of *De rexitu suo*, thereby confirming the view that Rutilius did continue to write beyond what we have had up to 1973, the new fragments also contribute to our knowledge of contemporary reactions to the aftermath of the barbarian invasions of Italy and Gaul between A.D. 401 and 415.

The purpose of this article is to offer a reading of the manuscript which I had a chance to peruse in February 1985 in Turin and to examine some major problems relating to each of the fragments.<sup>5</sup>

## FRAGMENT A

... ]multus satiat . . . pan  
 ... ]es . . . litata Ceres  
 ... ]ae mos est frumenta reponi  
 ... ]feros horrea tuta Notos  
 ... ] hiberna Ligustica miles 5  
 ... m]edium lanea terga suem  
 ... ]o dives propala ministrat  
 ... t]enditur aere focus  
 ... ]li pretio promptaria bacchum  
 ... ]luit gratus odore cadus 10  
 ... ] praesentia Marcellini  
 ... ni]hil dulcius esse potest  
 ... p]rotector saepe tribunus  
 ... f]luit nuper honore comes  
 ... ]llo custode fuerunt 15  
 ... ]i praedo sagatus  
 ... ]itat mercator avarum  
 ... ]tant monstra minora can[  
 ... ]s aditanda calumnia li[es  
 ... ]fraggiis [ 20

19 calumnia lites *Ferrari*, sed ea lectio mihi dubia videtur

*Romanobarbarica* 5 (1980) 89-103; N. Lamboglia, 'Albenga e i nuovi frammenti di Rutilio Namaziano', *Rivista ingauna e intermelia* N.S. 31-33 (1976-78) 32-38.

<sup>5</sup> My thanks to the staff of the manuscript room at the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Turin for their kind assistance. The shelf mark of the manuscript is F IV 25. References in the apparatus are to the edition of Ferrari ('Spigolature bobbiesi', 29-30) and to the version of Tandoi ('Il nuovo Rutilio Namaziano', 4).

## Translation

... it is a custom to store the corn in granaries safe from the (rain) bringing south wind...  
The soldier, in the Ligurian winter quarters ... the fleecy backs...

The innkeeper (in the inn where) the hearth stretches ... serves wine at a (low) price  
from the cellar ... the pleasantly smelling wine-jar...

The presence of Marcellinus, than which nothing can be sweeter. A defender, often a  
tribune, and recently an honorary count ... under whose protection they were (safe  
from) the brigand with the military cloak ... the merchant ... lesser monsters ... mali-  
cious accusations causing trouble...

## FRAGMENT B

... ]unt in propugnacula rupes  
... ]meritum machina tollit[ ...  
... ]et quas mirari desinat ar[ces  
... Amp]hionium saxa secuta melos  
... ]geos Neptunia Troia labores 5  
... ] laudis habet frustra tridente [. . .  
... ]e novae consul Constantius ur[bi  
nomen et hospiti]um consiliumque dedit  
mutat belli]gerum trabeis thoraca secu[ndis  
et fulget] Latii nominis una salus 10  
... ] invictaque pectora curis  
et iam non repl]etit Martia pal[ma . .  
... ]emo collegae am[ . . .  
... ]edeat iam geminatus hono[is  
... ]s sortius hiatum 15  
... ]essem grandia gesta loq[ui  
munus pro m]eritis verborum v[ile] referr[e  
vilius et q]uam quod solvere [  
... ] hostilibus ille recepit

2 tollat Ferrari      3 Tyrias Tandoi      5 Apolli]neos Ferrari: Perga]meos Tandoi  
7 novae Ferrari, sed ea lectio mihi dubia videtur      9 secu]tus Ferrari      13 collegae Ferrari,  
sed ea lectio mihi dubia videtur      aplectimu]r Ferrari, sed ea lectio mihi dubia videtur  
15 sortitur Ferrari      16 coq]uit Ferrari      18 solveret iugis Are]s Ferrari

## Translation

... Rocks (piled up) to make ramparts ... the crane lifts... Let (the world) cease to marvel  
at the citadels and the stones which followed the music of Amphion ... Neptune's Troy  
... labors ... praised in vain...

The consul Constantius gave the new city (his name), hospitality and help; he, who  
(donned) the consular robes (instead) of the breast-plate. (Constantius), the one salvation

of the Latin name (shines forth), unbeaten by any amount of responsibility. The honors of war (no longer call him). Let the honor, now repeated, return.

(It had not been) my lot (to have poetic) utterance to tell of these great achievements ... to return a mean (reward) for such merits, (meaner) than that which ... to discharge... ... He received from hostile...

#### THE RUTILIAN ITINERARY IN LIGHT OF FRAGMENT A

In spite of its condition, the general sense of the passage can be recovered to an extent. Rutilius reached a place with substantial granaries (*horrea*, A 4), winter quarters for some army unit (*hiberna Ligustica*, A 5), a pleasant inn with an attractive innkeeper (A 7-10) and, above all, a personal and dear friend. It was the presence of Marcellinus, as Rutilius stated, which made his stay so remarkable for *nilhil dulcius esse potest* (A 12). According to the information in the fragment, Marcellinus had been a *p]rotector*, *tribunus* and a *comes* (A 13-14), somewhat vague words with which Rutilius intended to sum up the military career of his friend,<sup>6</sup> in the course of which Marcellinus had to confront an unnamed armed bandit (*praedo sagatus*, A 16). It is to be feared that at this stage the identity of Marcellinus is beyond recovery but not so, perhaps, that of the place described and the bandit mentioned.

At the end of what is now the second book of *De reditu suo*, Rutilius described his approach to a soil rich in marble at the feet of the Apennines (2.63-68). It seems clear that he had in mind the region of the famous quarries of the Carraran marble and, more specifically, the city of Luna on the coast, one stage after Pisa. The place mentioned in fragment A, then, is bound to be somewhere after Luna, along the road to Gaul, Rutilius' final aim. With the mention of Ligurian winter quarters (A 5), the place in question has to be in the region of Liguria in northwest Italy. But is it on the coast or inland? The problem of the location of Rutilius' visit in fragment A is connected with another problem, the mode of travel beyond Luna. If Rutilius continued to sail along the Italian and then the Gallic coast, as he had done before, then one has to look for a place not far from the seashore. If, however, the mode of travelling changed, then one can look further inland. It is not to be forgotten, at this point, that the whole journey had been undertaken late in the year, around the end of September, and that though Rutilius initially preferred setting sail to the hazards

<sup>6</sup> On Marcellinus see Ferrari, *ibid.*, 28, who made him *comes domesticorum*; for a different interpretation of Marcellinus' career, see Bartalucci, 'Il nuovo Rutilio Namaziano', 6. They both ignored the words *honore comes* (A 14) which might have implied that Marcellinus' office of count carried no real responsibilities but was merely an honorary title conferred upon retirement.

of the road, by the time he left Luna the sea had become a *mare clausum* for safe navigation.<sup>7</sup>

With few exceptions, the scholars who worked on the fragments assumed that Rutilius continued his journey by sea and that the place in question was, in all likelihood, Genua.<sup>8</sup> Tandoi even restored A 3 as *Illic, ut Gen]ua mos est frumenta reponi*, and Della Corte, though he allowed Rutilius brief excursions inland, supported this assumption.<sup>9</sup> Using Rutilius' information about *horrea* in the unnamed place of fragment A, Lamboglia looked for a location with attested *horrea publica*, not necessarily on the coast, assuming that Rutilius continued by land. His choice fell on Aquae Statiellae, a resort with warm springs, *horrea* mentioned in the Peutinger Tables and not very far from the imperial capital of Milan.<sup>10</sup> This relative proximity to the palace and the emperor necessitated, according to Lamboglia, the presence of a military commander such as Marcellinus.

Neither the choice of Genua nor that of Aquae Statiellae, however, accounts for all the bits of information included in the first fragment. More seriously, they ignore crucial indications. Of all the meagre clues that Rutilius supplied in the fragment, that of military winter quarters appears the most significant. The place in Liguria, then, housed a military unit and had also granaries as a source of supplies for the army stationed there. In addition, we know that Rutilius' friend, Marcellinus, had to deal with an armed robber (A 16) who, presumably, posed a grave threat to the safety of the area at some point. Given all these clues and the possible location of the fragment within the general framework of the second book, there is one place which answers all the above-mentioned requirements.

According to the *Notitia dignitatum*, a source contemporary with Rutilius which includes information about the array of the Roman army in the west under Honorius (A.D. 395-423), there was a single military unit stationed in Liguria, namely, that of the Sarmatians whose commander held the rank of a *praefectus*.<sup>11</sup> This unit was stationed at Pollentia, which could have been reached both from the coast through Vada Sabatia, the next stop after Genua, and from Aquae Statiellae. Moreover, Pollentia alone tallies well with the presence of a *praedo sagatus* who menaced the area sometime in the past. For

<sup>7</sup> Lamboglia, 'Albenga', 33. The *mare clausum* season started on 11 November and lasted until 10 March.

<sup>8</sup> Lana, 'Il nuovo Rutilio Namaziano', 11 opted for a location between Fréjus and Antibes, which he identified as *ad horrea*; Ferrari, 'Spigolature bobbiesi', 27 opted for Milan, which would have taken Rutilius a fair distance away from the coastal road and well inland.

<sup>9</sup> Tandoi, 'Il nuovo Rutilio Namaziano', 4; Della Corte, 'Rutilio Namaziano', 93-94.

<sup>10</sup> Lamboglia, 'Albenga', 34.

<sup>11</sup> O. Seeck, ed., *Notitia dignitatum* 42.63 (Berlin, 1876), listing units in *Italia mediterranea*.

Pollentia was the famous battlefield in A.D. 402 between the Roman army under Stilicho and the Visigoths under Alaric. The choice of an epitaph (*sagatus*) which evoked a military cloak as well as taking up arms could have hardly been a coincidence. Alaric, before he became king of the Visigoths in A.D. 395, served in the Roman army where he had probably gained valuable experience. The outcome of the battle of Pollentia, according to Claudian, the court poet, was a huge success; Rutilius and other contemporaries held a different opinion, clearly reflected in their enmity towards Stilicho.<sup>12</sup> In the second book of *De reditu suo*, Rutilius devoted a long and hostile passage to an attack on the *proditor arcani ... imperii* (2.42), as he called Stilicho.<sup>13</sup> This vehement invective stands in clear contrast to the praises heaped upon Stilicho's successor in office, the general Constantius, later the emperor Constantius III (A.D. 421). Given Rutilius' tendency to make frequent stops on his way to visit people and places, a visit, if not a brief stay, to the well-known grounds of Pollentia is not surprising. The bitter memories of the battle there evoked an outburst of anti-Stilichonian feelings at the beginning of the second book.

#### RUTILIUS AND CONSTANTIUS III IN LIGHT OF FRAGMENT B

Three themes are interwoven into the nineteen lines of the second fragment. The first is that of a city whose walls compared favorably with two of the most notable walls of antiquity, those of Thebes and Troy. The subject of the other part of the fragment is Constantius, consul, general and an emperor for several months in A.D. 421. Lastly the poet himself comes into the picture with a modest assertion of his unworthiness to voice the praises of so great a personality as Constantius.

Ferrari identified the unnamed place under construction in the opening lines of fragment B as Albenga, a city on the Ligurian coast.<sup>14</sup> Following her, other scholars supported her assumption, centering their arguments in favor of that identification on a detailed comparison between Rutilius' words and those of a surviving inscription from Albenga.<sup>15</sup> That inscription had been originally

<sup>12</sup> Claudian, *De bello gothico* 635 ff.; cf. the verdict of Orosius, *Historia adversus paganos* 7.37.2: 'Taceo de Alarico rege cum Gothis suis saepe uicto, saepe concluso semperque dimisso.'

<sup>13</sup> *De reditu suo* 2.41-60.

<sup>14</sup> Ferrari, 'Spigolature bobbiesi', 28.

<sup>15</sup> Della Corte and Lamboglia devoted the greater part of their articles to these comparisons. The inscription is *CIL* 5.7781:

Constanti virtus · studium & victoria nomen  
dum recipit Gallos & constituit Ligures  
moenibus ipse locum dixit · duxitque recenti  
fundamenta solo iuraque parta dedit

dated to the middle of the fourth century and associated with the emperor Constantius II. Later, however, opinion shifted in favor of a date in the fifth century and Constantius III, the one mentioned by Rutilius.<sup>16</sup>

In the first line of the second fragment Rutilius described a place with rocks around it piled for protection to make a rampart (*consurgunt in propugnacula rupes*). If those rocks were natural rather than man-made protection, the topography of Albenga poses problems.<sup>17</sup> If, on the other hand, Rutilius merely used the words to describe a solid and impressive structure, the description given in B 1 can fit virtually any number of places. Lines 4-6 then recalled the well-known walls of Troy and Thebes, the work of gods and heroes, which served as a byword for strength, power and authority. They compared, however, unfavorably with the building project witnessed by Rutilius which, unlike its mythical predecessors, was destined to last forever. The inscription, on the other hand, speaks of several building projects in Albenga while the fragment, as it stands, speaks of walls alone. Allowing for the greatest poetic licence, moreover, it is hardly likely that the walls of the relatively unimportant Albenga would compare favorably with the most notable walls of antiquity.

In support of the identification of Albenga as the unnamed city of the second fragment, Della Corte, Cecchini and Lamboglia further brought up what they claimed were 'Rutilian echoes' in the inscription.<sup>18</sup> They even concluded that the similarities between the two are so striking that the composer of the verse inscription was no other but Rutilius himself. Some of the parallels, however, adduced between the inscription and Rutilius' poem are confined either to incidental words or to fairly common expressions. Thus *dum* followed by a phrase purporting to denote some everlasting achievement appears in both cases; there is hardly a doubt that Rutilius had borrowed his from Claudian.<sup>19</sup> For *iura dare* of the inscription one may well compare B 8 *hospitium con-*

cives tecta forum portus · commercia portas  
conditor extractis aedibus instituit  
dumque refert orbem me primam protulit urbem  
nec renuit titulos limina nostra loqui  
et rabidos contra fluctus gentesque nefandas  
Constanti · murum · nominis opposuit.

<sup>16</sup> Della Corte, 'Rutilio Namaziano', 98 n. 12 (the editor of the *CIL* opted for Constantius II rather than Constantius III).

<sup>17</sup> Della Corte, *ibid.*, 94.

<sup>18</sup> Della Corte, *ibid.*, 98-103; Lamboglia, 'Albenga', 35-38; Cecchini as cited by Ferrari, 'Spigolature bobbiesi', 29 n. 1.

<sup>19</sup> *CIL* 5.7781 has been compared with *De reditu suo* 1.65-66 'dumque offers victis proprii consortia iuris / urbem fecisti quod prius orbis erat' and 1.138 'dum stabunt terrae, dum polus astra feret'. Cf. this, however, with Claudian, *In Rufinum* 2.527 'dum rotat astra polus'.

*siliumque dedit*, where the idea is the same; but the expression *iura dare* is commonly employed to denote a person with judicial functions.<sup>20</sup> The Rutilian 'echoes' of the inscription are utterly commonplace and cannot substantiate any argument in favor of Albenga.<sup>21</sup>

Perhaps some light can be shed on the problem if it is looked at from a different angle. The focal point of the second fragment is a panegyric on Constantius. As has been frequently observed, this passage stands in complete and deliberate contrast to the invective against Stilicho at the beginning of book 2 of *De reditu suo*. The invective itself is preceded by a passage which sings the praises of Italy (2.17-40), the *domina rerum*, and is highly reminiscent of the one which Rutilius devoted to the city of Rome, the *regina mundi*, in the first book (1.47-164). It is not unreasonable to infer that the encomium on Constantius in the second fragment had been likewise preceded by a passage devoted to a province other than Italy and/or to an important city there connected with Constantius. The most likely candidate in view of Rutilius' origin and the final aim of his journey is Gaul and, more specifically, the Gallic capital of Arles.

Such an assumption finds support in an analysis of the structure of yet another part of Rutilius' poem. In the first book of *De reditu suo*, before the long passage which Rutilius devoted to Rome, he contrasted the glory of the eternal city with the sore state of his homeland, Gaul. There only torn fields and misery awaited his return, the result of years of barbarian invasions and devastations (1.19-22). Significantly, the panegyric on Rome ended with a recital of Rome's past victories, expressing the pious hope that, like all the enemies of Rome in the past, the Goths as well would be utterly annihilated: 'Ergo age, sacrilegae tandem cadat hostia gentis: / submittant trepidi perfidia colla Getae' (1.141-142). The progression of thought is quite clear. First, Gaul, where the situation left an ample scope for works of reconstruction; then, Rome, Rome's past victories and her projected final victory over the Goths. These were the same Goths whom Stilicho failed to check (2.47-51), but whom Constantius managed to drive away from Gaul in A.D. 415.

Rutilius called Stilicho, dead since A.D. 408, a betrayer of the Empire's secret (2.42 *proditor arcani ... imperii*); the same Stilicho whom Claudian saw as the defender of the *arcanum regni* (*De bello gothico* 104). Both poets were speaking

<sup>20</sup> Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmina* 5.562: 'Qui dictat modo iura Getis'.

<sup>21</sup> In his letter to me of 3 April 1985, Professor Tandoi likewise rejected the comparisons between Rutilius and the Albengan inscription. His objections were based mainly on stylistic grounds since 'la tecnica di costruzione dell'esametro per *enumeratio* asindetica mi sembra aliena da Rutilio, mentre le affinità di linguaggio celebrativo possono spiegarsi con l'interdipendenza da frasario della propaganda imperiale'.

of the same occasion, the battle of Pollentia. Years later, Constantius starved the Visigoths in Spain into submission and the tribute paid to him in fragment B stands in deliberate contrast to the low opinion which Rutilius had of Stilicho. The victims of Stilicho's negligence had been Italy and Gaul, and the saviour of the latter was Constantius.

All these analogies point to the probability of a similar structure in the case of the second fragment. The panegyric in Constantius' honor had been, in all likelihood, prefaced by a passage devoted to Gaul and to Arles, a city recently connected with the most notable military achievements of Constantius in his campaigns against the Visigoths. Such a reconstruction, rather than the choice of a relatively unimportant Italian city, makes more sense both within the context of the whole poem and its historical background.

At the beginning of the fifth century Arles inherited the position of Trier as the capital of the Gallic provinces. The city was easily accessible both by sea and by land, and its importance is attested, among the rest, by the place assigned to it in Ausonius' catalogue of the most notable urban centers in the Empire.<sup>22</sup> Arles served as the Gallic headquarters for Constantius as he launched his campaigns against the Visigoths in southwest Gaul.<sup>23</sup> His close involvement in the affairs of Arles is evident both from his intervention in the religious life of the city and his sponsorship of the renewal of the provincial assemblies of the Gauls to be convened annually in Arles (A.D. 418).<sup>24</sup> To a Gallic audience, moreover, and to a Gallic poet, there was still another link between Constantius and Arles, the bond of a namesake. Twice in its history, Arles was renamed after a Constantine or a Constantius. In A.D. 327 the city received the name Constantina when Constantine II celebrated his *decennalia* there, and in A.D. 353 Constantius II renamed the city Constantia.<sup>25</sup> A third occasion of the same sort could have taken place when Constantius was in Arles in the second decade of the fifth century and B 7-8 ('novae consul Constantius ur[bi] / nomen et hosp[iti]um consiliumque dedit') could have indicated just such a possibility. Arles, then, rather than Albenga, is the most suitable candidate to have been juxtaposed with the 'sole saviour of the Romans' (B 10).

A reconsideration of the vexed question of the date of *De reditu suo* can also throw light on the unnamed location of the second fragment. There has been a

<sup>22</sup> *Ordo urbium nobilium* 10.

<sup>23</sup> Olympiodorus, frag. 26; Orosius, *Historia adversus paganos* 7.43.1.

<sup>24</sup> Prosper, *Epitoma chronicon* 1247 and *Chronica gallica A. CCCCLII* 75 (ad 452) (both in MGH *AA* 9 [Berlin, 1892]). The edict concerning the establishment of the provincial assembly in Arles was published in G. Haenel, ed., *Corpus legum ab imperatoribus Romanis ante Iustinianum latarum* (Leipzig, 1857; rpt. Aalen, 1965), no. 1171, where the name of Constantius is mentioned in the most flattering terms.

<sup>25</sup> E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, ed. J.-R. Palanque, 1 (Bruges, 1959), p. 495 n. 121.

long discussion about the date of Rutilius' voyage and the composition of the poem. The scope of the conjectures is rather narrow, between A.D. 415 and A.D. 417, but none of these three years has gained universal acceptance.<sup>26</sup> In the past, calculations relied on complicated astrological analyses and the tracing of literary allusions such as the use of Seneca via Augustine's 'civitas dei'.<sup>27</sup> The second fragment of Rutilius supplies us with valuable clues to the precise date of the poem. In the first place, the general feeling of optimism, noted already in the first book of *De reditu suo* and evident in the lines of fragment B, could have been generated only after a definite and tangible achievement of the government. A vision such as the one projected in the first book for an *ordo renascendi* (1.140), paralleled by the building project witnessed by Rutilius in B 1-6, was hardly a product of the years A.D. 415-416, when the Visigoths were entrenched in Gaul and other barbarians were ruining Spain. The reference in B 19 to something which Constantius had received from the enemy seems to allude to submission, and could have made sense only after A.D. 416, when the Roman government concluded a *foedus* with the Visigoths, which made the latter allies and used them to wipe out other barbarians.

A curious document from Spain which dates to the exact same period, and most likely to A.D. 418, echoes the optimistic note of Rutilius and reflects the general atmosphere of future hopes that prevailed in the wake of the aftermath of the barbarian invasions. It is a letter from the emperor Honorius to the soldiers in Spain which not only grants them additional salary but also projects the possibility of future discharge from service.<sup>28</sup> Again, such an address is hardly conceivable before the alliance with the Visigoths in A.D. 416.

It has also been assumed that Rutilius left Rome, quite reluctantly, since his presence was required in Gaul towards A.D. 418, in order to assist the government's efforts in that province.<sup>29</sup> More specifically, he was going to participate in the first provincial assembly since the beginning of the invasions, an assembly which symbolised national revival. He would hardly have left Rome in a hurried manner if the journey took place in A.D. 415 or A.D. 416.

The most important clues relating to the date of *De reditu suo* are two lines in the second fragment, the seventh and the fourteenth. In B 7 Rutilius calls

<sup>26</sup> I. Lana, *Rutilio Namaziano* (Turin, 1961) and 'Il nuovo Rutilio Namaziano', 14-16 opted for A.D. 415 against J. Carcopino, 'A propos du poème de Rutilius Namatianus', *Revue des études latines* 6 (1928) 180-200 and Alan Cameron, 'Rutilius Namatianus, St. Augustine and the Date of *De reditu*', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 57 (1967) 31-39 who preferred A.D. 417.

<sup>27</sup> Cameron, *ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> See my 'A Letter of the Emperor Honorius to the Spanish Army', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 61 (1985) 273-87.

<sup>29</sup> J. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court A.D. 364-425* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 327-28.

Constantius 'consul', a fact which brings us to either A.D. 414 or A.D. 417, the first and the second consulates of Constantius respectively. B 14 looks forward to a repetition of this honor ('r]edeat iam geminatus hono[s]'), though the matter is not entirely simple. For the words *iam* and *geminatus* could be taken to mean 'let the honor be now repeated', bringing us to a date after A.D. 414 but before A.D. 417, or as 'let the honor, already repeated, return'. This last interpretation supports the year A.D. 417 as the date of the journey, and, in view of the preceding arguments, this is the year of *De reditu suo* as well.

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